

THE  
Rise and Growth  
OF  
FANATICISM.



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THE  
RISE and GROWTH  
OF  
FANATICISM:  
OR, A  
VIEW  
OF THE

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and expos'd.

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Reformer John Knox.

And an Account of the Writings and Life  
of Buchanan.

TOGETHER

With King JAMES the First's Character  
of the Presbyterians.

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The Sixth Edition.

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Soon his unhallow'd Fingers stript  
His Sovereign Liege of Fow'r and Land;  
And having smote his Master, flipt  
His Sword into his Fellows Hand.  
But he that wears his Eyes, may Note,  
The Butcher often binds a Goat,  
And leaves his Boy to cut his Throat.

}  
Geneva Ballad.

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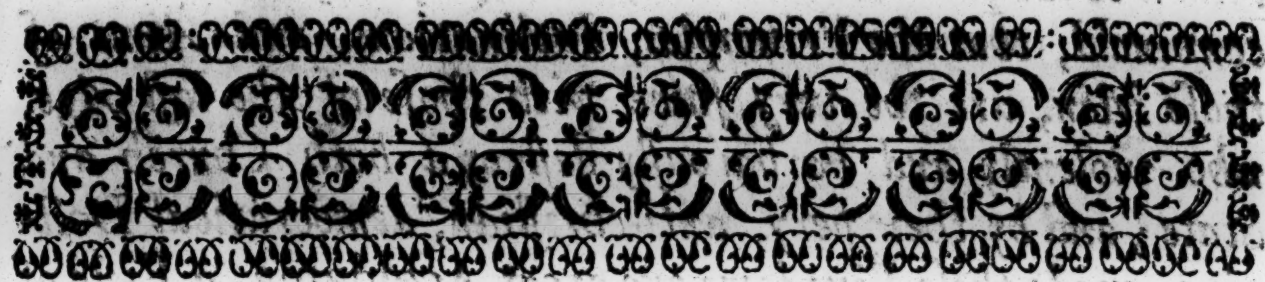
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# T H E P R E F A C E.



*My Design, in the following Treatise, is not to rip up old Sores, or to raise Jealousies and Piques among his Majesty's faithful Subjects, of whatsoever Party or Opinion. There may be some Things, indeed, level'd against those who openly attack the Worship and Ceremonies of the establish'd Church, revile her Liturgy, separate (without the least Shew of Reason) from her, frequent and abet Schismatical Conventicles, and use all unchristian and indirect Means, to undermine her Discipline, establish'd by the Civil, as well as Ecclesiastical Authority; send abroad and support their bigotted Missionaries, to raise and foment Divisions, to seduce the Simple and Ignorant, and by all the ungenerous Methods imaginable, disturb the Peace of the People, and violently shake the most Apostolick Church in the World. Such sort of Men, where-ever they be, ought carefully to be discover'd and avoided, their ultimate Designs, (however garnish'd with a fair Shew and Outside of extraordinary Holiness, and Soul-seeking Pretences) being the Destruction of our present Church-Government, and consequently of the whole Monarchy of the British Empire.*

*They who have revolted thro' gross Ignorance, Simplicity, or any other curable Mistake, may be reclaim'd, and*



## THE PREFACE.

return to the primitive Church, when they consider, and are convinc'd, that the Principles, Inclinations, and Aims of those Men, are the very same with those of the last Age, who violently and barbarously destroy'd both Church and State; and by their fiery, anti-christian, democratical Doctrine, made these Kingdoms one great Aceldama, a Field of Blood, who fram'd new Schemes of Religion and Policy, and banded them down to such as would be their Profelytes, as of equal Authority with the Holy Scriptures; in which they are train'd from their Infancy, with a perfect Abhorrence and Aversion to the Laws and Liberties of the true British Church and Monarchy; and such as preach, print, and pray, pursuant to those damnable Opinions, 'tis to be fear'd, that, was their Power equal to their Wills, they would re-act the same Scenes of tragical Devastations in Church and State, as their Predecessors did; would tumble all, once more, into Anarchy and Confusion; break us at Home, and lay us open to foreign Invasions. Let them who have a mind to free themselves from these Imputations, give us some Demonstration how much they abhor the Principles which allow and promote such desperate Actions; let them publish to the World, that they grieve, and are heartily sorrowful for the crying Sins of these Nations, that brought our late most Gracious and most Pious Sovereign, King Charles I. of ever blessed Memory, to the Block, and produc'd all the dolorous Devastations and Confusions that ensu'd thereupon; and let them declare their Readiness to become better Christians and Subjects, by uniting themselves to the true Old Protestants, who are free from the Blood of Kings, owning their Supremacy and Superiority over them.

THE





T H E  
R I S E and G R O W T H  
O F  
*F A N A T I C I S M, &c.*



**I**T is the Observation of one of the greatest Politicians † and Historians of the last Age, and a Protestant too, that at the Time when *Luther*, \* in *Germany*, began to oppose the scandalous Indulgencies of the Pope, and proceed farther to discover and confute the whole Mystery of papal Iniquity and

Abominations, with which almost the whole Christian World had been poison'd and bewitch'd for many Ages preceeding; all *Christendom* being enlighten'd and animated by his Discoveries, and resolute Defence of the Truth, took the *Alarm*, and were ready to shake off the *Papal Yoke*, under which they had groan'd so long, to abolish the idolatrous Practices of *POPEERY*, and to re-establish the primitive Doctrine and Discipline of the Church, in its first Purity and Order.

*HENRY* the 8th, of *England*, led the Way || to the rest of the Christian Princes, renouncing the papal Supremacy, abolishing Idols, and permitting the Clergy to marry. His Son and Successor, *Edward* the 6th, made greater Advances towards a perfect Reformation, which the ever blessed Queen *Elizabeth* fully compleated, and settled upon so solid a Foundation, whereon it now stands so firmly establish'd,

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† S. Puffendorfius de Monarchiâ Pontificis, Rom. Sect. 27.

\* 1517. || 1535.



bliss'd, as the Gates of *Hell*, *Popery*, and *Fanaticism*, can never prevail against her. Upon the same Bottom with *England*, had all the Princes in *Europe* reform'd their Churches, if *Calvin* in *France*, *Zuinglius* in *Switzerland*, the *Anabaptists*, and other Enthusiasts in *Germany*, our rigid *Congregationers* and *Covenanters* in *Scotland*, had not unhappily interven'd, and by their furious popular *Reformations*, and religious *Insurrections*, begun in *Discontents*, carry'd on in *Madness*, and ended in *Desolations*, very much hinder'd the utter Extirpation of *Papal Tyranny*, and Restoration of the true Church. These Men and their Followers, with an extraordinary Zeal against *POPERY*, (commendable indeed, if it had been season'd with Judgment and Discretion) whilst they avoided one Extrem, seem to have run into the other, when they disclaim'd, and justly destroy'd *Papal Tyranny*, run themselves headlong into *Popular Anarchy*, broach'd and preach'd Doctrines prejudicial and destructive to the Royal Prerogatives and Rights of Princes; expos'd the Revenues, Buildings, and Ornaments of the Church, as a Prey to the outrageous and sacrilegious Mob; decry'd, defam'd, and abolish'd the primitive Apostolical Government of the Church by *Bishops*, and the whole sacred *Hierarchy*.

The Princes of *Christendom*, considering the dangerous Consequences of such Principles and Practices, some to preserve their Revenues and Honours, as those call'd the Ecclesiastical Princes of *Germany*, and the whole *French* Clergy, enter'd into a more strict and close Communion with the See of *Rome*, than ever before; and other Kings, fearing that if *Bishops* and the sacred *Hierarchy*, the chief Pillars and Supporters of true Monarchy, were once born down, they themselves would soon be reduc'd to a precarious Title, under the ungovernable and unconstant Mob. They knew that the *Popes* of *Rome* had never claim'd Superiority over Kings, if they had not first, by degrees, and with much Difficulty, obtain'd it over *Bishops*. They consider'd farther, that those who rob'd the *Bishops* of their Honour, would next usurp the King's: If they once get the rich Stones out of *Aaron's Ephod*, the Jewels of the Crown would not be thought too splendid; if they got the *Crosier* in one Hand, they would be impatient till they held the Scepter in the other; the Truth of which was evidently manifested in the last Century. Upon these, and such like Considerations, many Princes in *Europe* continu'd under the Vassalage of *Rome*, chusing rather to grant some Tyranny to one, than to be ruin'd and enslav'd by a Multitude.

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This was the first Effect of the unbridled Fary and Fanatical Zeal of the Dissenters.

When the true Protestant Reform'd Church was, by the unweary'd Care and Vigilance of Queen Elizabeth, settled and securely establish'd in Great Britain and Ireland, her greatest Care was to preserve its Uniformity, and to cement her Subjects Minds in Spiritual Things, which she happily effected thro' her whole long and glorious Reign, against all the Efforts of foreign and domestick Papists; and another sort of Men, who, tho' their Heads look'd several \* Ways, and opposite to the former, yet, like Sampson's Foxes, their Tails were join'd, and both endeavour'd to root up the Corn-field, the Vineyard so happily planted by God's right Hand; their Hearts were united like that of a Spread-Eagle, and with their sharp Claws still grasping to pull down the most Apostolical Church under Heaven. These Men, from their Affectation of more pure Discipline, Novelty, Dissention, and Pretences to a Singularity in Holiness of Conversation, were then nam'd Puritans. The judicious, learned, and impartial Historian to that Queen, the immortal Camden, || has truly describ'd those Men, their Methods they then us'd to undermine the establish'd Church, and how that good and wise Queen treated them, which is the more remarkable now, because it shews, that the Posterity of those Men, trace the very Footsteps of their Forefathers. They, says he, call'd in Question the receiv'd Discipline of the Church of England, the Liturgy, and Vocation of Bishops, as corrupted with Romish Dregs; refus'd to frequent the Divine Service publickly receiv'd; fram'd and usurp'd to themselves other Rites and Ceremonies in God's Service; and being great Admirers of the Geneva Discipline, thought there was no better Way to be taken for establishing the same in England, than by inveighing and railing against the English Hierarchy; stirring up the People to a Dislike and Hatred of the Bishops and Prelacy; setting forth scandalous Books against both, and in their Libels and Sermons, belching forth most virulent Calumnies, opprobrious Taunts and Reproaches, in such a scurrilous Manner, that  
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\* Roger's Preface to the 39 Articles, and Cartwright's Reply to the same Purpose.

|| Schismatica pravitas, bello ardente, maximè luxuriat, nec contumax in Ecclesiasticos Magistratus impudentia, & contumeliosa improbitas, insolentius alias se exeruit; sed Regina, semper eadem, Novatores in Religione audire noluit, &c. Cambd. Annales, Elizabeth. Annis 1568, 1571, 1573, 1588.



*the Authors might rather seem to have been Rakes and Scullions, than pious and godly Men. And thus they pester'd the State, especially in Time of War, when Schism usually groweth up most rankly, contumacious Impudence, and contumelious Malapertness against Ecclesiastical Magistrates, usually appears then most bold; and this proceeds mostly from their own obstinate Wilfulness and incorrigible Temper; partly from the Indiscretion of the Bishops, Neglect of Church-Discipline, and secret Favour of certain Noblemen gaping after the poor Remains of the Church-Revenues; but the Queen, always the same, disliking such, as Men of unquiet Spirits, greedy of Novelties, forward to root up what was well establish'd; yea, to cut asunder the very Sinews of Ecclesiastical Government, and her Royal Prerogative, commanded the Rigour of the Law, concerning the Uniformity of publick Prayer, to be every where put in Execution; and the Refractory to be imprison'd.*

Now, how far this Character of our Historian may be apply'd to a Set of Men among us, who give us, by the same Tokens, shrewd Suspicions of the same Designs, others may conjecture.

As the Kings of *Britain* were the first Monarchs who embrac'd and profess'd the Christian Faith, so in all Ages they vigorously maintain'd it, and constantly oppos'd the tyrannical Usurpation and Ambition of the *Roman* See; 'till at last *Henry* the 8th, of *England*, was the first King in the World, who openly renounc'd Subjection to them, uncrown'd the Head of that Spiritual Tyrant, broke the brazen Serpent, and first open'd the Door for the happy Reformation which soon follow'd. His Daughter and Successor, *Queen Elizabeth*, perfected and secur'd, for ever, that great Work, both at Home and Abroad. Her peaceable and wise Successor, the first Monarch of all *Britain*, confirm'd and defended the same Faith, and by his learn'd Pen, depicted Anti-Christ to the whole World, and pierc'd the very Heart of all Papal Supremacy. His Son seal'd the same Faith with his Blood, suffer'd Martyrdom for the Laws and Religion of the Land, which being abolish'd and bury'd by unnatural and rebellious Tyrants, for some Years, were again restor'd to their proper Channel by the Glorious King *Charles* the 2d. of ever blessed Memory; and being more surely establish'd by the invincible Power and Prudence of the late King *William* the 3d, and protected and confirm'd by the exemplary Piety and Wisdom of our late Sovereign *Queen Anne*, are now



now also encourag'd and countenanc'd by our most prudent Sovereign King *George*, whom God long preserve.

So that it is evident, our Kings have been nursing Fathers; and our Queens nursing Mothers, to the true Church of Christ; the greatest and most pious of all Princes, raised above all the Potentates of the Earth, for their Sanctity, Valour, and Prudence. Our Nobles, also truly honourable, Sons of Princes, magnanimous Heroes: Our Divines whiter than Snow, for the Purity of their Doctrine, and for the Solidity of their Writings; the Force of their Arguments, and the Elegancy of their Stile, justly claiming a true Title to the *Empire of human Knowledge*.

As the ancient *Britains* \* were eminently instrumental in converting many Nations to Christianity, (especially the Northern Kingdoms) so they were the first who gave Light to the deluded World, by their Preachings and Writings, to come out of spiritual *Babylon*, and deliver themselves from the Thralldom and Vengeance thereof. Thus those famous *Bohemians*, *John Huss*, and *Jerome of Prague*, who, for their Opposition to papal Tyranny and Superstition, suffer'd Martyrdom, as also that noble Champion of Christ, *Martin Luther*, first drew their Light from the Works of the learned *John Wickliff*, of *Oxford*, that stout Antagonist of *Romish* Frauds, who dy'd in the Year 1387, after many Tribulations, Persecutions, and Banishments, for his Defence of the Truth.

But to return from these Digressions, and proceed more methodically.

Many were the weighty Causes which rous'd the Courage of the *Scotch* Nation, to recover and preserve their ancient Liberties, the true Religion, and to resist the furious Tyranny of their Adversaries: Many of all Degrees and Orders of Men, enter'd 1558 into a *mutual League, and Bond of Association*, to promote the sincere preaching of the Word, and to defend the Teachers thereof: Those who subscrib'd to this, were call'd at first, the *Congregations*.

These first *Congregations*, or Asserters of the true Religion, considering how unlawful and dangerous it was to resist publick Authority, and having many powerful and

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embitter'd

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\* *Speed's Chronicle of the Religion of the ancient Britains*, P. 73, to 82.



embitter'd Enemies to struggle with, † unanimously petition the Queen Regent for a Toleration, that they might have the divine Sacraments and Services of the Church, read and administer'd in the *English* Tongue, and the Election of their own Ministers; which the Regent, a most prudent and modest Matron, granted them, notwithstanding the Interposition of the *Romish* Clergy. And in all Probability there might have been a good Understanding between the Government, and those first Opposers of Idolatrous Superstition; and the Reformation of Religion had been more legal, deliberate, and regular; and not carry'd on with too great Heat and Forwardness, Opposition and Resistance to lawful Authority, if the ambitious Ends of *James Prior*, of *St. Andrew's*, (base Brother to Queen *Mary*) and the antimonarchical fiery Principles and Preachings of *John Knox*, and some others, who, about that Time, took upon them the Ministerial Function, had not ruin'd all.

But because *John Knox* is commonly accounted the chief Agent in the *Scottish* Reformation, the Oracle the rest consulted, and the Mouth of the Party, even to this Day, it will be very necessary to describe him, which I shall do with Modesty and Brevity.

\* He was a Person that very early declar'd himself against the Errors of the Church of *Rome*, warmly and clearly expos'd her Corruptions, with a Zeal very commendable, if it had been tamper'd with Judgment, Modesty, and Discretion, Obedience, Veneration, and Love for his native Prince, which is requir'd from every Subject, especially those who are, or should be, Guides to the People. In the Heat of Persecution, he fled from his native Country, was burnt in Effigie by the *Romish* Clergy, and was in great Esteem among the Reform'd in *Geneva* and *France*; where he preach'd several Years, and imbib'd those antimonarchical Principles, which prov'd afterwards very prejudicial to the Peace of *Britain*, the legal Reformation of the *Scotch* Church, and their Conformity with the *English*. In the Year 1554, when that fatal Debate arose at *Frankfort*, among the *English* Refugees in Queen *Mary's* Days, concerning the Lawfulness of Ceremonies, Habits, and the Hierarchy of the Church,

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† Purioris Religionis vindices in summâ hæc postulârunt, ut in publicis Precibus, in Sacramentorum administratione, Ministri Ecclesiæ populari Linguâ, quæ ab omnibus intelligi posset, uterentur, &c. *Buch. Lib. 16. p. 450. 1558.*

\* *John Knox* his Character.



Church, Knox join'd with those who oppos'd the *English* Liturgy. Some Years after this, about the Beginning of Queen Elizabeth's Reign, he publish'd a scandalous and seditious Libel, which he call'd, *The first Blast of the Trumpet against the monstrous Regiment of Women*; intending thereby to raise Tumults against his native Queen, and Queen Elizabeth; endeavouring, in his zealous and virulent Way, to prove the regal Authority of Women, to be inconsistent with the Laws of Nature, Civil, Canonical, and Scriptural; but this treasonable Book was immediately examin'd, and answer'd with great Learning and Strength, by Dr. Aylmer, afterwards Bishop of London, as also by the renown'd Dr. John Lesly, Bishop of Ross, (a) the great Advocate and Ambassador to all the Princes of Europe, for his unfortunate Queen, who, tho' at other Times very tender of the Reputation of his Country-men, his left to Posterity a very severe Character of Knox, (b) representing him to be an illiterate, ill-bred, impudent, rebellious Person.

Knox, at the earnest Desire of the Lords of the Congregation, return'd to his native Country, full fraught with democratical Principles, and an utter Aversion to the Government of Women; and with his Advice, popular furious Sermons, or Pulpit-Invectives, very much widen'd the Rupture between the Court and Congregation, and retarded a legal Reformation. His Principle, and most prevailing Argument, was, that it was the Duty of the Nobility and People, by their own Authority, to abolish Idolatry, and by Force to reduce Princes within the Prescript of the Laws; and that the (c) Revenues and Riches of the Church, were unlawfully possess'd by the Romish Clergy, and ought to be resum'd, and bestow'd to secular Purposes and Persons. This was an alluring Bait, which effectually engag'd many of the young Nobility, and others, who had no Fortune to maintain their Grandeur and Extravagancies, to follow Knox's Direction at that Time. Every Thing that he propos'd, and seemingly confirm'd from Scripture, being accounted infallible,

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(a) Dr. John Lesly, Bishop of Ross, his Character of John Knox.

(b) Homo nec Humanitate, nec Artium cognitione, nec aliis vel Naturæ vel Ingenii donibus ornatus, nisi effrenatam Audaciam ac virulentæ Linguae volubilitatem stultè sine Artis præscripto fluentem, dotes appellare voluerit. *Historia Lib. 10. p. 537.*

(c) Knoxius præservidus Regiæ Auctoritatis Impugnator, è primariâ Nobilitate plures spe proventuum Ecclesiasticorum in escatos in suas partes pertraxit. *Cam. Eliz. p. 44. 1559.*



ble, unerring Gospel, the common People verily believ'd him to be an inspir'd Person, sent by God to purge both Church and State from Idolatry and Tyranny; with such an Opinion of himself, he endeavour'd mightily to possess the Minds of his Hearers in his vehement Declamations against the Errors and Corruptions in Church and State; and his perverted Application of the *Israelites*, their extirpating the *Canaanites*, and their Pagan Worship, their seizing those Lands and Substance, all which he squar'd to his present Designs, as any may observe who will peruse the Historical Accounts of those Times, especially the (d) Book call'd *Knox's History of the Church of Scotland*; being a Collection of some Passages of his Life, the Confessions and Models of Discipline, compil'd by him and his Brethren, interlarded with many malicious Detractions, insipid, groundless Relations, pick'd up, and publish'd by some thorough-pac'd Presbyterian, many Years after *Knox's* Death. (e)

The Queen Regent of *Scotland*, resolving to quiet, settle, and remedy the intestine Discontents of the Kingdom, orders an Assembly of all the Estates to be kept at *Sterling*; but the Ministers of the Congregation prepossessing the People with a groundless Fear, that the Court design'd to silence or banish them, the whole Country was in an Uproar, in a very tumultuous manner, and arming themselves follow'd their Preachers. *Knox* being at *Perth*, did from the Pulpit so highly inflame their Minds, that in a furious Manner (f) they fell upon the *Romish* Clergy, raz'd to the very Ground, all the Churches, Monasteries, and Colleges in those Places; nay, proceeded to that height of Madness, as to root up all the Trees, Arbours, and Orchards, deface and open the Tombs and Monuments of the Dead, throwing all into the River, and sowing the Places with Salt, as *Knox* had told them the *Israelites* did with the Groves, Altars, and Temples of the Pagans; so that in few Days many stately Edifices, the charitable Donations of pious Princes, the Nurseries of Religion and Learning, the Glory and Beauty of the Nation, were by a *sacrilegious, rebellious, fanatick Rabble*, reform'd into Rubbish, and levell'd with the Ground, so that there now remains no Foot-steps of them.

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(d) *Spotswood's Church-History*. B. 5. P. 267.

(e) *Vide* Preface to the fundamental Character of Presbytery.

(f) *Multitudo furens*. *Buch. L.* 16. P. 454, 459, &c.

*Scotch Reformation, Anne 1559.*



The News of this Insurrection caus'd the Regent with her Forces, to march towards the Country ; both Parties arm for their Defence, but by the Intercession of some Noblemen, the Reformers left the Town of *Perth* to the Regent. There appear'd great Signs of Accommodation between them, but the Earl of *Argyle* and *James Stuart* deserted the Court, and declar'd for the Congregation, enter'd into an Association never to lay down their Arms, 'till the *French* Forces were either recal'd or expell'd the Kingdom, and all Remains of Idolatry utterly extirpated ; and then accordingly all the Churches and Monasteries in *Fife*, *Angus*, and other Shires, were immediately sack'd and demolish'd by the \* Mob. At last they came to Articles of Agreement, *July 24, 1559*, That both Parties should have the free Exercise of their Religion, that the Reformers should not any more demolish the Churches, alienate the Revenues of the Church, but return to their Obedience. Nay, farther, to evidence how inclinable the Court was to a legal and regular Reformation in the Church, this very Year they publish'd † two notable Proclamations in the Name of *Francis* and *Mary*, King and Queen of *Scotland* and *France*, supporting the Reformation most vigorously, ' Requiring all the Clergy and Laity to join themselves to the Congregation, and to renounce all manner of Superstition and Idolatry, condemning the maintaining and upholding of *Antichrist's Laws*, and his Consistory, boasting and fearing the simple and ignorant People, with their Cursings and Gravatures, &c.

But this Peace lasted not long ; for the Court growing jealous of the ambitious Designs of *James Stuart* and the late Governor *Hamilton*, (who had been created Duke of *Castelherault* in *France*, and gratify'd with a large Pension, and had now join'd themselves to the Reformers) suspected that under Pretence of reforming Religion, they intended a total Revolt, and Renunciation of their Allegiance to their lawful Queen ; and that both *Stuart* and *Hamilton* had an Eye to the Crown. Upon these Jealousies they strengthen themselves with new Supplies, and the Reformers arm likewise ; and finding that the Regent would not order the *French* Forces to leave the Kingdom, they renounce all Obedience and Allegiance to her, declare themselves the supreme Government

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\* Eodem Impetu.

† *Alex. Petriss's* History of the Catholick Church. Cent. 16 Part 2. P. 215, 216.



*Government* in the Kingdom, begin Hostilities, but are often defeated.

Being again reviv'd by the preaching and teaching of their Oracle and Chaplain \* *John Knox*, they unanimously resolve to represent their Condition to the Queen of *England*, and beg Help from her in their last Extremity, there being no other way to preserve their Laws, Liberty, and Religion from utter Ruin. Accordingly *William Maitland* of *Lyndington*, Lord Secretary, was sent to the Court of *England*, who in a very lamentable Address set forth their Condition.

The Court of *England* wisely and maturely consider'd the Nicety of their Petition, the dangerous Example of assisting Rebels in open Rebellion against their native Prince; but above all, the fatal Consequences, if the *French* secur'd *Scotland*, and rul'd there; and what Troubles and imminent Ruin it would necessarily bring on themselves. Upon which Consideration, the *English* resolve and promise to send them a speedy and effectual Assistance; which came so seasonably, and was attended with such good Success, that (the Queen-Regent dying for Grief in the Castle of *Edinburgh*, seeing all in Flames about her) a Peace was soon concluded.

The Estates of *Scotland* made and confirm'd several Laws for settling the true reform'd Religion †, approv'd and receiv'd the same Church-Government and Ceremonies with *England*; and transmitting those Acts into *France*, they were ratify'd by the Royal Authority of *Francis* and *Mary*; soon after which, *Francis* dy'd, and Queen *Mary* the same Year return'd into *Scotland*, punctually observing what she had promis'd to perform, and reserving only one Chapel for her own private Devotions.

*James* Earl of *Murray*, the natural Son of *James* the 5th, and created Prior of *St. Andrew's*, being of an aspiring ambitious Spirit, quitted his sacred Function, and engaging himself in the chief Affairs of State, headed the Reformers, countenanc'd their Preachers in all their *Antimonarchical Doctrines*, controul'd his Sovereign in every Thing, and by his pernicious Counsels, made her take such Measures in her Government, as render'd her odious to her People, and involv'd her and the whole Kingdom in those bloody Wars which

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\* *Buch. L. 16. P. 465. Domini Congregationis Elizabetha opem implorant, luctuosè conquerentes, &c. Cam. Eliz. P. 44. 1559.*

† *Scoti ante aliquot Annos, Religionis Cultui & Ritibus cum Anglicis communibus subscriperunt, &c. Buch. L. 19. P. 559.*



which ensu'd ; by these Methods most illegally pulling her out of her Throne, tho' he could never place himself therein, which was his ultimate Design. To encourage and justify his Proceedings, besides the Assistance of *Knox* and his Brethren influencing and irritating the People in their *Sermons* and *Pamphlets*, *Buchanan* (whose Pupil *Murray* had been, but was now become his *Patron*) was hir'd to write his damn'd and rebellious Dialogue concerning the \* Original and Rights of the *Scotch* Monarchy, wherein he passionately, and with Force of Eloquence, endeavours to prove, *That the People may give the Crown to whom they please ; that if Princes do not excel in Virtue, they are not to be deem'd Kings, but should want the Benefit of all human Society ; and if they walk not according to the Laws made by the People, they are Enemies to God and Man, should be reckon'd among Wolves and other destructive Beasts, depos'd, judg'd, and executed, as other Malefactors.* Such, and many other trayterous Positions, are asserted in that blasphemous Discourse, by that *Arch-Dissenter*, who, for a fuller Confirmation of what he had before laid down, did publish a compleat History of the *Scottish* Affairs, from the Original of that Nation, to his own Days, in twenty Books ; in all which he warmly endeavours to confirm his diabolical Dialogue, very unfairly representing the Actions of many Kings, every where reviving and improving the *Monkish* Principles of popular Government ; describing the barbarous Assassination and Murder of Princes, with such an Air of Pleasure and Satisfaction, as shews he delighted to dwell on the Subject ; and that the Head of a slaughter'd Monarch could not have been a more acceptable Sight † to the People, than it would have been to himself. He speaks with a most inveterate Malice against the sacred *Hierarchy*, and *Kenneth* the 3d, King of *Scotland* ; against whom he thunders with extraordinary Fury and Force of Eloquence in his seventh Book ; and to please and promote one Bastard, (his *Patron Murray*, a prime *Dissenter*) he endeavours to bastardize the whole Royal Race of the *Stuarts* ||, falsely and most impudently suggesting, like most of our modern *Fanatics* and *Dissenters*, that *Elizabeth Moor* was only Concubine to *Robert* the 2d, whom she bore her Son *John*, a most gross and scandalous Aspersions to all succeeding Kings of *Scotland*, and

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\* De jure Regni apud *Scotos*.

† Gratum Populo Spectaculum.

|| *Lib. 9. Pag. 242.*



and many foreign Princes who had inter-marry'd with them which Argument was us'd in the last Age, to vilify the Royal Family. But this piece of horrid Fanatick Villainy has been fully refuted of late Years \* by the special Orders of their late Majesties King *William* and Queen *Mary*, to the late Right Honourable and most learned Lord Viscount *Tarbat*; who effectually remov'd the scandalous Aspersions on the Royal Family, proving, from many original Papers and authentick Records, that the aforesaid *Elizabeth* was the lawful Wife of *Robert* the 2d; and that the afore-mention'd *John* was constantly, both before and after his Father's second Marriage, acknowledg'd his undoubted Heir to the Crown. About this Time also the Masters and Students of the *Scotch* College at *Paris*, publish'd an authentick Record out of their Archives, of *Robert Stuart* of *Scotland*. It is a Grant to the College of *Glasgow*, Anno 1364, in Consideration of the Pope's dispensing with a Marriage between him and *Elizabeth Mcor*, notwithstanding their near Relation of Blood, the Seals of *John* his first-born, Lord and Seneschal of *Kyle*, are annex'd, and yet fresh and fair. Many more ancient Instruments, Inscriptions, and original Grants of both the Father and Son, are mention'd in those Treatises; all which put together, do evidently demonstrate the abominable Falsity of *Buchanan's* impudent Suggestion, and may for ever stop the Mouths of the Enemies of the Royal Family of the *Stuarts*; who will not let them rest in their Graves, but suffer their Malice and false Calumnies to pursue them after they are dead. *De mortuis nil nisi bonum* this is what every charitable Christian ought to have in Remembrance and Practice; but our *Fanatics* and *Dissenters* are never better pleas'd, than when they are raking up and disturbing the Ashes of deceas'd Monarchs, loading their Memories with the foulest Reproaches, and not caring whether their vile Aspersions be true or false. This made me dwell the longer upon this Story; and having sufficiently cleared the Reputation of an injur'd Lady, do at the same Time make visible the unjust and ungenerous Proceedings of *Fanatics*, and cause the Odium to fall upon themselves.

*Buchanan*, as well as *Knox*, his Twin-Brother in *Dissention*, was of Opinion, that the Government of Women was illegal, unscriptural, and inconsistent with the Fundamen-

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tals and Ends of true Government ; and he bitterly inveighs against the Queen-Regent, *Mary of Guise*, and misrepresents her Actions. He says it was a new and unheard of Sight to the *Scots*, to see a Woman invested with Royal Authority. \* Prepossess'd with such Principles, and pre-engag'd to serve the ambitious Designs of his munificent Patron *Murray*, we need not wonder, that tho' *Buchanan*, as a Poet, gave the just and honest Character of his native Queen ; yet when, as an Historian, (from whom Truth and Impartiality are expected) he comes to describe her, he degenerates into an unnatural, mercenary *Fanatick*, and divests himself of all Sense of Honesty, Loyalty, and Gratitude, for to vindicate the Proceedings of some factious and seditious Noblemen, (*Dissenters* ; ) and, to cover their Wickedness, and base Methods, to carry on their disloyal and traitorous Designs, he drew his virulent, satyrical Pen against an ill-advis'd, deluded, unfortunate Princess, and in a furious declamatory Manner, depicts her as the most wicked, tyrannical Person that ever liv'd ; charging her as guilty of the Murder of King *Henry*, her second Husband, representing her as a lew'd common Strumpet, with all the Bitterness of Expression his poetical Fancy, and doating *Fanatick* Fury could invent ; and with such Stuff he fills the last four Books of his History, which is the Substance of a separate Discourse, call'd, *The Detection, or, the Discovery of the Queen's Wickedness in the Murder of her Husband, &c.* Now, out of that tender Regard which I have for an injur'd Reputation, and particularly for that of a Crown'd Head, I shall refer the Reader to that judicious Historian and Antiquarian, Mr. *Cambden*, who far exceeds *Buchanan* in Integrity and Knowledge of Antiquity, and who sets this Matter in a clear Light, and unanswerably discover'd and refuted *Buchanan's* false *Romance*, and wip'd off those wicked Aspersions which were cast upon the Queen. He had seen the Earl of *Huntley's*, and the Earl of *Argyle's* Letter to Queen *Elizabeth*, under their own Hands, protesting, from the inward Testimony of their Conscience, that *Murray*, *Morton*, † and *Lidington*, were the Authors and Contrivers of *Darnley's* Murder, and the *Queen* altogether ignorant and unconcern'd therein. The same Thing also was attested by the Earl of *Bothwell's* Ser-

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\* Novum fuit id prorsum, & ante eum diem inauditum Sco. is Spectaculum. Lib. 16. Pag. 442. 1553.

† Cam. Eliz. 1567.



vants, whom *Murray* caus'd to be hang'd for that Matter, even at their very Deaths vindicating the Queen. When these *Fanaticks* and *Dissenters* had robb'd her of the Royal Authority, abus'd, imprison'd, and compell'd her to a Resignation of the supreme Power, into *Murray's* Hands, as chief Guardian of her Infant Son, whom they crown'd in his Cradle, they cast her into Prison, and treated her in a barbarous Manner; and when she had escap'd out of the Goal, they defeated all those who adher'd to her, and chas'd her into *England*, where she was again committed close.

Is it not strange, that these base, scurrilous, and false Crimes, which have been charg'd upon the Queen-Regent, should now again be brought fresh upon the Stage, and reported for certain Truths, by republican, dissenting, fanatical Wretches? Must we take their bare and inveterate Assertion, for a plain Proof? or credit their Quotations from their adorn'd Champion *Buchanan*, before the Testimonies of the honest *Cambden*, and the impartial Pens of other Writers, both *British* and *Foreigners*? What can these Men, with such large Fronts, and brasen Foreheads, drive at? What can their Intentions be? Certainly nothing less than to manifest their Desire to villify Princes, and strike at Monarchy. O unparallell'd Impudence! Their Minds are full of Rancour, and the Poyson of Asps is under their Tongues. They little consider how many Ways a Man may become a Partaker of another's Sins; they have no Thought within them, or at least they check and stifle the Impulse of their Conscience, tho' they boast of the Motions of the Spirit. But to return.

See the Judgments of God upon those *Fanaticks* and *Dissenters*, who so unjustly aspers'd and persecuted Queen *Mary*! *Murray*, *Morton*, and *Lidington*, the chief Instruments of her Miseries, were all in a few Years cut off by a violent and unnatural Death. *Buchanan*, the grand Rebel and Impostor, tormented in his Conscience, dy'd in the Year 1582, raving mad; he acknowledg'd his villainous Forgeries, and beg'd his Majesty King *James's* Pardon, and earnestly desir'd, that his infamous Books might be burn'd; and that God would grant him Space to reverse and blot out with his Blood, those abominable Falsities he had most maliciously spread abroad; but immediately after this Interval, he was again seiz'd with a Frenzy, and expir'd.



\* His History and Dialogue were severally condemn'd by all the Estates of *Scotland*, in the very first Parliament held after they were printed, as containing Conclusions very prejudicial to the Rights of Princes; and all Persons order'd to bring in their Copies to the Secretary of State, under great Penalties, and the Book never to be re-printed. And when in the last Age the Democracy Men prevail'd, and improv'd those Notions, such as *S. Rutherford*, in his *Lex Rex*, with other *Scotch Covenanters*, and *English Sectarians*, they were immediately encounter'd and baffl'd by the honour'd Sir *James Turner*, Colonel in King *Charles the First's* Army. But can any one tell what might be the Design of the *Presbyterians* in *North-Britain*, soon after the late Revolution, to re-print *Buchanan's* and *Milton's* condemn'd Treatises, to cheapen the Impression, recommend the reading of them from their Chairs and Pulpits, and to put them into the Hands of School-Boys, and Students in their Colleges? I shall leave it to the serious Consideration of all thinking and judicious Persons, whose Business it ought to be to stifle such pernicious Opinions, and to kill the Cockatrice in the Shell. This I may venture to say, that they manifested themselves to be Chips of the old Block, and let the World see what they aim'd at by their fiery and rebellious Principles.

Now, since *Buchanan* is so much extoll'd by the Party, and the *Fanatics* look upon him to have been as infallible as the *Papists* esteem the Pope of *Rome*, not to mention what has been already said of him, I shall endeavour to draw his Character, and ascribe to him such Praise as his excellent Performances may justly challenge; and at the same Time express, in a few Words, such Crimes as he has been most guilty of. And as I shall herein deliver my self without Passion, and neither aggravate his Enormities, nor detract from his Merit; so I hope it will serve as a Manifestation, that it is his Principles, and not his Person, which I detest.

† It cannot be deny'd, but that his great Knowledge in all kind of Learning, especially *Latin Poetry*, his excellent Paraphrase of the *Psalms*, which took him up near two Years, when he was confin'd in a Monastery in *Portugal*, and his several other *Latin Poems*, had render'd him famous in all the Kingdoms and Courts of *Europe*. In all those the Elevation and Justness of his Thought, the Neatness and

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\* Parl. 8. Jac. 6. Cap. 134. Anno 1564.

† *George Buchanan's* Character.



Elegancy of his Expression, scarcely exceeded by any ancient *Roman* Poet, never equal'd by any modern, made him no less the Glory of the Age wherein he liv'd, than of the Country where he was born; and had he confin'd himself to such sort of Writing, his Memory had ever been precious and admir'd. But his notorious Ingratitude to his native Prince and Benefactors; his malicious perverting the whole Scheme and Fundamentals of the Laws and History of his Country; his vile Misrepresentations of the Genealogy of the Royal Line; his open *Party-Partiality* and *Fanatick* Fury, and his meddling with the secret Affairs of State, and great Policy of the Government, (Matters much above his Capacity) have so *tarnish'd* all that Glory he had so justly purchas'd by his other Performances, that they will for ever make him and his Writings of the last Kind, infamous and detestable to all truly religious, loyal, and judicious Persons.

It has been already observ'd, that the *English* did send some Troops to the Assistance of the *Scotch* Reformers; which Reinforcement being back'd with a stout Fleet, soon freed them from *French* Slavery; and not long after this, they receiv'd and subscrib'd the same Form of Divine Worship and Church-Government with the *English*. How long, and how universally the same was observ'd, I cannot positively affirm, because History has here left us in the Dark. The Queen and most of the Court continu'd in the *Roman* Faith; but *Bothwell*, Bishop of *Orkney*, and *Gordon*, Bishop of *Galloway*, who turn'd Protestants, us'd the *English* Service in all their Parish-Churches, as did also all the most eminent Nobility and Gentry over all the whole Kingdom. On the other Hand, *John Knox*, tho' he had vehemently farther'd the Agreement with *England*, and given his Consent to an Uniformity of Divine Worship over all the whole Island, yet being of a restless, presumptuous, self-conceited Temper with some others of the same Kidney, began soon to separate, and set up a new Form of Church-Discipline, after the *Geneva* Party-Model; framing new Confessions and Schemes of Church-Government, and *Magisterially* demanding Obedience to the same, changing the ancient Name of Bishop, into that of Superintendant, differing in Number and Bounds from the Bishops, tho' in Power and Precedency very near the same. Notwithstanding this fatal Separation was made, yet he who peruses the Memoirs of the most remarkable Affairs of State in Queen *Mary* and King *James's* Reigns, (written by a most virtu-



ous and generous Gentleman, Sir *James Melvil* of *Halhill*, who was publickly and personally concern'd in them) may easily discern how willing and earnest the wiser and greater Part of the Nation were for the legal Settlement, and Observation of the same Purity of Worship with *England*.

Besides those two great Obstacles in settling and preserving the true Church-Government from *Papists* and *Puritans*, there was a third, equally fatal at that Time. The Abacies, and other Church-Lands, upon the Expiration of the *Romish* Clergy, were bestow'd by four of the *Reformers*, the Earls of *Murray*, *Lenox*, *Mar*, and *Morton*, (who all successively were Governors of the Realm, in the first twelve Years of King *James's* Reign) upon their own Relations and Favourites, or such of the Nobility and others, who sided with them in their Reformation; and to put a Gloss upon their Actions, some greater Benefices were annex'd to the Crown; but alas! these were taken away again, and granted by them to their Friends and Followers.

Thus were the Church-Lands and Revenues most sacrilegiously and illegally usurp'd, embezell'd, and alienated to secular Uses and Persons, who immediately erected them into temporal Lordships and Estates, and secur'd them as their perpetual and unalienable Inheritance. But this was not all; for tho' these Lay-Usurpers had seiz'd and devour'd the Patrimony of the Church, they did not rest here; for, fearing they should be oblig'd to restore the Church-Lands, they hinder'd the Ratification of the Act for a true Reformation, increas'd the Divisions, and resisted the Settlement of Episcopacy; and for the same Reasons, the Posterity of these Men were the principal Incendiaries and Promoters of the unnatural Civil Wars in King *Charles* the 1<sup>st</sup>'s Days.

Under the afore-mention'd Regents, there was a Court erected, call'd, The *General Assembly*, which claim'd the supreme Government of the Church, especially in censuring and deposing Ministers. The Bishops were often severely treated by that Judicatory, and order'd sometimes to particular Cures. They drew up, especially in \* *Knox's* Time, who dy'd 1572, several Draughts of Ecclesiastical Policy, and presented them to the Parliament, which would not pass them into a Law, because they were *unscriptural*, *unpresidented*, *imperfect*, and *antimonarchical*; and yet they often rigorously and arbitrarily yut them in Execution. At last, *Mor-*  
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\* Arch-bishop *Spotswood's* History, B. 3.



ton was outed by the Queen's Friends, and several eminent Noblemen; and the King, tho' but twelve Years old, took the Government upon himself. It is farther observable, that Divine Vengeance at last reach'd the four *Dissenting* Regents, who were all cut off by a sudden and violent Death.

King *James* sitting at the Helm, entertain'd a constant and friendly Correspondence with Queen *Elizabeth*; and being a Prince of excellent Endowments of Mind, he began immediately to settle the true Church-Policy, but soon found that the *Geneva Faction*, or *Dissenters*, rous'd their insolent Natures against him. For they, finding that he intended to establish Episcopacy, and reduce them to Obedience and Peace under their Bishops, declin'd his Judgment and Authority, conven'd Assemblies, and made Acts of the highest Consequence, contrary to his express Commands. And when the King would have dissolv'd them, they proclaim'd openly, that their Assembly was the supreme Judicatory in all Causes Ecclesiastical; and that the King ought not to take upon him Spiritual Authority. Nay, in the Year 1581 and 1582, when the King, by his Royal Letter, by express Messengers, by his Master of Requests, and Herald at Arms, did prohibit their Assemblies, they slighted all, and proceeded contrary to his Orders, condemning the Bishops and their Office; nor would they allow of any Appeals to the King, but punish'd those who did so. In their *Theorems*, they said, *That no Power on Earth could challenge, command, or have Dominion over their Churches; but that all Estates within that Realm, as well Nobles as others, must be subject to their Discipline*; That whatsoever was spoken in their Pulpits, be it never so blasphemous, treasonable, or seditious, ought first to be try'd by the Presbytery; and that neither the King nor the Council might meddle with it, 'till examin'd by them. They call'd the King a Persecutor in their Sermons; said he was possess'd with a Devil, and made the People rise up against him: Neither the Holiness of the Place, nor the Sacredness of his Person, could protect him from their rebellious Invectives.

Such was the Loyalty, Submission, and Obedience; such were the pious Principles of these *fanatick, dissenting Reformers*, to their native and lawful King.

(*b*) The good young King, finding both his Royal Person and Authority abus'd and villify'd by the most learned of their

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(*b*) Episcopacy establish'd in Scotland 1584.



their Writers, their most admir'd Preachers, and their General Assemblies, (the representative Body of the Kirk) summon'd a Parliament in the Year 1584, wherein his Authority over all Persons, Civil and Ecclesiastical, was establish'd; the whole Frame of *Presbyterian* Government pull'd down, their seditious Preachers silenc'd, imprison'd, and some banish'd, (a good Riddance of 'em!) their trayterous Books and Pamphlets burnt, Episcopal Jurisdiction restor'd, and several other beneficial Laws enacted, for the Security and Tranquility of Church and State. (c.)

Thus did the King and Estates of *Scotland* exert and establish their Authority against the Dissenters, those Enemies of the Church and State, who, like Vipers, had begun to prey upon the Vitals of Monarchy, and the sacred Hierarchy. And for a farther Declaration of the perfect Agreement of the two *British* Kingdoms in the Purity of the Faith, and Uniformity of Discipline, the very next Year the Plenipotentiaries of both Nations met at *Berwick*, (d) where they enter'd into an *Association*, or *Mutual Confederacy*, closer Union and Friendship.

This Uniformity of the two *British* Kingdoms in Religious Matters, continu'd 'till that remarkable Year of the *Spanish Armado*, or Invasion, 1588, when the Separatists, Dissenters, Fanaticks, Presbyterians, (or by what other Name soever you please to distinguish such a vile Brood) taking the Advantage of that Opportunity, as they always do when the State is embroil'd or alarm'd, push'd and petition'd for more Liberty, and for the repealing the good Laws made in both Kingdoms, for Uniformity in publick Worship; in which they behav'd themselves according to their old Custom, vehemently, outragiously, and with unparallel'd Impudence.

Their Hopes were frustrated in *England*, for Queen *Elizabeth*, a most wise and prudent Monarch, knowing their Design was to ruin both Church and State, dealt with 'em accordingly; she us'd wholesome Severities, and thereby did happily crush the Cockatrice in the Shell. But in *Scotland* the Party was more strong; and better back'd by those who had been enrich'd and enobled with the Spoils of the Church, insomuch, that in the Year 1592, they oblig'd the King to repeal

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(c) Presbyteriorum confessus & Laicorum conventus tam generales quam speciales prohibiti, &c. *Cam. Eliz. p. 361, 1584.*

(d) Fœdus Arctioris Amicitiae.



repeal the Acts made in 1584, confirming Episcopacy, and forc'd him to the Settlement of Presbyterian Government.

\* Thus these Vipers having gather'd fresh Strength, began again to infest the Kingdom, and scatter their Poyson far and near; how seditiously and saucily they behav'd themselves towards so gracious and indulgent a Prince, any who will peruse the three last Books of our most learned, pious, loyal, judicious, and impartial Church-Historian, the immortal Arch-bishop *Spotswood*, may be fully satisfy'd. Their whole Design, when they had the Power, was to rob the King of the Honour and Authority which justly belong'd to him, and to diminish his Power. They maintain'd, (like our modern *Dissenters*) that their Jurisdiction was independant, and that all Men, as well *Magistrates as others*, were subject to their Judgment; they asserted the opposing of Princes, and by their fiery Principles, have set the World in a Flame. Take an Instance or two of their Behaviour at this Time, to their lawful Sovereign.

† In the Year 1596, a Complaint was made to the King and Council, by the *English* Embassador, against Mr. *David Blake*, a Presbyterian Preacher at St. *Andrew's*, that in his Sermons he had rail'd most bitterly against Queen *Elizabeth*, calling her an Atheist, a Woman of no Religion; as also that from the Pulpit he had often said, That all Kings were the Devil's *Bairns*; that the Devil was in the Court and the Guiders thereof; that the Lords of the Council were *Miscreants*, Bribers, Men of no Religion; and that the whole Nobility were degenerate, godless, dissembling Enemies to the Kirk. Now, all this was legally prov'd against him by many of his Hearers; and that such trayterous, furious Stuff, was the ordinary Materials of his Discourses; and therefore any sober, unbiass'd Christian would immediately determine that such a mad, hot-headed, seditious Person, was a fitter Guest for a Prison or Pillory, than a Pulpit; yet this very Man, tho' convicted of the Fact, declin'd the Judgment of the King and his Council, and appeal'd to the Presbytery, who abetted and defended him in his Obstinacy, maintaining themselves to be the only Judges in such Matters, and that the King or his Council could not condemn or punish them

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\* Presbyterian Usurpation and Sedition, 1592.

† A dreadful and riotous Insurrection rais'd against King *James* at *Edinburgh*, 1596. *Spotswood*, B. 6. P. 420, &c.



them upon any Account. They said they were independant immediately upon Christ; the Cause was his, and in Defence of him, his Scepter, Crown, Glory, and Embassadors, they would venture their All, and lay down their Lives. By such Invectives, and pertinacious Resistance of Royal Authority, their violent Sermons, perverse Application of the Scriptures in their Conventicles and Pulpits, they rais'd so great an Insurrection and Tumult in *Edinburgh*, that the arm'd Multitude, headed by some of the Presbytery, took the Streets, flourish'd their Swords and other Weapons, crying out, *The Sword of the Lord, and of Gideon; bring out Haman to hang;* (meaning the King's chief Minister of State.) Those were some of the Historical Passages of Scripture, which their Ring-leaders, the Preachers, apply'd to their present Case; whereby they incited the Mob to Rebellion, who violently rush'd into the King's Council, and the *Presence-Chamber*, and in all Probability, in that frantick Fit of *Fanatick Madness*, had cut him and his principal Ministers of State in Pieces, had they not speedily made their Escape by a private back Way, and so shunn'd the Violence of the People. The King and Court fled for their own Safety, twelve Miles, in post Haste; and the Insurrection increasing, the Preachers still adding more Fuel, sent Letters and Messengers to the Nobility, Gentry, and Clergy, every where, to come to their Assistance; but the most of the Nobility, Gentry, and moderate Clergy, resorted immediately to the King. This calm'd the seditious Malecontents, who began now to forsake their Ministers, and repent of their rash Rebellion; the Ring-leaders fled to *England*, and the King return'd to his Palace. He confin'd and banish'd the most active Promoters of that Tumult, and graciously pardon'd the rest; and his Authority being much strengthen'd by the Suppression of this Rebellion, the whole Nation began to dislike those seditious Preachers.

(a) Nor can I omit here, that when there was a Conspiracy form'd against the King, by the Earl of *Gowry* and others, who seiz'd and confin'd his Person, and threaten'd his Death; from whom, when his Majesty was deliver'd by his faithful Subjects, and a Day of Thanksgiving appointed to be kept Yearly for his Delivery, most of the Preachers slighted and ridicul'd it, for which some of 'em were banish'd. This barbarous and disloyal Treatment made that

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(a) The Earl of Gowry's Conspiracy.



most excellent and most learned King, in the Preface to his *Basilicon Doron*, or Royal Gift and Advice to the Prince his Son, leave to Posterity this severe, but just and true Character of those ancient Puritans or Presbyterians, the Primogenitors of our modern Sectaries and Dissenters. (b) ' They are (says that judicious Monarch) a People refusing to be call'd *Anabaptists*, yet participating too much of their Humours, not only agreeing with them in their general Rule, the Contempt of the civil Magistrate, and leaning to their own Dreams, Imaginations, and Revelations; but particularly accounting all Men prophane, who agree not with their Fancies, in making for every particular Policy of the Church, as much Commotion, as if the Article of the Trinity were call'd in Question; in making the Scripture to be rul'd by their Conscience, and not their Conscience by the Scripture; in accounting every one an Heathen and Pagan, not worthy to enjoy the Benefit of breathing, much less to participate with them in the Sacraments, that denies the least Jot of their Grounds; and in suffering King, People, and Laws, and all to be trod under Foot, before the least Jot of their Grounds be impug'd; (c) and preferring such holy Wars, to an ungodly Peace, not only in resisting Christian Princes, but denying to pray for them; for Prayer, say they, must come by Faith, and it is not reveal'd, that God will hear their Prayers for such a Prince. — Telling the People, in their Sermons, that all Kings and Princes were naturally Enemies to the Church, and could never patiently bear the Yoke of Christ. — The very *Pests* of the Church and Commonwealth, whom no Deserts can oblige, neither Oaths nor Promises bind; breathing nothing but Sedition and Calumnies; aspiring without Measure, railing without Reason, and making their own Imaginations the Square of their Conscience. — No where to be found greater Ingratitude, more Lies, and vile Perjuries, than among those Fanatical Spirits.

This same King, speaking of 'em to his *English* Parliament, and in several of his Proclamations, says, ' They are ever discontented with the present Government, and impatient to suffer any Superiority, which makes their Sect unable

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(b) King James's Character of the rigid Presbyterians.

(c) *Basilicon Doron*. Dr. Heylin's History of the Presbyterians, B. 9 and 10. P. 367 and 368.



‘able to be suffer’d in any well-govern’d Commonwealth;  
 ‘because nothing can fully satisfy them, but the *Alteration*  
 ‘of the whole *Frame* of Government, and the total *Overthrow*  
 ‘of *Royal Authority*.

This, and much more, was the Character which that wise King, who had a sad and long Experience of them, left to his Son; and their many Rebellions ever since, have shewn it to be true, not only of them who vex’d his righteous Soul, but also a Prediction of others, who would afterwards *strictly* adhere to their Principles.

King *James* being Monarch of all *Great Britain* by the Death of *Queen Elizabeth*, soon after his Accession to the Crown of *England*, frees himself from the Tyranny and Influence of the Kirk; and dissolving the Assembly at *Aberdeen*, denounces the disobedient Rebels, imprisons some, banishes others, restores the Bishops Temporalities, procures again his own Supremacy in all Causes Ecclesiastical, to be confirm’d by Parliament, and caus’d many Acts to pass in *Scotland*, concerning the Habits of the Clergy, and the Ornaments of Churches. The Lord’s Supper was order’d to be receiv’d kneeling, and this holy Sacrament and Baptism, in Cases of Necessity, should be administer’d in private Families; that Children, well instructed in *Christianity*, should be confirm’d by the Bishops; and that the great Festivals of *Christmas*, *Good-Friday*, *Easter*, *Ascension*, and *Whitsunday*, should be kept as in the Church of *England*.

And thus, to the Confusion of the *Dissenters*, Episcopacy was establish’d throughout the whole Island, in the Days of that ever-glorious, peaceable, pious, and learned Prince, *James* the First, Monarch over all *Britain*; who, in his first *English* Parliament, did publicly declare from the Throne, ‘That he found that Form of Religion, which was establish’d by Law under *Queen Elizabeth*, to have been bless’d ‘with a most extraordinary Peace, and of long Continuance, ‘which he looks upon as a strong Evidence of God’s being ‘pleas’d with it. — That, after a full Debate, he ‘could find no Cause for any Alteration to be made in the ‘Common-Prayer; and that the Forms and Rites of the ‘*English* Church, were justify’d out of the primitive Church. And to preserve the same from the future Attempts of Papists and *Dissenters*, in his last *Scotch* Parliament, he, in his Letter to the Bishops, desires them, (a) ‘That as they had  
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(a) *Spotswood*, B. 7. p. 542.



‘ to do with two sorts of Enemies, Papists and *Puritans*, or  
 ‘ *Presbyterians*, so that they should go forward in Action a-  
 ‘ gainst both; *Papistry* being a Disease of the *Mind*, but  
 ‘ *Puritanism of the Brain*; and the Antidote of both of them,  
 ‘ was a grave, settled, and well-order’d Church, in the O-  
 ‘ bedience of God and their King.

Peace and Plenty, true Piety, Learning, and all manner of Virtue, abounded the whole Reign of this glorious Monarch; but alas! Men began to degenerate from the Loyalty of their Ancestors, and the Scene was too soon chang’d! Even at this Day there are too many among us, whose Narrow-heartedness, fantastical Bigotry, peevish, fullen, whining, obstinate, self-conceited, censorious — *dissenting* Humours, perverted by their Education and Opinions, into a Dislike and perfect Abhorrence of the most christian, loyal, and noble Church-Constitution in the World, fill’d with fanciful Imaginations, and groundless Surmises, makes ’em basely and ungenerously use all the sly, unchristian Arts and Tricks, to rent in Pieces, and destroy the Foundation of the Catholick Church, to decoy and profelyte, with fair Shews and *Pharisaical* Pretences of Piety, the Simple, Young, and Ignorant; to pick up and cozen the unwary Multitude, erect *Schismatical Conventicles*, Altar against Altar, to the great Scandal of Christianity, widening our Divisions, and diminishing the true Interest, Glory, and Prosperity of our native Country. *They that are such, serve not the Lord Jesus Christ, but their own Belly, and by good Words and fair Speeches, deceive the Hearts of the Simple.*

To give a full and satisfactory Account of all the Troubles, Rebellion, Murders, and Confusion, rais’d, carry’d on, and perpetrated by the *Dissenters*, in the Reign of King *Charles the First*, would require a compleat Statesman, as well as judicious Historian; and therefore he who is curious herein, may consult the Right Honourable and most learned the Earl of *Clarendon*’s impartial History of the Civil Wars in *Great Britain*. However, I shall take Notice of as much as will suffice to give us an Insight to their Practices in those Days.

It is observable, that the pretended *Reformation* of Religion, was the first Step to those unnatural Wars, and the Ring-leader in *Scotland*, was *Alexander Lesley*, (whom the King afterwards created Earl of *Leven* :) He, after his Return from the *German Wars*, not being preferr’d by the Court to his Liking, instigated the discontented Nobility against



against the King, perswading them, and many of the *dissenting Preachers*, whose fiery Zeal prevail'd with the People to run headlong into the Witchcraft of Rebellion, to oppose the Liturgy and Common-Prayer, which they call'd a Rag of *Popery*. Their Pulpits flame every where with the most trayterous Invectives against the King and the Bishops; and without any Regard to that natural Obedience which is due from Subjects to their lawful Prince, or to the Oaths they had taken to obey and defend him, they openly and avowedly rebel against him, run themselves into new and contrary Oaths, Perjuries, and Associations; compose and without Authority, against Authority, enter into, and subscribe, a most *damnable and heretical Covenant*\*, being the very Contradiction of the Liturgy, a *solemn League and Covenant*, whereby they oblige and bind themselves to assist one another mutually in the Extirpation of the Hierarchy, against all Opposers, not excepting the King. This *Covenant* was the grand Engine, whereby they did accomplish all their Mischiefs; to defend which, besides their Revolt from their King, they set up four *green Tables* of Council, or Government, compos'd of the most forward Rebels, and severely punish those who disobey. They abolish Episcopacy, declare themselves the supreme Judicatory in the Church, independant either upon King or Bishops, with Liberty to meet and make such Laws as they please.

Rebellion thus kindled and flaming in *Scotland*, the Sparks soon flew into *England*, and immediately began to inflame the Discontents that rag'd every where; so that all the Methods the King us'd to reduce the Covenanters by Force of Arms, prov'd ineffectual; for their Friends and Abettors (the Dissenters) in *England*, thwarted all the Measures taken by the Court to resist them, which oblig'd the King to consent to the Change of Church-Government, into *Presbytery*.

The *English Fanaticks*, having imprison'd and impeach'd the King's best Friends and Counsellors, attainted, condemn'd, and beheaded the loyal Earl of *Strafford*, charging the Bishops with Treason, voting them out of the House, and abolishing their Office, like a Herd of wild Beasts, flew into open Rebellion. The King, finding his whole Dominions in a Flame, and that it could not be quench'd by any

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\* Solemn League and Covenant.



any peaceable Means, was oblig'd and forc'd to have Recourse to Arms, in order to defend himself, his own Prerogative, and the Liberty and Property of his Subjects. The pious Monarch being often worsted, fled to the *Scotch* for Shelter, who most treacherously and barbarously sold and betray'd him into the Hands of the *English* Rebels.

\* And here I think it would be unpardonable to omit mentioning the Loyalty of that truly noble Peer, the Marquess of *Ormond*, (Grand-father to the present most heroick and illustrious Prince, *James Duke of Ormond*;) who being Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and General of his Majesty's Forces in that Kingdom, did manage the King's Affairs with great Valour and Prudence, against the *Irish* Papists, and the Presbyterian Rebels. Hearing that the King was taken Prisoner, and a Court illegally erected, with a Design to take away his Life, the noble Marquess, making a Virtue of Necessity, concludes a Peace with the *Irish*, upon very difficult Terms; and hoping he might prove instrumental to prevent that *infamous and horrible* Regicide, which ensu'd, he was preparing to send over some Forces to his Majesty's Assistance and Relief, but was most unhappily prevented by the Treachery of the *Irish* Papists. The good King, having suffer'd all manner of Affronts, Losses, and Dangers, and having been imprison'd two Years, was at last, by an unheard of Piece of Injustice and Cruelty, arraign'd, condemn'd, † and beheaded, by a *Fanatick, Dissenting, Independant, Usurping Army*. See the learned Mr. *Milbourn's* Sermons upon that melancholly Occasion.

O monstrous Rebels! To kill a Man, is to murder the Image of God; but to massacre a King, a *pious, innocent* King, is ———. The Anointed of the Lord, cut off by an irreligious, ignoble, rebellious Crew! The Light of *Israel* put out by the infernal Darkness of Devils and Furies! Great, good, and just! *Ever blessed and most glorious Martyr*! While there shall be Truth, Virtue, Piety, and Loyalty, on Earth, thy Wounds shall bleed! The Memory of thy barbarous Murtherers, shallevver be accurs'd, their *Principles* and *Practices* abhor'd by all just and pious Men; and they, and all such as countenance or approve their wicked Actions, shall be rewarded according to their Doings, by the great God, King, and Judge of all Flesh.

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\* The Loyalty of the Marquess of *Ormond*.

† The Murther of King *Charles*.



This pious Monarch was Heir to all his Father's glorious Virtues, as well as to his Crown and Scepter; and in all the various Transactions of his active and unfortunate Reign, whether he was in Prosperity or Adversity, Peace or War, Freedom or Confinement, there appear'd something always *extraordinary* and *divine* in him. His remarkable Temperance and Sobriety, Steadiness and Resolution of Mind, his pure and unaffected Devotion, unparallel'd Patience, and Self-Resignation to Providence; his Constancy and Firmness to the true Interest, Liberties, and Laws of his Subjects; his undaunted, heroick Magnanimity of Mind, under all the barbarous Abuses and Afflictions he suffer'd, and his many other eminently conspicuous Endowments of Mind, made his most bitter Enemies admire his personal Greatness and Goodness, even they that were most eager and furious to destroy him.

Now, behold the base and invidious Reflections of our modern *Dissenters*, the Spawn of *Forty One* Rebels! These vile Wretches, like their Fore-Fathers the *Regicides*, have a natural Antipathy to *Monarchy*, and cannot entertain a good Thought of any who bare Dominion over them. They very well know, that they cannot vindicate the Proceedings against the *Royal Martyr*; and they are sensible, from the inward Testimony of their Conscience, that the *pious King* did not commit any Thing worthy of Death, (allowing him to be in the Capacity of a Subject) either against the Laws of God, or Man. Yet, to manifest that the same *diabolical* Spirit rages within them, which agitated their Ancestors, since they cannot again murder their *Prince*, they are restless in their Endeavours to blacken his Name, and to cast an Odium on his Memory, by asserting that he was a *Papist*. O groundless Calumny! false, unchristian, and uncharitable Censure! Let the Words of *this best of Protestants*, *this true Son of the Church of England*, who seal'd and confirm'd her Faith with his *innocent Blood*, speak for him.

Among other Advices to his Son, Prince *Charles*, in that excellent Treatise and Legacy, call'd, *Eikon Basilike*, he uses these remarkable, and never to be forgotten Expressions. 'But if you never live to see my Face again, and God will  
'have me bury'd in such a barbarous Imprisonment and  
'Obscurity, I require and entreat you, as your Father and  
'King, that you never suffer your Heart to receive the least  
'Check against, or Disaffection from, the true Religion,  
'establish'd



‘ establish’d in the Church of *England*: I tell you I have  
 ‘ try’d it, and after much Search, and many Disputes, have  
 ‘ concluded it to be the *best in the World*, not only in the  
 ‘ Community, as Christian, but also in the special Notion,  
 ‘ as reform’d; keeping the middle Way between the Pomp  
 ‘ of *superstitious Tyranny*, and the Meanness of *fanatick*  
 ‘ *Anarchy*.

The King being murder’d, Monarchy and the House of Lords are declar’d useless, by those who had usurp’d the Power in *England*, the whole Royal Family abjur’d, and a kind of *lawless, popular, and arbitrary Government* erected, which they call’d a *Commonwealth*. \* These were the *pious, reforming Saints*, who *broke God’s Laws, for God’s Cause*; pull’d down Magistrates and Ministers, to *set up Christ*; violated the two great Commandments of the Gospel, upon a Pretence of propagating the whole; conquer’d Kingdoms by *Rebellion* and *Confusion*, to bestow them upon the Prince of Peace; made *such a Reformation* as honour’d God with Blasphemy, and destroy’d Religion for its *Preservation*. The younger Brother *Presbytery*, brought in to exclude the elder *Popery*; *Anarchy* introduc’d to preserve *Monarchy*; and Religion, which ought to be the true Bond of Peace and Obedience, made a Stalking-Horse to Ambition, a Vizard for Treason, and an Incentive to Rebellion. Dissembled Piety, which is a double Iniquity, was painted upon every Brow, cover’d every hellish Design, and Holiness to the Lord written upon the very Bridles of their Horses; Christ’s Embassadors were persecuted for Christ’s Sake; Ministers of the Gospel condemn’d for the Honour of the Gospel; new Errors daily teroach’d for propagating of the Faith; the Church wounded for the Church’s Health; and the People, to dispose them for all this, were ravish’d with glorious Pretences, great Promises, and brave Words, till they found themselves notoriously cheated and cozen’d out of their Religion, Laws, Liberties, and Properties, yea, out of their common Sense and Reason; many never resting till they had run thro’ all the several Degrees of *Fanaticism*; and at last, like a Stone falling down a Precipice, tumbled headlong into *Atheism*.

Good God! can any History, from the Days of *Adam*, down to this Time, produce such parallel Instances of all that is base, disloyal, and irreligious? If *Jesus Christ*, when he

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\* Reformation and Moderation of the Dissenters.



he was upon *Barth*, did pronounce so many *Woes* against the Scribes and Pharisees, what would he have done, had he been among this Generation of *Vipers*!

Before I take a *View* of their *Plots and Practices* in the Reign of King *Charles II.*, I shall beg Leave to mention a notorious and barbarous Piece of Cruelty, perpetrated by that meek and spotless Lamb, *Oliver Cromwell*. When this *Usurper* enter'd the Town of *Wexford*, in *Ireland*, three hundred Women, of the best Rank and Fashion, fled to the *Cross*; *Oliver*, to manifest himself a thorough-pac'd Blood-Hound, encompass'd them with his merciless Dragoons, and having no Regard to their Sex or Innocency, caus'd em all to be butcher'd, not one being suffer'd to escape. This done, the presumptuous Wretch draws up his Regiment, and began to pray and preach, giving Thanks, perhaps, for such a glorious and honourable Victory.

\* King *Charles II.*, having fled beyond Sea, to avoid the Persecution of the *Dissenters*, came over to *Scotland*, at the Invitation of some of the Estates of that Kingdom: a noble Army was rais'd, to defend and support him in the Recovery of his Dominions: But alas, *Fanaticism* had corrupted the Minds of many brave Men, tainted their Loyalty, enervated their Spirits, and made them jealous and distrustful of one another. These rigid Covenanters, the *Fanaticks*, † countenanc'd much by the Earl of *Argyle*, and commanded by their Colonels, *Straughan*, *Ker*, *Waniston*, and *Cheesly*, and altogether influenc'd by their bigotted Preachers, *Rutherford*, *Guthry*, and *Gillespy*, from a kind of saucy Presumptuousness and Presumptions, regarded nothing but their Idol the *Covenant*, refus'd to join with the rest of the Army, whom they term'd *Godless Malignants*, and by their fiery, seditious Behaviour, and *trayterous Sermons*, disturb'd the whole Army. They were the only Instruments of the King's future Misfortunes, and the Slavery of their native Country; it was by their Insigation, that the loyal and valiant *Montross* was apprehended, and most ignominiously put to Death. When the King was crown'd at *Scoon*, 1651, and was graciously pleas'd to pass an Act of Oblivion, the same *fanatick Party* remonstrated against all, and set up a *separate Army* for their *Covenant*, under *Ker* and *Straughan*. King *Charles*, notwithstanding his Army

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\* King *Charles II.* comes to *Scotland*, and raises an Army.

† *Fanaticks*, or rigid Covenanters, ruin all.



was weak, encounters *Cromwell* near *Worcester*, and, after a bloody and obstinate Battel, was oblig'd to fly.

Now we are come to a sad Period: The whole *British* Island submit their Necks to the Yoke and Bondage of a *Grand Usurper* and *Impostor*, and are oblig'd for several Years to groan under the same, and to carry his Burthens.

\* The Religion of these Kingdoms, once so uniform and glorious, was cut into Fancies and Blasphemies; *Episcopacy*, the Hedge and Bound of true Piety, pull'd down; *Presbytery*, *Conventicles*, and *Tub-Preachers*, encourag'd and set up; an independent, extemporary, enthusiastick Kind of Worship, a religious Chaos of all manner of Heresies, Errors, and Opinions, daily spawning from their corrupt Slime and Mud, produc'd new Swarms of distracting Principles. The Churches, where God was wont to be worshipp'd in Order and Purity, made Stables for Horses, Goals, and Victualling-Houses; the Monuments of the Dead defac'd, Sepulchres open'd, the Altars and Benefices taken from the Orthodox Clergy, and Wolves put into the Shepherds Places. The Laws of these Kingdoms, so consonant to the Word of God, and which contain'd in them the Quintessence of the Laws of Nature, Nations, Civil-Laws, and whatsoever the Wisdom and Care of all former Kings and Parliaments, or any neighbouring Nation, could bring to Perfection, were cancell'd, or wrested into a Sense to serve the lawless, unlimited, ignorant Wills of the *Usurper*. In short, the Peoples Lives, Liberties, and Estates, became what the independent, arbitrary Power, had a Mind to make them. All this, and much more, which might be said on this Head, may easily shew us a Difference as big as a Mountain, between the good old Laws enjoy'd under a gracious King, and a Hell upon Earth, the most slavish of all Governments which were ever yet put upon a Nation, by Men of as little Wits and Estates, as they had Honesty; who slew the King, who was their Father, and, like *Nero*, ripp'd up the Belly of the Commonwealth, which was their Mother.

Such was the Condition, such the Government of these Kingdoms, when there was no God in *Israel*! But at last, God, of his infinite Mercy, and in his own good Time, rais'd a † mighty Hero, a Man of ever glorious Memory and Renown, who, by the Direction and Support of the Divine Spirit, effectually accomplish'd the Great Work; and  
having

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\* The miserable State of *England*.

† General *Monk*, Duke of *Albemarle*.



having broken and dispers'd the *fanatick Usurpers*, restor'd the Parliament to its primitive Constitution, and the King to his Throne.

Scarce was this exil'd Monarch restor'd, when the old *Spark of Rebellion* began to blaze into a Flame; a Plot being discover'd in 1660, the very first Summer after his coming to the Crown of his glorious Father; the principal Advisers of which, were, Colonel *Holmes*, (the same that was afterwards hang'd upon *Monmouth's Invasion*) *Endlow*, that Arch-Traytor, *Danvers*, and others (a)

1661. The January following, a Party of *Enthusiast-Dissenters*, under *Venner* the *Wine-Cooper*, declar'd for King *Jesus*, and out of their abundant Loyalty, kill'd innocent Persons for saying they were for God and King *Charles*; and when they were executed for their Treason, they dy'd calling down Vengeance from Heaven upon the King, the Judges, and the City of *London*. After *Venner's Insurrection*, another was detected in *Devonshire*, instigated chiefly by *Millerex* the *Anabaptist*, and *Jelleco* the *Quaker*. They were to rendezvouze at *Chester, Cheshire, Lancashire Darby, Stafford*, and other Counties which were concern'd in it; and *Wales*, always before *Loyal*, was now corrupted, and many *Oliverian Officers* taken there. In this Year was a whole Cabal of old Rebels seiz'd in *Westminster*, who had been Officers in *Oliver's Army*, as *Packer, Read, Kenrick, &c.*

1662. Notwithstanding this Disappointment, they resolutely plot on, never considering by what Means their wicked Designs were discover'd; God was not at all in their Thoughts. They attempt it again the Year following, are miraculously detected, even upon the very Juncture of executing it. Many of them fly, some are taken, and brought to Justice, at their Deaths owning their Crimes, and suffer condign Punishment.

1663. Yet these providential Discoveries, and just Execution of their Rebel-Brethren, deter them not, for in 1663 they are at their old Trade again. Their Pretences were to have been, The opposing of Excise, Subsidies, &c. to re-establish a Gospel-Magistracy and Ministry; to restore a long Parliament, and that, lastly, to curb the Gentry, Clergy, and Lawyers. For this, of seventeen which were arraign'd at *York*, (chiefly upon the Evidence of *Joshua* and *Timothy Crowder*, and young *Oates*) fifteen were found guilty, the principal Traytor being one *Captain Oates*, who commanded at the *Insurrection*; the

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(a) See the Taste of the Saints Submission, Loyalty, and Moderation, &c.



rest were generally either *Preachers of Sects*, or *old Parliament Soldiers*. Against the *Day of Rising*, they had prepar'd a *Whig Treatise*; wherein, after the *Author* had clamour'd bitterly and maliciously at the *King, Royal Family, and Government*, he invites to a *Rebellion* in these Words; *If there be any Town, City, or Country, in the three Kingdoms, that will begin this righteous and glorious Work, they may be assur'd, &c.*

Among others this Year, *Warren and Jephson*, both *Colonels and Parliament Men*, were apprehended, try'd, and executed, for conspiring the Subversion of the *Government in Ireland*, upon the Information of one *Alden*, a *Ring-leader* in this *Insurrection*; and some Time after, *Thompson*, and *Lackey* a *Presbyterian Preacher*, were hang'd there for the same *Conspiracy*. *Colonel Walcott* likewise was engag'd in the same, who afterwards flighting the Warnings which *Providence* had so often given him, and resolving to persist in his *Rebellions*, in 1683, receiv'd his due Reward by the *Hang-man's Hands*, for being concern'd in the *Rye-House Conspiracy*.

This Year in *Scotland* another *Insurrection* was quell'd by the *Duke Hamilton, Crookshank and Mack-Cormack*, two fighting, preaching *Colonels*, being their *Leaders*.

1666. Tho' they were hitherto disappointed, they will not forebear, but still plot on, and after three Years impatient waiting and preparing, they resolv'd to make amends for all former Failings of this Nature; and summoning all their *diabolical Cunning and Strength* together, by the Advice of their *fugitive Friends*, and the Assistance of our kind Neighbours the *Dutch*, they intended such a Sacrifice of Fire and Blood at one Time, as never had been heard of before. The Kingdom was arm'd against one, tho' not against the other. The *King's Death*, and the *Effusion* of much Blood, was prevented, but not the *burning* of the *City*, which the *Traitors* most triumphantly and impudently prognosticated, tho' they were hang'd five Months before. See the *Gazette, April 26, 1666. See Obs. No. 14.*

I could instance in many more, as that of *Rothwell-Bridge* in *Scotland*, the *true Protestant Association* in *London*, and many more, which continually crawl'd from the brooding *Sectaries*, till the Year 1683, when the *Rye-House Conspiracy* was happily detected, in which *King Charles II* seem'd to have effectually subdu'd the *Faction*; and it had prov'd so, if *Toleration* had not let loose *Moderation* again, which has too plainly reviv'd the old *Faction*. These latter Attempts of the *Faction* against the *Crown and Government*, being fresh

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in the Memory of most Men, I shall spare my self and them the Trouble of repeating them. The fore-mention'd Instances are a sufficient Taster of their *Submission* and *Loyalty*, of which I could give many more; but these may serve, for I fear *Faction* is so harden'd, that an honest Man can only deplore, not correct their Obstinacy. *A Melancholy Reflection!*

It is very sad, but very true, that the Defections of Men from their Principles of *Loyalty*, cannot be obviated by the most improv'd Reasonings. Prejudice stops up all the Avenues of such a Man's Soul, preventing *Truth* from enlightning his *Understanding*; his eager *Zeal* will not suffer him to be convinc'd; and his *invincible Ignorance* will baffle all the Attempts of *Reason*. As he affects no Opinion for its Relation to *Truth*, so he relinquishes it not for its Opposition to it; and if *Interest* invites him, he easily agrees with any Thing, and his *Reason* is not very scrupulous in entertaining a profitable *Error*. This is the Contagion that hath always debauch'd *Reason*, and by which *Understanding* has too often submitted to worldly Advantage. But alas! the Case is now sadly improv'd, and to the Amazement of the World, many of the brave Asserters of *Loyalty* have disown'd it, and under the Mark of *Moderation*, are unravelling all they have done and said before. Their former *Honesty* was an Oversight, which they heartily recant; that honest *Zeal*, which secur'd the *Crown* and *Mitre*, was *Rashness* and *Folly*; and to repair the hasty *Error*, they are for levelling both with the People, with whom they shall not long enjoy an *Equality*, but *Scepter* and *Crozier* shall know their Driver. That *passive Valour*, which was always the *characteristical Distinction* of the *primitive Church*, is rail'd against as an unreasonable *Obstinacy* in the Professors of it; and that it serves only to ruin our *Fortunes*, and straighten our *Consciences*. The asserting of *Right to the Crown*, and maintaining the *Rites of the Church*, is a *Stiffness* and *Affectation* in Opinion, for which the sullen Asserters ought to be laugh'd at. Their own *Consciences*, they tell you, are tender, and ought not to be strain'd, lest they crack; but in a moderate Way those tender *Slips* will out-measure *Dido's Thong* upon Occasion.

Never was any poor Word so unmercifully tortur'd, as this Word *Moderation*; it is become the most pliable, convertible Term imaginable; it serves all Ends, and reconciles the most opposite Contradictions; it covers all Faults, and answers all Objections; but when they yoke *Conscience* with *Moderation*, how furiously do they drive them together? Ask what



what made them rebel against, and murder their lawful Prince? Why, *Conscience*. What made them subvert the Government, and plunder the Church of its Revenues? *Conscience*. What made them (to countenance their Villainy) lay claim to God's Promises, and break their own Oaths? *Conscience* still. What made them sequester, plunder, and persecute their Brethren? Why, to shew their *Moderation*. Thus, according to their Model of Religion, nothing was Godliness, but Gain, and nothing impure, but *Honesty*. But after all the Instances of *Conscience* and *Moderation* in these Saints, which are too well known among us, I desire the *Vindicator* of the Dissenters Loyalty, &c. in all Times, to consider one Paragraph in the Life of the Reverend and Learned Dr. Peter Heylin, written by Mr. George Vernon, 1682, which gives a favourable Taste of the *Moderation* and *Conscience* of that Saint of Saints, Mr. Richard Baxter. (a)

— ‘ Mr. Baxter may be pleas'd to call to mind what  
 ‘ was done to one Major Jennings, in the last War, in the  
 ‘ Fight that was between *Lyensell* and *Longford*, in the County  
 ‘ of *Salop*, where the King's Party having unfortunately the  
 ‘ worst of the Day, the poor Major was stript almost naked,  
 ‘ and left for dead in the Field. But Mr. Baxter, and one  
 ‘ Lieutenant *Hurdman*, taking their Walk among the wound-  
 ‘ ed and dead Bodies, perceiv'd some Life in the Major,  
 ‘ *Hurdman* run him through the Body in cold Blood;  
 ‘ Mr. Baxter all the while looking on, and taking off,  
 ‘ with his own Hand, the King's Picture from about his Neck;  
 ‘ telling him, as he was swimming in his Gore, that he was  
 ‘ a *Popish Rogue*, and that was his *Crucifix*. Which Picture  
 ‘ was kept by Mr. Baxter for many Years, 'till it was got  
 ‘ from him (but not without much Difficulty) by one Mr.  
 ‘ *Summerfield*, who then liv'd with Sir *Thomas Rouse*, and ge-  
 ‘ nerously restor'd it to the poor Man, now alive at *Weik* near  
 ‘ *Pasbore* in *Worcestershire*, altho' at the Fight suppos'd to be  
 ‘ dead; being, after the Wounds given him, dragg'd up and  
 ‘ down the Field by the merciless Soldiers, Mr. Baxter appro-  
 ‘ ving of the *Inhumanity*, by feeding his Eyes with so bloody  
 ‘ and barbarous a Spectacle.

I Thomas Jennings subscribe to the Truth of this Narrative a-  
 above-mention'd, and have herunto put my Hand and Seal, this  
 second of March, 1682.

Sign'd and Seal'd March 2, 1682,  
 in the Presence of John Clark,  
 Minister of Weik.

Tho. Jennings,  
 Tho. Dark.

(a) See the Mark of Moderation taken of the foul Face of Occa-  
 sional Conformity.



I will not pretend to enhance the Horror of this Fact; Humanity detests such unnatural *Butchery*, and none but Wretches divested of Pity, could be guilty of such Cruelty. Thus do they boast of their *Innocency*, who never had any, but what an *unmerciful Act of Oblivion* gave them : Of their *Gratitude*, who, in Return for Pardon, always flew in the Face of their *Prince* ; of *Loyalty*, who never express'd any, but in *faithless Addresses*. These are they, that are so deeply read in *mystical Interpretations*, that they would make the World believe the *Bible* was calculated only to confirm their *Knaveish Transactions* ; and that they can prove and justify their *Murder and Treason* out of *Scripture*, and plead *providential Dispensations* for all their unwarrantable Actions.

When Men have gone such *Lengths* as these, we cannot suppose they will stop at any Thing ; and yet, what can we suppose worse than has been done by them? They have murder'd the *Lord's Anointed* ; they have rifled his *Sanctuary*, and made his *House of Prayer*, not only a *Nest of Thieves*, but a *Stable for Horses* ; they have overflow'd the Land with Blood, and nothing but Horror and Confusion spread thro' the whole *Island* ; and the *Cail* to all this, was the Cause of God. 'Twas his *Spirit*, they'll tell you, that was the sole Director and Guide, that pointed out this Scene of Horror and Devastation, which they were to act.

It is not easy to imagine any Crimes of a *blackier Aspect* than these, to be perpetrated by Men or Devils ; and yet they have out-done all this, nay, they have exceeded the very *Jews Crucifixion* of our *Saviour*, in *crucifying the Revelation* of his *holy Will* in *Scripture*, to serve their abominable Purposes. There are many Instances of this in the *Bible* ; but for a Taste (and I think a substantial one too) take this of *Acts 6. 3.* The Text truly render'd, runs thus, ———Wherefore, Brethren, look ye out from among you seven Men of honest Report, full of the Holy Ghost and Wisdom, whom we may appoint over this Business. The erroneous Construction which has been made of this Text, may very easily be overseen by an incurious Reader ; and without comparing it with the Original, is not apt to discover it self. We may appoint, is the true Construction of the Word *καταστήσομεν*, which they have basely inverted, by rendering it in the second Person plural, ye may appoint, giving thereby the Power of Ordination into the Hands of the Laity. This has been often urg'd by the Enemies of the Church, in Defence of their Lay-Ordination, and those that understood not the Original,



Original, have been forc'd to submit to the Argument; for what Answer can any Man give against a Text of Scripture? This unnatural Interpretation has deluded Men of Education; who, not caring to give themselves the Trouble to recur to the Original, have, without Scruple, swallow'd the Mistake, and us'd it as an undeniable Argument, to convince others. How readily then may we suppose People of meaner Capacity entertain such a pernicious and false Doctrine? This Corruption took Place, as near as I can find, at or about the Year 1640, and, 'till the Year 1660, few or no Editions of the *Bible* were printed otherwise than, *ye may appoint*. And since that Time, many Editions printed at *London*, *Edinburgh*, and *Amsterdam*, have come out with the same *Misinterpretation*. I will not trouble the Reader with many of them, let him take these few of latter Date, for a *Specimen* of the *Saints Integrity*, by which he may guess at the rest of their *honest Pretensions*.

In 8vo, printed by *John Field*, 1660. — *Whom ye may appoint, &c.* — In 240, by the *Assigns* of *John Bill* and *Christopher Barker*, 1674. — *Whom ye, &c.* — In 8vo, by *John Bill* and *Christopher Barker*, 1674. — *Whom ye, &c.* In 8vo, printed at *Edinburgh*, by *Andrew Anderson* and *Partners*, 1673, 1675. — *Whom ye, &c.* — In 8vo, by *John Bill*, *Tho. Newcomb*, and *Henry Hills*, 1679. — *Whom ye, &c.* In 8vo. by *John Bill*, *Tho. Newcomb*, and *Henry Hills*, 1680, *Whom ye, &c.* — In 8vo, by the *Assigns* of *John Bill*, deceased, and *Tho. Newcomb*, 1685. — *Whom ye, &c.* — In Fol. at *Amsterdam*, — *Whom ye, &c.* — At *Amsterdam*, 1679, — *Whom ye, &c.* *Baxter's Paraphrase*, 1685, — *Whom ye, &c.*

From hence we may conclude, what mischievous Use such Insincerity will make of the *Traditions* of Men, when it will not stop at giving God the Lie, and making his reveal'd Word to pass upon the World for an *authentick Justification* of their abominable and lewd Practices. This prostituting of *Texts of Holy Scripture*, by their design'd *Misconstruction*, not only tends to the debauching the Sons, but plainly shews, that they would incestuously defile even their Mother the Church, if her Honour were not guarded by the Providence of the almighty Power that first instituted her.

Thus we see how evil Habits improve, and that by Degrees in Villainy, Men turn Devils. For they who will dare to rend the Purple of Kings, will not at all scruple to rend the Veil of the Temple. And all this is owing to a

Want



want of *Respect* to God in the *Person* of his *Vice-gerent*: For who can be said to be Loyal to God, who owns and pays no *Allegiance* to his Prince? Certainly, if Men would consider seriously, they cannot but own *Loyalty* to be the best of *Principles*, and most secure for the Benefit of human Society; for he that fears God and the King, will love the *Brotherhood*; whereas, on the contrary, he that will slight his God, and will irreligiously break through the *Ties of solemn Faith* with his Prince, cannot be expected to live honestly with his *Neighbour*, nor his *Neighbour* safely with him. If he is quiet, 'tis because he dare not be otherwise; if he acts justly, it is for his own Sake, or because the *Laws* compel him. Will not he act insincerely with me, who will *prevaricate* with God? Will he refuse to smite me, who will chop off his King's Head? O happy *England*, where the *Doctrine* of *Loyalty* has been so well taught! and O unhappy *Country*, where it has been so ill practis'd! Reflect, and thou wilt find thy *Halcyon Days* were those of *Loyalty*. *Loyalty* was thy *Palladium*, which once remov'd, what was thy *London*, but a *burning Troy*? What was thy whole Land, but a *Chaos*, when an *Oglia* of *Government* tyranniz'd over thee? When *Sceptre* and *Crosier* were profan'd by the rude *Touches* of the *fancy Rabble*; and it was reckon'd the highest *Act* of *Courage*, to *brave* God, and *insult* his *Vice-gerent*! Consider how often *Providence* has interpos'd and suspended utter *Ruin*; and if thou wilt still supinely sleep under imminent *Danger*, expect that Heaven will withdraw its *Protection*; for as misimprov'd *Providence* is a *Slight* of its *Protection*, so thou wilt find it the greatest *Provocation* for God to forsake thee.

Thus far is taken from that small, tho' well penn'd Book call'd, *A Treatise of the Saints Submission, Loyalty, and Moderation, &c.*

Great and unspeakable were the Mercies and Goodness of this King, to his rebellious Subjects, chusing rather to banish and confine them, than to punish their Demerits with Death; which he never did, but when their repeated Crimes call'd down such a Judgment upon their Heads. Tho' the King indulg'd and conniv'd at any of them, yet the Infection of *Fanaticism* and *democratical Principles*, which turn Religion into Rebellion, and Faith into Faction, had so far blinded and bewitch'd the Minds of many in *Scotland*, and was so deeply rivetted in their perverted Judgments, that they refus'd to obey his Majesty's Commands, in returning to the Obedience of their lawful Magistrates and Bishops, and run a *Conventicling* to unconsecrated and unlawful Places.



So obstinate and rampant were they, that they broke out often into open Rebellion, and by their seditious covenanting Preachers, rais'd the People to defend a broken Covenant, \* [this was the Word of Battle] and so far infatuated them, as to make them believe, that God would miraculously assist them, as he did *Moses, Joshua*, and the rest of the *Judges* and *Kings* of *Israel*, against the *Canaanites*; that he would make the Sun to stand still, 'till they were aveng'd of their Enemies, and send down Showers of *Hail-stones, Fire, and Thunder*, to destroy their *Foes*. With such-like Perversion of sacred History, the silly Mob were so ravish'd out of all Reason, Religion, and common Sense, that they flock'd after those rebellious Impostors; but upon the first Appearances of the King's Forces, they prov'd so faint-hearted and cowardly, that they took to their Heels. Nay, the frantick Madness of some of these *religious Furioso's* proceeded to such an incredible Height of Villainy, as to *excommunicate* and *formally deliver* up to the Devil, the King, Queen, and the whole Royal Family, the Bishops and Magistrates of the Land, as Breakers of the Covenant, and Traytors to God and Man; declaring to the People, that it was meritorious to kill them, or any who executed their Commands. And to shew that they were in earnest, some of those *bigotted Desperado's* shot at and wounded some of the Bishops and Councillors, in their Coaches, and most barbarously assassinated the pious, learned, and loyal Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, † *Dr. Sharp*; and, like true Fanatics as they were, endeavour'd to murder any who wore the King's Livery. When several of them were apprehended, and convicted of those dreadful Barbarities, they were so stupify'd and infatuated, as to own and glory in them, accounting themselves Confessors and Martyrs for God's Cause, and would not pray God to save their lawful Sovereign, tho' they might thereby save their own Lives.

How astonishing is this to any sober, judicious Christian! that the noble Reason, and Judgment, which is given to every Man, which in its self starts and shrinks at the very Thoughts of Murder and Rebellion, should be so influenc'd and byass'd from its original Tendency, by false imbib'd Notions of Religion, and implicit Obedience to *deluding Deceivers*,

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\* The desperate Fury and Obstinacy of the Covenanters in Scotland.

† *Dr. Sharp, A. B. of St. Andrews, murder'd.*



*Deceivers*, as to renounce all Humanity, and to degenerate into bloody Rebels and Canibals of their own Kind.

Tell me, ye *Fanaticks* of these Times, lay your Hands upon your Hearts, and (if possible) speak without dissembling or equivocating with your *Conscience*; say, is not such a Religion from the Devil, the grand Enemy of Mankind, and of *all good Order*? For from God comes only one true Religion; but from the Father of Lies, the old Serpent, proceed innumerable Multitude of false Religions, which, tho' differing in some Things, yet all agree in making their Votaries swift to shed innocent Blood, and to raise Rebellions.

Hear this, ye *Dissenters*, see the Source from whence your boasted Inspirations and Revelations do spring! The Charge indeed is heavy, but yet it is just, and laid fairly at your Doors.

Thus the poor deluded People, like your selves, follow'd their own fantastical Dreams; \* were pleas'd with their *Egyptian Slavery*; hugg'd the Chains which ty'd them to the Ground so long; refus'd to unfetter themselves, or return to their Allegiance; disturb'd the Peace of three Nations; vex'd the Soul of their most gracious Sovereign, and endanger'd, by their Treachery, his most precious Life; † but Providence still protected him from all Insurrections, Plots, and Conspiracies of the *Fanaticks*. The Church flourish'd in his Days, Peace and Plenty abounded, and the Rebellious met with condign Punishment.

King *James II*, upon his Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, and universal Indulgence, set the Doors wide open for the *Locusts*. Multitudes of *Fanaticks*, *Dissenters*, of all Sorts, inveterate Enemies of Monarchy and the Hierarchy of the Church, who, in the former Reign, by the Execution of the Laws, were justly silenc'd, banish'd, or fled to the *English Plantations*, and other foreign Countries, took the Advantage of this *Declaration*, and swarm'd home from all Parts. By their usual Pretences to strict Piety, they reviv'd the conceited Opinions of the late *fanatick* Times, decry'd the Worship and Ceremonies of the establish'd Church, and using all their Cant and Craft to undermine and pull down the same, did very much disturb both Church and State. King *James* was at first admir'd in their Dialect, as another

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\* Dr. Sprat's History of the Presbyterian Plot.

† Sir Roger L'Estrange's Holy Cheat.



*Cyrus*, a Restorer of the People of the Lord, a Re-builder of Sion's Walls, and Promoter of the true Faith; and none more zealous to promote his Interest, than they.

All the Ministers of the Presbyterian Perswasion in Scotland, did subscribe a most extolling Address to the King from Edinburgh, July 21, 1687. ' Vowing and promising still ' to preserve an entire Loyalty to him and his Successors, both ' in their Doctrine and Practice, beseeching his Majesty, that ' those who promoted any disloyal Principles, which they ' disown, might be look'd upon as none of theirs, whatso- ' ever Name they assume to themselves; and that they e- ' steem'd his Majesty's most gracious and surprising Favour ' to them, in putting a Stop to their Sufferings for Non-Con- ' formity, and granting the Liberty of the publick and pea- ' ceable Exercise of their Ministerial Function, without any ' Hazards, valuable above all other earthly Comforts.

And indeed, they had Reason to compliment this King so highly; for in all human Probability, if he had not granted that fatal Toleration, he might have sat upon the Throne of his Ancestors, to the Day of his Death, and his Bones have been bury'd in their Royal Sepulchres; neither had they ever prevail'd so much in the British Dominions.

Soon after the above-mention'd Address to King James, their Tune chang'd, and all of a sudden this their great Redeemer, becomes persecuting Pharoah, blasphemous Senecherib, idolatrous Manasses, cruel Ahab, the high Whore of Babylon; and in the very Juncture of the Abdication, before the Sense of the Nation was known, or King William entron'd, or proclaim'd by either Kingdoms, these Fanatics, after their old accusom'd Manner, begin to affront and depose the Nobility, Bishops, Clergy, and Gentry in Scotland; rifle their Houses, burn their Libraries, and by all manner of Indignities, forc'd many to stand upon their Self-Defence, and making the best of that Opportunity, did at last oblige King William to abolish Episcopacy, and re-establish Presbytery in Scotland.

Soon after her late Majesty's Accession to the Throne, a Body of Fanatics, consisting of near one Thousand Men, (a) instigated and perswaded by one Hephurn, a Presbyterian Preacher,

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(a) See a Book call'd, *The new Association of the modern Whigs and Fanatics, to undermine and blow up the present Church and Government.*



Preacher, and some other Ring-leaders, in a most rebellious Manner, appear'd in Arms at the Town of *Sanguair* in Scotland, and there publicly, at Mid-day, read a Declaration, wherein they, in the Name of all God's covenanted People of Scotland, protest against the Succession of *Anne*, Princess of *Denmark*, to the Crown, because she had not declar'd her Resolution to renew the *Covenant*, and abolish Episcopacy in all the three Kingdoms; and therefore they renounce all Allegiance, Obedience, and Subjection to her, or any commission'd by her. And this Declaration they affix'd to the Market Cross.

This same *Hepburn*, a notorious Enemy to the Hierarchy, and all good Government, in the height of *Fanatick Zeal*, with his arm'd Enthusiastick Rabble, plunder'd the House of the Episcopalian Nobility and Gentry in that Country, carry'd off their Books, Pictures, and Records, and burn'd them openly in *Dunfreis*, as Idols of the Land, and Relicks of Popery; and all this in direct Opposition to the Government, 1704. The same riotous Rabble defac'd the Monuments of the ancient Nobility, open'd the Graves of those who had been lately dead, and threw their dead Bodies into the open Fields, to be devour'd by wild Beasts, and Birds of Prey; and all this Zeal they pretend to have proceeded from their Aversion to Prelacy, and a just Retaliation of those of that Communion. This same *Hepburn*, and two or three more dissenting Preachers, refusing to conform to the Ecclesiastical Establishment in Scotland, and to take the Oaths appointed, retir'd soon after the Union, to the Hills and Mountains, there holding forth their *Covenant-Doctrine* and Principles, and bewitching the poor, silly, credulous Mob.

Thus I hope I have effectually made out what I propos'd in the Title Page of this Book; which I must confess has prov'd an ungrateful and unpleasant Subject. I heartily wish, that there may never be Occasion for continuing such an History; but as the Proceedings of the Fanatics, from their first creeping into the World, has given us too great Grounds to believe that Rebellion, and an Aversion to Monarchy, and Church-Government by Bishops, is innate, and so deeply cemented in their Blood, that it is a moral Impossibility to reclaim them; who can blame the Wisdom of the Nation, for erecting a Barrier against such avow'd and implacable Enemies, by passing the *Schism-Bill*? When they had the Upper-hand, they murder'd their Prince, and wash'd their Hands



Hands in innocent and royal Blood ; what they would now do, had they a Power suitable to their Inclination, God only knows ; this I will say, there is Reason to believe, that the *Spirit* is willing, but Thanks to Heaven, the *Flesh* is weak.

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Bishop *HALL's*

# Hard Measure.



NOTHING could be more Plain, than that upon the Call of this Parliament, and before, there was a general Plot and Resolution of the Faction to alter the Government of the Church especially, the height and insolency of some Church-governors, as was conceived, and the ungrounded imposition of some Innovations upon the Churches, both of *Scotland* and *England*, gave a fit Hint to the Project: In the vacancy therefore before the Summons, and immediately after it, there was great working secretly for the Designation and Election as of Knights and Burgesses, so especially (beyond all former Use) of the Clerks of Convocation; when now the Clergy were stirred up to contest with, and oppose their Diocefans, for the Choice of such Men as were most inclined to the favour of an Alteration. The Parliament was no sooner sate, than many vehement Speeches were made against established Church-government, and enforcement of Extirpation both Root and Branch. And because it was not fit to set upon all at once, the resolution was to begin with those Bishops which had subscribed to the Canons then lately published, upon the shutting up of the former Parliament, whom they would first have had accused of Treason; but



but that not appearing feasible, they thought best to Indite them of very High Crimes and Offences against the King, the Parliament, and Kingdom, which was prosecuted with great earnestness by some prime Lawyers in the House of Commons, and entertained with like fervency by some zealous Lords in the House of Peers; every of those particular Canons being pressed to the most envious and dangerous height that was possible. The Arch-bishop of *York* (was designed for the Report) aggravating Mr. *Maynard's* Criminations to the utmost, not without some Interspersions of his own. The Counsel of the acculed Bishops, gave in such a demurring Answer, as stopt the Mouth of that heinous Indictment: When this prevailed not, it was contrived to draw Petitions accusatory from many parts of the Kingdom against Episcopal Government, and the Promoters of the Petitions were entertained with great Respects; whereas the many Petitioners of the opposite Part, tho subscribed with many thousand Hands, were slighted and disregarded. Withal, the Rabble of *London*, after their Petitions, cunningly and upon other Pretences procured, were stirred up to come to the Houses personally to crave Justice, both against the Earl of *Strafford* first, and then against the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, and lastly against the whole Order of Bishops; which coming at first unarm'd, were checked by some Well-willers, and easily perswaded to gird on their rusty Swords, and so Accoutred came by Thousands to the Houses, filling all the outer Rooms, offering foul Abuses to the Bishops as they passed, crying out, *No Bishops, No Bishops*; and at last, after divers Days assembling, grown to that height of Fury, that many of them, whereof Sir *Richard Wiseman* professed (tho to his Cost) to be Captain, came with Resolution of some violent Courses, in so much, that many Swords were drawn hereupon at *Westminster*, and the Rout did not stick openly to Profess, that they would pull the Bishops in pieces. Messages were sent down to them from the Lords, they still held firm both



both to the place and their bloody Resolutions. It now grew to be Torch-light, one of the Lords, the Marquess of *Hartford*, came up to the Bishops Form, told us that we were in great Danger, advised us to take some course for our own Safety, and being desir'd to tell us what he thought was the best way, counselled us to continue in the Parliament House all that Night; for (saith he) these People Vow they will watch you at your going out, and will search every Coach for you with Torches, so as you cannot escape. Hereupon the House of Lords was moved for some Order for the preventing their mutinous and riotous Meetings; Messages were sent down to the House of Commons to this purpose more than once, nothing was effected; but for the present (for so much as all the Danger was at the rising of the House) it was earnestly desired of the Lords, that some Care might be taken of our Safety: The Motion was received by some Lords with a Smile, some other Lords, as the Earl of *Manchester*, undertook the Protection of the Archbishop of *York* and his Company (whose Shelter I went under) to their Lodgings; the rest, some of them by their long stay, others by secret and far-fetch'd Passages escaped Home. It was not for us to venture any more to the House without some better Assurance; upon our resolved forbearance therefore, the Arch-bishop of *York* sent for us to his Lodgings at *Westminster*, laies before us the perillous Condition we were in, Advises for Remedy (except we meant utterly to abandon our Right, and to desert our Station in Parliament) to Petition both his Majesty and the Parliament, that since we were legally call'd by his Majesty's Writ, to give our Attendance in Parliament, we might be secured in the performance of our Duty and Service against those Dangers that threatned us; and withal, to protest against any such Acts as should be made during the time of our forced Absence, for which he assured us, there were many Presidents in former Parliaments, and which if we did not, we should betray the Trust committed to



to us by his Majesty, and shamefully betray and abdicate the due Right, both of our Selves and Successors. To this Purpose, in our Presence, he drew up the said Petition and Protestation, avowing it to be Legal, Just and Agreeable to all former Proceedings, and being fairly written, sent it to our several Lodgings for our Hands, which we accordingly Subscribed, intending yet to have had some further Consultation concerning the Delivering and whole Carriage of it. But 'ere we could suppose it to be in any Hand but his own, the first News we heard, was, that there were Messengers addressed to fetch us in to the Parliament, upon an Accusation of High Treason. For, whereas this Paper was to have been delivered, first to his Majesty's Secretary; and after perusal by him, to his Majesty, and after, from his Majesty, to the Parliament, and for that Purpose, to the Lord Keeper, the Lord *Littleton*, who was the Speaker of the House of Peers; all these Professed not to have perused it at all, but the said Lord Keeper, willing enough to take this Advantage of ingratiating himself with the House of Commons and the Faction, to which he knew himself sufficiently Obnoxious, finding what Use might be made of it by prejudice Minds, reads the same openly in the House of Lords; and when he found some of the Faction Apprehensive enough of Misconstruction, Aggravates the Matter as highly Offensive, and of dangerous Consequence; and thereupon, not without much Heat and Vehemence, and with an ill Preface, it is sent down to the House of Commons; where it was entertained hainously, *Glynne*, with a full Mouth, crying it up for no less than High Treason; and some comparing, yea, preferring it to the Powder-plot. We, poor Souls, (who little thought that we had done any thing that might deserve a chiding) are now called to our Knees at the Bar, and charged severally with High Treason, being not a little Astonished at the suddainness of this Crimination, compared with the perfect Innocence of our own Intentions, which

were



were only to bring us to our due Places in Parliament with safety and speed, without the least purpose of any Mans Offence: But now Traytors we are in all haste, and must be dealt with accordingly; For on January the 30th, in all the extremity of Frost, at Eight a Clock in the dark Evening, are we voted to the Tower; Only two of our Number had the favour of the Black Rod, by reason of their Age, which, tho desired by a Noble Lord, on my behalf, would not be yielded, wherein I acknowledge, and bless the Gracious Providence of my God, for had I been gratified, I had been undone both in Body and Purse; the Rooms being strait, and the Expence beyond the reach of my Estate; The News of this our Crime and Imprisonment, soon flew over the City, and was entertained by our Well-willers, with ringing of Bells and Bonfires; who now gave us up (not without great Triumph) for lost Men, railing on our Perfidiousness, and judging us to what foul Deaths they pleased; and what scurrile and malicious Pamphlets were scattered Abroad throughout the Kingdom, and in Foreign Parts, blazoning our Infamy, and exaggerating our Treasonable Practices? What Insultations of our Adversaries was here? Being Caged sure enough in the Tower, the Faction had now fair Opportunities to work their own Designs, they therefore taking the Advantage of our Restraint, renew that Bill of theirs, (which had been twice before rejected since the beginning of this Session) for taking away the Votes of Bishops in Parliament, and in a very thin House, easily passed it: Which once condescended unto, I know not by what strong Importunity, His Majesty's Assent was drawn from him thereunto; we now, instead of looking after our wonted Honour, must bend our Thoughts upon the guarding of our Lives, which were with no small eagerness pursued, by the violent Agents of the Faction. Their sharpest Wits, and greatest Lawyers, were employed to advance our Impeachment to the height; but the more they look'd into the Business, the less Crime could



could they find to fasten upon: In so much, as one of their Oracle, being demanded his Judgment concerning the Fast, professed to them, they might with as good Reason accuse us of Adultery: Yet still there are we fast; only upon Petition to the Lords, obtaining this Favour, that we might have Counsel Assigned us; which, after much Reluctation, and many Menaces from the Commons against any Man of all the Commoners of *England*, that should dare to be seen to Plead in this Case, against the representative Body of the Commons, was granted us; the Lords Assigned us five very worthy Lawyers, which were nominated to them by us; what Trouble and Charge it was to procure those eminent and much employed Counsellors to come to the Tower to us, and to observe the strict Laws of the Place, for the time of their Ingress, Regress and Stay, it is not hard to Judge. After we had lain some Weeks there, however the House of Commons, upon the first tender of our Impeachment, had desired we might be brought to a speedy Trial, yet, now, finding belike how little ground they had for so high an Accusation, they began to slack their Pace, and suffered us, rather to languish under the fear of so dreadful Arraignment. In so much as now we are fain to Petition the Lords, that we might be brought to our Trial: The Day was set, several Summons were sent unto us; the Lieutenant had his Warrant to bring us to the Bar; Our Impeachment was severally Read; we pleaded not Guilty *Modo & Forma*, and desired speedy Proceedings, which were accordingly promised, but not too hastily performed. After long Expectation, another Day was appointed for the Prosecution of this high Charge. The Lieutenant brought us again to the Bar; but with what Shoutings, and Exclamations, and furious Expressions of the enraged Multitudes, it is not easie to Apprehend; being thither brought, and severally charged upon our Knees, and having given our Negative Answers to every Particular, Two Bishops, *London* and *Winchester*, were call'd



in as Witnesses against us, as in that Point, whether they apprehended any such Cause of Fears in the Tumults Assembled, as that we were in any danger of our Lives in coming to the Parliament; who seemed to incline to a favourable Report of the Perils threatened, tho one of them was convinced, out of his own Mouth, from the Relations himself had made at the Arch-bishop of York's Lodging. After this, *Wild* and *Glyn* made fearful Declamations at the Bar against us, aggravating all the Circumstances of our pretended Treason to the highest Pitch. Our Counsel were all ready at the Bar, to plead for us, in Answer of their clamorous and envious Suggestions; But it was Answered, that it was now too late, we should have another Day, which Day, to this Day, never came; the Circumstances of that Day's hearing, were more Grievous to us than the Substance; for we were all throng'd so miserably in that strait Room before the Bar, by Reason, that the whole House of Commons would be there to see the Prizes of their Champions plaid; that we stood the whole Afternoon in no small Torture, sweating and struggling with a Merciless Multitude, till being dismissed, we were exposed to a new and greater Danger. For now, in the Dark, we must to the Tower, by Barge, as we came, and must shoot the Bridge with no small Perill. That God, under whose Merciful Protection we are, returned us to our safe Custody: There now we lay some Weeks longer, expecting the Summons for our Counsels Answer; but instead thereof, our Merciful Adversaries, well finding how sure they would be Foyl'd in that unjust Charge of Treason, now under Pretences of remitting the height of Rigour, wave their former Impeachment of Treason against us, and fall upon an Accusation of High Misdemeanors in that our Protestation, and will have us prosecuted as Guilty of a *Premunire*: altho, as we conceive, the Law hath ever been in the Parliamentary Proceedings, that if a Man were Impeached, as of Treason, being the highest Crime, the Accusant

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must



must hold him to the Proof of the Charge, and may not fall to any meaner Impeachment upon failing of higher. But in this Case of ours, it fell out otherwise, for although the Lords had openly promised us, that nothing should be done against us, till we and our Council were heard in our defence, yet the next News we heard was, the House of Commons had drawn up a Bill against us, wherein they declared us to be Delinquents of a very high Nature, and had thereupon desired to have it enacted that all our spiritual Means should be taken away: Only there should be Yearly allowance to every Bishop for his Maintenance according to a proportion by them set down; wherein they were pleased that my share should come to 400*l. per Annum.* This Bill was sent up to the Lords and by them also passed, and there hath ever since lain; this being done, after some weeks more, finding the Tower, besides the Restraint, chargeable; we petitioned the Lords, that we might be admitted to Bail, and have liberty to return to our Homes, the Earl of *Essex* moved, the Lords Assented, took our Bail, sent to the Lieutenant of the Tower for our discharge: How glad were we to flee out of our Cage? No sooner was I got to my Lodging, than I thought to take a little fresh Air, in *St. James's* Park; and in my return to my Lodging in Deans yard passing through *Westminster* Hall, was saluted by divers of my Parliament acquaintance, and welcomed to my Liberty, whereupon some that look't upon me with an evil Eye run into the House, and complained that the Bishops were let Loose, which it seems was not well taken by the House of Commons, who presently sent a kind of an expostulation to the Lords, that they had dismissed so hainous Offenders without their knowledge and consent; Scarce had I rested in my Lodging, when there comes a Messenger to me with the sad news of sending me and therest of my Brethren the Bishops back to the Tower again; from whence we came, thither we must go, and thither I went, with an heavy (but I thank God not impatient) Heart. After we had con-  
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tinued there some six weeks longer, and earnestly Petitioned to return to our several Charges we were upon 5000 *l.* Bond dismissed, with a clause of Revocation at a short warning, if occasion should be required. Thus having spent the Time betwixt Newyears Even and Whitsuntide in those safe Walls, where we by turnes preached every Lords Day to a large Auditory of Citizens, we disposed of our selves to the places of our several abode.

For my self, addressing my self to *Normich*, whether it was his Majesties Pleasure to remove me, I was at the first received with more respect, than in such times I could have expected; there I preach'd the day after my Arrival to a numerous and attentive People: neither was sparing of my pains in this kind ever since, till the Times growing every day more impatient of a Bishop, threatned my silencing. There though with some secret Murmurs of disaffected Persons, I enjoyed peace till the Ordinance of Sequestration came forth, which was in the latter end of *March* following, then when I was in hopes of receiving the profits of the foregoing half Year, for the Maintainance of my Family, were all my Rents stopped and diverted, and in *April* following came the Sequestrators, viz. *Mr. Sotherton*, *Mr. Tooly*, *Mr. Rowly*, *Mr. Greenwood*, &c. to the Palace, and told me that by Vertue of an Ordinance of Parliament they must seize upon the Palace, and all the Estate I had, both Real and Personal, and accordingly sent certain Men appointed by them (whereof one had been burnt of the Hand for the Mark of his Truth,) to appraise all the Goods that were in the House, which they accordingly executed with all diligent severity, not leaving so much as a dozen of Trenchers, or my Childrens Pictures out of their curious Inventory. Yea, they would have appraised our very wearing Cloaths, had not Alderman *Tooly*, and Sheriff *Rawley* (to whom I sent to require their Judgment concerning the Ordinance in this point) declared their opinion to the contrary. These Goods, both Library and Houshold Stuff of



all kinds, were appointed to be exposed to publick Sale. Much inquiry there was when the Goods should be brought to the Market; but in the meantime Mrs. *Goodwin*, a Religious good Gentlewoman, whom yet we had never known or seen, being moved with compassion, very kindly offered to lay down to the Sequestrators that whole Sum which the Goods were valued at; And was pleased to leave them in our own Hands for our use, Till we might be able to repurchase them, which she did accordingly, and had the goods formally delivered to her by Mr. *Smith*, and Mr. *Greenwood*, two Sequestrators. As for the Books, several Stationers lookt on them, but were not forward to buy them; at last Mr. *Cook*, a worthy Divine of this Diocess, gave Bond to the Sequestrators, to pay to them the whole Sum whereat they were set, which was afterwards satisfied out of that poor Pittance, that was allowed me for my Maintenance; as for my Evidences they required them from me, I denied them, as not holding my self bound to deliver them: They Nail'd, and Seal'd up the Door, and took such as they found with me.

But before this, the first noise that I heard of my Trouble was, that one Morning, before my servants were up, there came to my Gates one *Wright*, a *London* Trooper, attended with others, requiring entrance, threatening, if they were not admitted, to break open the Gates; whom I found at my first sight struggling with one of my Servants for a Pistol, which he had in his Hand; I demanded his Business at that unseasonable Time; he told me, he came to search for Arms and Ammunition, of which I must be disarm'd; I told him I had only two Muskets in the House, and no other Military Provision; he not resting upon my word search'd round about the House, look'd into the Chests, and Trunks, examined the Vessels in the Cellar, finding no other Warlike Furniture, he askt me what Horses I had, for his Commission was to take them also; I told him how poorly I was Stored, and that my Age would not allow me to travel on Foot; in conclusion he



he took one Horse for the present, and such account of another, that he did highly expostulate with me afterwards, that I had otherwise disposed of him.

Now, not only my Rents present, but the Arrerages of the former Years, which I had in Favour forborn to some Tenants, being treacherously confessed to the Sequestrators, were by them called for, and taken from me; neither was there any Course at all taken for my Maintenance; I therefore Addressed myself to the Committee sitting here at *Normich*, and desired them to give Order for some Means, out of that large Patrimony of the Church, to be allowed me. They all thought it very just, and there being present Sir *Tho. Woodhouse*, and Sir *John Potts*, Parliament men; it was moved, and held fit by them and the rest, that the Proportion which the Votes of the Parliament had pitch'd upon, *Viz. 400 l. per Annum*; should be allowed to me. My Lord of *Manchester*, who was then conceived to have great Power in matter of these Sequestrations, was moved herewith; He apprehended it very Just and Reasonable, and wrote to the Committee here to set out so many of the Mannors belonging to this Bishoprick as should amount to the said Sum of 400 *l. Annually*, which was answerably done under the Hands of the whole Table. And now I well hoped, I should yet have a good Competency of Maintenance out of that plentiful Estate which I might have had: But those Hopes were no sooner conceived then dash'd; for before I could gather up one Quarters Rent, there comes down an Order from the Committee for Sequestrations above, under the hand of Serjeant *Wild* the Chair-man, procured by Mr. *Miles Corbet*, to inhibit any such Allowance; and telling our Committee here, that neither They, nor any other had Power to allow me any thing at all: But if my Wife found her self to need a Maintenance, upon her Suit to the Committee of Lords and Commons, it might be granted, that She might have a fifth Part, according to the Ordinance, allowed for the Sustentation of her Self, and her



her Family. Hereupon she sends a Petition to that Committee, which, after a long Delay, was admitted to be read, and an Order granted for the fifth Part: But still the Rents and Revenues, both of my Spiritual and Temporal Lands were taken up by the Sequestrators, both in *Norfolk*, and *Suffolk*, and *Essex*, and we kept off from either Allowance or Accompt. At last, upon much pressing, *Beadle* the Solicitor, and *Rust* the Collector, brought in an Account to the Committee, such as it was; but so Confused and Perplexed, and so utterly imperfect, that we could never come to know what a fifth Part meant: But they were content, that I should eat my Books, by setting off the Sum engaged for them out of the fifth Part. Mean time, the Synodals, both in *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, and all the Spiritual Profits of the Diocess, were also kept back, only Ordinations and Institutions continued a while. But after the Covenant was appointed to be taken, and was generally swallowed of both Clergy and Laity, my Power of Ordination was with some strange Violence restrained; For when I was going on in my wonted Course (which no Law or Ordinance had inhibited) certain forward Voluntiers in the City, banding together, stir up the Mayor, and Aldermen, and Sheriffs, to call me to an Account for an open Violation of their Covenant. To this purpose divers of them came to my Gates at a very unseasonable time, and knocking very vehemently, required to speak with the Bishop; Messages were sent to them, to know their Business, nothing would satisfie them but the Bishop's Presence, at last I came down to them, and demanded what the Matter was; they would have the Gate opened, and then they would tell me; I answered, that I would know them better first: If they had any thing to say to me, I was ready to hear them; they told me they had a writing to me from Mr. *Mayor*, and some other of their Magistrates; the Paper contained both a challenge of me for breaking the Covenant, in Ordaining Ministers; and withal required me to give in the  
Names



Names of those which were Ordained by me, both then and formerly since the Covenant: My Answer was, that Mr. *Mayor* was much abused by those who misinform'd him, and drawn that Paper from him; that I would the next Day give a full Answer to the writing, they moved that my Answer might be by my Personal Appearance at the *Guild-hall*; I ask'd them when they ever heard of a Bishop of *Normich* appearing before a Mayor, I knew mine own Place, and I would take that way of answer which I thought fit, and so dismissed them, who had given out that Day, that had they known before of mine ordaining, they would have pull'd me and those whom I ordained out of the Chappel by the Ears. Whilst I received nothing, yet something was required of me; they were not ashamed after they had taken away, and sold all my Goods and personal *Estate*, to come to me for assessments, and monthly *Payments* for that Estate which they had taken, and took Distresses from me upon my most just Denial, and vehemently required me to find the wonted Arms of my Predecessors, when they had left me nothing: Many insolencies and affronts were in all this time put upon us. One while a whole Rabble of Voluntiers came to my Gates late, when they were locked up, and call'd for the Porter to give them Entrance, which being not yielded, they threatned to make Way by Force, and had not the said Gates been very Strong they had done it: Others of them clambred over the Walls, and would come into mine House, their Errand (they said) was to search for Delinquents, what they would have done I know not, Had not we by a secret way sent to raise the Officers for our Rescue: Another while the Sheriff *Tostes*, and Alderman *Linsley*, attended with many Zealous followers, came into my Chappel to look for Superstitious Pictures, and Reliques of Idolatry, and sent for me, to let me know they found those Windows full of Images, which were very offensive, and must be Demolished: I told them they were the Pictures of some ancient and worthy Bishops, as St. *Ambrose*, *Austin*, &c.

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It was answered me, that they were so many Popes, and one younger Man amongst the rest (*Townsend* as I perceived afterwards) would take upon him to defend that every Diocesan Bishop was Pope, I answered him with some scorn, and obtained leave, that I might with the least loss, and defacing of the Windows give order for taking off that Offence, which I did, by causing the Heads of those Pictures to be taken off, since I knew the Bodies could not offend. There was not that Care and Moderation used in reforming the Cathedral Church bordering upon my Palace. It is no other than Tragical to relate the Carriage of that furious Sacrilege, whereof our Eyes and Ears were the sad Witnesses, under the Authority and Presence of *Linsey, Tofts*, the Sheriff, and *Greenwood*; Lord, what work was here, what clattering of Glasses, what beating down of Walls, what tearing up of Monuments, what pulling down of Seats, what wresting out of Irons and Brasses from the Windows and Graves! what defacing of Arms, what demolishing of curious Stone-work, that had not any representation in the World, but only the cost of the Founder, and Skill of the Mason, what tooting and piping upon the destroyed Organ Pipes, and what a hideous triumph on the Market-Day before all the Country, when in a kind of Sacrilegious and profane Procession, all the Organ Pipes, Vestments, both Copes and Surplices, together with the Leaden-Cross, which had been newly sawn down from over the Green-Yard Pulpit, and the Service Books, and Singing Books that could be had, were carried to the Fire in the publick Market-place; A leud Wretch walking before the Train, in his Cope trailing in the Dirt, with a Service Book in his Hand, imitating in an impious Scorn the Tune, and usurping the words of the Litany used formerly in the Church: Near the publick Cross, all these Monuments of Idolatry must be Sacrificed to the Fire, not without much Ostentation of a zealous Joy, in discharging Ordnance to the cost of some who professed how much they had long'd to



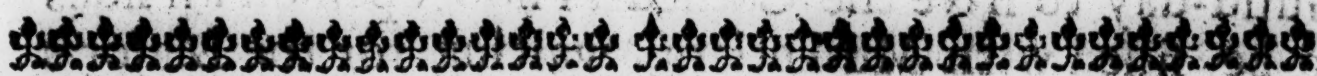
to see that Day. Neither was it any News upon this Guild-day to have the Cathedral now open on all sides to be filled with Musketers, waiting for the Major's return, drinking and tobaccouring, as freely as if it had turn'd Alehouse. Still yet I remained in my Palace, tho with but a poor Retinue and Means; but the House was held too good for Me: Many Messages were sent by Mr. Corbet to remove me thence; The first Pretence was, that the Committee, who now was at charge for an House to sit in, might make their daily Session there, being a place both more publick, roomy and chargeless. The Committee, after many Consultations, resolved it convenient to remove thither, tho many Overtures and Offers were made to the contrary. Mr. Corbet was impatient of my stay there, and procures and sends peremptory Messages for my present dislodging; we desired to have some time allowed for providing some other Mansion, if we must needs be cast out of this, which my Wife was so willing to hold, (if the charge of the present Committee-house were the Things stood upon) she would be content to defray the Sum of the Rent of that House out of her fifth part; but that might not be yielded; Out we must, and that in three Weeks warning by Midsummer-day then approaching, so as we might have lain in the Street for ought I know, had not the Providence of God so ordered it, that a Neighbour in the Close, one Mr. Goslin, a Widower, was content to void his House for us.

*This hath been my Measure, wherefore I know not, Lord, thou knowest, who only canst remedy, and end, and forgive or avenge this horrible Oppression.*

Scripti May 29: 1647.

Jos. NORVIC.





## A Taste of the rude Behaviour of the **Sectaries**, towards some of the E- piscopal Clergy.

**G**riffith Williams, Bishop of *Offery* in *Ireland*, was Barbarously us'd in the Time of the Rebellion, being fetch'd away from his House at *Apethorpe* in *Northampton-shire* by a Troop of Soldiers (for writing his *Vindicia Regum*) and carried Prisoner to *Northampton*; where the Committee, before which he was Summon'd, had the said Book in their Hands. After this he retir'd to *Oxford*, when the Soldiers from *Northampton* went and plunder'd his House, and all his Household-Stuff at *Apethorpe*, where his Wife and Children then resided, and Sequestred his Lands for the Use of the Parliament. Upon the declining of the King's Cause, he was brought very low; and tho he had Offers made him of very considerable Preferment, if he would but have submitted to the Parliament, yet he utterly refus'd them. Soon after he retir'd into *Wales*, where, for twelve Years together he had not 20 l. per Annum in all the World, to maintain himself and his Servants, and was forc'd to live on a little Tenement of 2 l. 10 s. a Year, and 4 l. Land of his own; so that he liv'd worse than a poor Curate, with Oaten-Bread, Barley-Bread, Butter-Milk, and sometimes Water; being not able to keep one drop of Ale or Beer during Ten Years together. He went also Attir'd in very mean Cloaths, and was forc'd to do many servile Works himself, about his House, Garden, and Cattle.

He surviv'd all his Troubles, and was restor'd to all his Preferments at his Restoration.

*Thomas Howel*, Bishop of *Bristol*, met with barbarous Usage from the Hands of the Rebels; His Palace, which



which was then cover'd with Lead, they uncas'd, and fold the Lead; so that he was expos'd to the Weather Day and Night. His Lady they knew to be then in Childbed, in which Condition it rain'd freely upon her. After many other Indignities, they pull'd and hawl'd him violently out of the Palace, of which they made a Malt-House, and a Mill; for there they Ground as well as made great quanties of Malt many Years, as many yet living in *Bristol* well remember. In a Word, their Usage towards him was such, that he did not long survive their Cruelty; but died soon after, being a Person of a mild and tender Disposition.

*William Laud*, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, The blessed Martyr, He was revil'd, calumniated, imprison'd in the Tower four Years, put under Sequestration, both for his Temporals and Spirituals, most unjustly accus'd, and contrary to all Law, at last sentenc'd even to the Halter: But on his repeat'd Petitions (at first rejected) he had the Favour of the Ax granted him by his Bloody Murderers. He witness'd with his Blood to the Truth of the Church's and His Majesty's Cause, on *Tower-Hill*, Jan 10th 1644-5.

*Thomas Morton*, Bishop of *Durham*, when the Rebellion broke out, was an early Sufferer under it; and in the Year 1640, there was an Order of Parliament for seizing his Rents. Being one of the Protesting Bishops, he was committed to the Black-Rod, where he continued four Months, and was taken into Custody for Baptizing a Child of the Earl of *Rutland's*, according to the Order of the *Church of England*, &c. He was turn'd out of *Durham-House* by the Soldiers, when they came to make a Garrison of it; and in one of the Tumults in *London*, was in danger of his Life from the Rabble; who cried out, *Pull him out of the Coach*; and whilst others cried, *No, he is a good Man*; they answered, *'Tis no matter for that, he is a Bishop*. And himself afterwards said, he verily believ'd he should not have escap'd alive, had not a leading Man among them, cried out, *Let him go and hang himself*.



*Matthew Wren*, Bishop of *Ely*, was one of the most early Sufferers of all the Clergy, and the very first Bishop that was depriv'd by the Rebel Parliament. Upon a Petition of the Inhabitants of *Ipswich*, a Committee of Parliament was order'd to draw up a Charge against him; and *July 5th 1641*, He was *Voted unworthy to hold any Spiritual Promotion*; Being one of the *Protesting Bishops*, he was Imprison'd with the rest, till *May 5th*, they were all releas'd on Bail, by the House of Lords, afterwards retiring to his House at *Downham*, he was soon Apprehended by a Party of Soldiers, and brought back again to the *Tower*, where he continued to the end of the Year, 1659, without any Charge or Accusation form'd against him. His Plate was seiz'd by the House of Commons, and order'd to be melted down for the Use of the Common-wealth. His Goods were Plunder'd, his Estate seiz'd, and he was so miserably persecuted and oppres'd, that in the Year 1660, when his Son *Thomas* was created M. D. at *Oxford*, the Chancellor's Letter for that Purpose, acquaints the Convocation, That *the Pressures under which his Father lay for Seventeen Years together, were such, that he could not (his Estate being taken away) allow his Children Bread, &c* He surviv'd all his Troubles, and was restor'd (with His Majesty) to his Bishoprick.

*George Coke*, Bishop of *Hereford*, during the Rebellion, Suffer'd in common with the rest; was one of the *Protesting Bishops*, and accordingly Imprison'd on that Account: When Colonel *Birch* took the City of *Hereford* in 1645, he rifled the good Bishop's Palace, and afterwards took up his Habitation there till the Restoration. The Bishop had likewise a Temporal Estate in the Parish of *Eardsley*, call'd *Quistmore*; which the Committee of *Herreford* laid their Paws upon. By this, and such other Methods, he was reduc'd so low, that tho he was otherwise a very thrifty Man; yet he had wanted, had not his Relations supported him. This hard Usage hastned his Death, in 1646, He bore

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his Sufferings with admirable Calmness and Serenity ; and had the Character of a Pious and Learned Man.

*Morgan Owen*, Bishop of *Landaffe*, was likewise one of the Protesting Bishops, and was accordingly imprison'd in the *Tower*, and Impeach'd of High Treason. He continued there about four Months, and afterwards retir'd into his own Country, where his Palace at *Mathern* near *Chepstow* was seiz'd by one *Green* of *Cardiffe*, together with all his Revenues. One *Reese*, *John David*, the Agent and Sequestrator, (who liv'd in the Parsonage House, managed the Glebe, and receiv'd the Tythe) remov'd a very fine Font of Stone out of the Church of *Bedwas* ; and when himself and his Man could not break it to pieces, he caus'd it to be brought under the *Yew-Tree*, where it was us'd as a Trough to water his Horses and Cattle in.

*Robert Wright*, Bishop of *Lichfield*, was one of the Twelve Protesting Bishops, and spoke a very handsome Speech on that Occasion, at the Bar of the House of Commons ; but all in Vain. For he was, notwithstanding, sent to the *Tower*, where he continued 18 Weeks a Prisoner at his great Charge. He is said to have devoted half his Estate to his Majesty's Service ; and that he was one of the strictest Bishops that ever sat in the See ; that he was a Man of Painfulness, Integrity and Moderation ; that likewise his Vertues were such, that the Vices only, and not the Men of the Times were his Enemies.

*Robert Skinner*, Bishop of *Oxford*, was one of the Twelve Bishops that made the Protestation, for which he was imprison'd in the *Tower* eighteen Weeks, to his great Charge. His other Sufferings from the Faction, we have no Particulars of.

*John Towers*, Bishop of *Peterborough*, was likewise one of the Protesting Bishops, for which he underwent the same Usage with the former ; but after some time, obtaining his Liberty, he betook himself to His Majesty at *Oxford*, where he continued till the Surrender of that Place, and then returned again to *Peterborough*, but



but found his Revenues all seiz'd upon: Nor was that thought enough, for he was more-over continually Alarm'd with Threatnings and Molestations, to the time of his Death. *January, 10th, 1648.*

*John Warner*, Bishop of *Rochester*, When the Seeds of Rebellion and Anarchy began to Reign, in 1641, He shew'd himself a most Zealous Asserter of Episcopacy in the House of Lords, speaking for the Function as long as he had any Voice left, and very pertinently and valiantly defended the Antiquity and Justice of Bishops Votes in the House of Parliament. Afterwards, he did not only Suffer with his Brethren, by having the Lands of his See taken away; but by compounding for his Temporal Estate, which was considerable. However, by thus parting with some of his Estate to save the rest, he was enabled to assist his suffering Brethren; and was accordingly a great Support to the sequestred Clergy, and their Families, as well as to other indigent Persons, often using this homely Expression, *That he did eat the Cragg End of the Neck of Mutton himself, that he might leave the Poor the Shoulders.* He out-liv'd his, as well as the Kingdoms Troubles; and died in the 86th Year of his Age.

*William Piers*, Bishop of *Welles*, was one of the Protesting Bishops; as likewise of the Number of those who were singled out from among the rest of the Clergy for the utmost Persecution; in order to increase the Clamour of the People, by rendring them Monstrous and Odious, as well as to wreak their Malice and Sleep upon them. And accordingly this Reverend Prelate felt the Effects of it as early, and to as great a Degree as any of them; being continually for some time harass'd and perplex'd by the House; was one of those who were Imprison'd for that most just and necessary Remonstrance: And the High Crimes which he was accus'd of, were no other than, *Suppressing Faction Lecturers, ordering the Communion Tables in the Churches, of his own Diocese, to be railed in; and things of this Nature.*



*John Prideaux*, Bishop of *Worcester*, was promoted to this See in 1641, but the Troubles were at that time so far advanc'd, that he receiv'd little or no Profit from it, to his great Impoverishment: For adhering stedfastly to His Majesty's Cause, and pronouncing all those of his Diocess, who took up Arms against him, Excommunicate; it is no Wonder that he not only Suffer'd in common with the rest, but even beyond most of his Order; Being Plunder'd, and reduc'd to such great Streights, that he was forc'd to sell his Excellent Library to subsist himself and his Family: Of which there goes this memorable Story. ' That towards the latter end of his Life, a Friend coming to see him, and saluting him in the common form of, ' *How does your Lordship do?* Never better in my Life, ' said he, only I have too great a Stomach; for I have ' eaten that little Plate which the Sequestrators left ' me, I have eaten a great Library of Excellent Books, ' I have eaten a great deal of Linnen, much of my ' Brass, some of my Pewter, and now I am come to ' eat Iron; and what will come next I know not. He died in 1650, leaving his Children no Legacy, but Pious Poverty, God's Blessing, and a Father's Prayers, as it appears by his last Will and Testament.

*Roger Mannering*, Bishop of *St. Davids*, was first call'd in Question by the Parliament for two Sermons Preach'd before King *Charles I.* (which he afterwards Publish'd under the Title of Religion and Loyalty) being Charg'd with endeavouring to destroy the King and Kingdom by his Divinity, and censur'd to be Imprison'd; was Fin'd 1000 *l.* and Order'd to make his Submission, and was disabled to have or enjoy any Preferment or Office. Notwithstanding which, the King soon after Pardon'd and Advanc'd him; But the Party were not forgetful of him; and in 1640, his Troubles were reviv'd in Parliament; and the old Grudge still lay at the bottom of the Persecution, yet the New Crimes of Popish Invasions, Conversing with *Papists*, and being Sociable and Jovial, were Trump't up against him.



him. Upon which he was Apprehended suddenly, Confin'd severely, Fin'd heavily, Plunder'd violently, and persecuted from Place to Place continually; inso-much, that for the two last Years of his Life, not a Week pass'd over his Head, without a Message or an Injury; which he desir'd God not to remember against his Adversaries, and adjur'd all his Friends to forget. Under these his Troubles, he had nothing but a small Temporal Estate left to Support him, and died at *Caermarthen*, after he had endur'd many Miseries, July 16, 1653.

*Thomas Westfeild*, Bishop of *Bristol*, accepted of this Bishoprick in the worst of Times, as hoping to do some Service to the Church, tho he had refus'd the Offer of it, which was made him Twenty Years before. In the beginning of the Rebellion, he was abused in the Streets, Sequestred from *St. Bartholomews*, and forced to fly. He was a Sufferer for his own and His Majesty's Cause, the Profits of his Bishoprick being unjustly detain'd from him, tho afterwards by a Committee of the Rebel Parliament, order'd to be restor'd; and when he came to make his Will, it ran thus: *As for my worldly Goods, (which as the Times now are) I know well not where they be; I give and bequeath, &c.*

*James Usher*, The Celebrated Archbishop of *Armagh*, upon the breaking out of the *Irish* Rebellion, fled into *England*, where, in Consideration of his great Losses in *Ireland*, he had the Bishoprick of *Carlisle* conferr'd upon him, making a shift to subsist upon that little he could get, until the Rebellion grew prevalent; at which time the Houses of Parliament having seiz'd upon the Bishops Lands, their Agent (or those who took upon them to be so) collected all the Arrears and growing Rents of the Bishoprick for their own use. The Chief of those who were employed, was one *Barker*; who destroy'd the Woods, pillag'd the Castle of *Rose* (the Bishop's Residence) and carried off many of the Stones to build his own House and Barns. And as he suffer'd in his Revenues, so he did in Person likewise; for



for being sought after in *London*, he was forc'd to fly from Place to Place; and whilst in *Wales*, he was plunder'd of his chiefeft Books and Manuscripts. He was deliver'd out of these and all his other Troubles at *Rygate* in *Surrey*, and was buried at *Westminster*, as 'tis generally thought, at the Charges of the Protector; who did, indeed, Order 200*l* out of the Deodands for that purpose; but it was never paid.

*George Coke*, first promoted to the Bishoprick of *Bristol*; and then of *Hereford*. During the Rebellion, he suffer'd in common with the rest of his Order; and was one of the Proteffing Bishops, and accordingly Imprison'd on that Account. When Colonel *Birch* took the City of *Hereford*, in 1645, he rifled this good Bishop's Palace, and afterwards took up his Habitation there till the Restoration; and what is more, had great part of the Revenues of the Bishoprick to his own Use; and to this Day the Mannour of *Whitbourn*, by the sorry Compliance of some who might have prevented it, continues in his Family. By this and such other Methods, he was reduc'd so low, that tho he was otherwise a very thrifty Man; yet he had wanted, had not his Relations supported him. This hard usage hasten'd his Death, 1646, tho he bore his Sufferings with admirable Calmness and Serenity; leaving the Character behind him of a Pious and Learned Man.

*Accepted Frewen*, First advanc'd to the Bishoprick of *Lichfield*, by K. Ch. 1st. and afterwards to the Archbishoprick of *York*, at the Restoration. He was a great *Loyalist*, being concern'd in sending the Plate from *Oxford* to his Majesty, whilst he was President of *Magdalen College*; and was forc'd afterwards to Fly for it, to avoid being taken into Custody. His Temporal also, as well as his Bishoprick, was put under Sequestration.

*Walter Curle*, Bishop of *Winchester*; when the Rebellion prevail'd, he became a great Sufferer for *Monarchy* and *Episcopacy*; was in the City of *Winchester*, when it was besieg'd by the Parliament Forces; and upon the



the Surrender of that Place, retir'd to *Subberton* in *Hampshire*, where he Died in 1647. He had a Temporal Estate which was also put under Sequestration; nor was he allow'd to compound for it, because he would not take the Covenant. He was a Man of very great Charity to the Poor, and expended large Sums in the Repairs of Churches.

*John Williams*, Arch-Bishop of *York*; was promoted to this See, in 1641. From that of *Lincoln*; and was at the Head of the Protestant Bishops soon after; for which he was Eighteen Weeks imprison'd in the Tower, and afterwards suffer'd much for his Majesty's Cause. He was once Assaulted, and had his Robes torn from his Back, He was also plunder'd, as I find by an Order of the House of *Commons*, dated Feb. 18. 164 $\frac{3}{4}$ , which commanded his Plate to be melted Down, for the Use of the *Commonwealth*.

### A Specimen of the Moderation of the **Sectaries**, towards some worthy Persons, who were advanc'd to the *Episcopal* Dignity, after the RESTORATION.

**R**obert *Sanderfon*, June the 14th. 1648. Was by the Committee for the Reformation of the University of *Oxford*, Voted out of his Canonry of *Christ Church*, and the Professorship, having been Summoned before that Committee the 22d. of Nov. before-going. After that Time one *Cross* was substituted in his Professorship, as *Henry Cornish* was afterwards in his Canonry. After which he retir'd to his Living of *Boostby*, which had been put under Sequestration in 1644. and so continued at that Time; at this Place he met with a great deal of Ill Usage: Among other abuses which were put upon him, The Soldiers often tore his Common Prayer-Book to pieces, &c. and at length seiz'd and carried him Prisoner to *Lincoln*, in order to get the furious and zealous Covenanting Minister of *Allington* exchange'd



exchang'd for him. Notwithstanding which, Dr. *Sanderson* could not live Safe or quietly there: For tho, by that Agreement, he got the Sequestration of his Living taken off, yet he was several times afterwards Plunder'd; and once Wounded in no less than three Places: He had at that time a Wife and Children, was reduc'd to great Poverty; and in 1658, was in a very pitiful Condition: But surviving the Restoration, he was restor'd to his Dignities, and worthily created Bishop of *Lincoln*.

*Peter Gunning*, Promoted to the Bishoprick, first of *Gloucester*, then of *Ely*, by King *Charles II.* Upon the breaking out of the Rebellion, he was Zealous in the Cause of His Majesty and the Church; and always oppos'd the Faction to the very utmost of his Power; for which he became, in a particular manner, the Object of their Fury: And whilst he was with his Mother (lately then become a Widow) in *Kent*, he was hunted about, and forc'd to lye in Woods; and at length was Imprison'd, for having assisted some Forces belonging to the King at *Tunbridge*, with the Charity he had mov'd a Neighbouring Congregation to, by two Sermons. A while after he became Curate of the little Vicarage of *Cassington*, near *Oxford*; at which Place, for about the space of two Years, he endur'd several Affronts and Abuses by the Parliamentarian Soldiers from *Abingdon*, and elsewhere; either by interrupting him with base Language, or by pulling him out of the Church.

*Richard Sterne*, Promoted first to the See of *Carlisle*, and then to the Arch-Bishoprick of *Canterbury*, after the Restoration. Upon the breaking out of the Rebellion, he was very Active in sending the *Cambridge* Plate to His Majesty; for which, he, with two other worthy Loyalists, was by *Cromwell* (who had with some Parties of Soldiers surrounded the several Chapels, whilst the Scholars were at Prayers) seiz'd and carried in Triumph to *London*; and tho there was an express Order from the Lord's House, for their Impri-



sonment in the Tower, which met them at *Tottenham High-Cross* (wherein, notwithstanding there was no Crime exprest) yet they were led Captive thro *Bartholomew Fair*, and so as far as *Temple-Bar*, and back thro' the City to Prison in the Tower, on purpose that they might be hooted at, or Ston'd by the Rabble-Rout. After which, for three Years together, they were hurried up and down from one Prison to another, at excessive and unreasonable Charges; and Fees exacted from them, far beyond their Abilities to defray; having all their Goods Plunder'd, and their Masterhips and Livings taken from them, which should preserve them from Famishing. And tho in all this Time there was never any Accusation brought, much less prov'd against any of them, yet did they Suffer intolerable Imprisonment both by Land and Water; especially that in the Ship; where, for ten Days together (they, with many other Gentlemen of great Rank) were kept under Deck, without Liberty to come to Breathe in the common Air, or to ease Nature, except at the Courtesy of the rude Sailors, which oftentimes was denied them: In which Condition, they were more like Gally Slaves than Freeborn Subjects, and Men of such Quality and Condition; and had been so indeed, might some have had their Wills, who were bargaining with the Merchants to sell them to *Algiers*, or as bad a Place, as has since been notoriously known, upon no false or fraudulent Information. After this, Dr. *Sterne* was remov'd from the Ship, but still kept under Confinement in some other Prison; only had the Favour of attending the Blessed Martyr'd Arch-Bishop on the Scaffold on *Tower Hill*. At length, having lost all he had, and suffer'd to the last Degree for his Loyalty, he was permitted to have his Liberty, and surviv'd his Troubles.

*Guy Carleton*, advanc'd first to the Bishoprick of *Bristol*, 1671, and thence translated to that of *Chichester*, 1678, Upon the breaking out of the Rebellion, he faithfully adher'd to his Majesty's Interest, and was



not a little servileable to him. He was first of all forc'd from his Rich Living in the North, and was afterwards driven from that of *Bucklebury* by the *Triers*. After which, he was likewise seiz'd and imprison'd in *Lambeth House*, where his Wife secretly convey'd a Cord to him, by the help of which he let himself down thro' a Window towards the *Thames*, but being forc'd to drop from it, not being long enough, he dislocated one of his Bones; when a Boat being provided for him, he was soon carried off, and conceal'd during the Cure; which his poor Wife was oblig'd to sell her Bed to pay for. He return'd from beyond the Seas with his Majesty; and was worthily promoted as aforesaid; and died in 1685.

*Anthony Sparrow*, first made Bishop of *Exeter*, and from thence translated to *Norwich*. About the Year 1648, or 1649, he obtained the Living of *Haukeston* in *Suffex*, but the Religious Committee at *Westminster*, suffer'd him not to enjoy it above five Weeks. He was also oblig'd to fly and conceal himself. He had at that Time, or soon after, six Children; but was not able to obtain any Fiths to Support them, from the Intruder. Under these Calamitous Circumstances he continued about Eleven Years, when the Restoration of his Majesty dispell'd the darksome Clouds which had hover'd over him for so long a Time.

*John Cosin*, advanc'd to the Bishoprick of *Durham* by King *Charles II.* was in the Year 1640, prefer'd to the Deanry of that Place, but never was suffer'd to enjoy it; his Troubles taking their Rise with his Advancement: Being soon after the meeting of the Rebel Parliament, Resolv'd unfit to hold any Ecclesiastical Preferment, and one of the Number of those worthy Clergymen whom the Party had singled out for Destruction. He was sent for by the House as a Delinquent, *Novemb. 21, 1644*, and was the first of all the Clergy that we find Sequestred; which was effected by a Vote of the whole House, *Jan. 22, 1640-1*, under which he lay near Twenty Years, and about Seventeen under



under an actual Dispossession of all his Places, and Banishment also; being forc'd so early to fly into *France*, and having been Plunder'd of all that he had, before he went thither; where he continued Steadfast and immoveable in the Profession of the Protestant Persuasion, notwithstanding the vile and wicked Calumnies and Clamors of the Faction against him, his being inhumanely divested of so many very considerable Preferments, Stripped and Plunder'd of all the Moveables he had, and at last driven like a Vagabond into Foreign Parts for being a Papist.

*Brian Duppa*, advanc'd to the Bishopick of *Winchester* at the Restoration. Upon the breaking out of the Rebellion he suffer'd in common with the Rest of his Order; and being Stripped of those large Revenues which he was at that Time possessed of, He retir'd first to the King at *Oxford*, and afterwards continued to attend him in the *Isle of Wight*, &c. until the Time of his most Execrable Murder; after which he retir'd to *Richmond* in *Surrey*, where he spent most of his Time in great Devotion and Solitude until the Year 1660. when he was deservedly Promoted as aforesaid.

*Gilbert Sheldon*, worthily created Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* at the Restoration; during the time of the Rebellion, he adher'd stedfastly to his Majesty's Cause, and when the *Oxford* Visitation came on, strenuously oppos'd it. *March* 27, 1648, He honestly, and boldly told the Visitors, *That he could not, with a safe Conscience, Submit to them*: For which, three Days after, they depriv'd him of his Warden-ship; broke open the Lodging Doors, to make way for the Intruder; and then hurried away the Doctor to Prison, who, as he pass'd the Streets, had a Thousand Prayers and Blessings from the People. In his Confinement, he continued above six Months; and then the reforming Committe set him at Liberty, on Condition that he should immediately depart five Miles from *Oxford*: That he should not go to the King in the *Isle of Wight*; and that he should give Security to Appear before them,



them, at four Days Warning whenever Cited. After which he retir'd, and spent his Time in Offices of Humanity, and follow'd his Studies and Devotion till the Restoration.

*George Morley*, first advanc'd to the Bishoprick of *Worcester*, and thence to *Winchester* at the Restoration. In the beginning of the Wars, he was nominated one of the Assembly of Divines, but never Honour'd 'em with his Presence; and steadfastly adher'd to the Interest of his Sovereign, during the time of the Rebellion. He scorn'd to stay at the University of *Oxford*, tho invited to it by the Reformers; and accordingly, was Voted out of his Canonry of *Christ Church*; and soon after, was, with other Loyal Subjects, actually dispossest by Force and Violence; he was likewise depriv'd of all his other Preferments. *March 17, 1647*, He was threatned to be taken into Custody for not obeying the orders of the Reforming Committee, and for that, or some other Reason, was actually imprison'd. He was after that sent for by his Majesty to assist in the *Isle of Wight* Treaty; and attended the Gallant Lord *Capel*, before his Execution; at length observing matters growing more desperate, he cross'd the Seas, and followed the Fortunes of the young King, and constantly waited on him at the *Hague*, until his Majesty went for *Scotland*. In a word, he pass'd away the Time of his Exile with great Satisfaction, and continually exercising that gloomy Period in Visiting the Sick, burying the Dead, relieving the Distrest Loyalists, and other Offices of Piety and Devotion till the Happy Restoration; when he was worthily promoted as aforesaid.

*John Dolben*, first created Bishop of *Rocheſter*, and then Arch-bishop of *York* at the Restoration. Upon the breaking out of the Rebellion, he took up Arms for his Majesty; was an Ensign at the Siege of *Marston Moor*; was at the Siege of *York*, where he receiv'd a dangerous Wound; and at length became a Major in the Service of his Majesty. After the Surrender at  
*Oxford,*

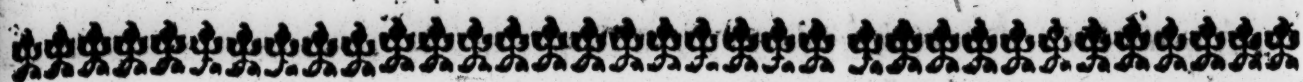


*Oxford*, he resum'd the Gown, became M. A. but was ejected from his Studentship by the Visitors the following Year. After which, he pass'd over the remainder of the Usurpation at a Private House in *Oxon*, and in Conjunction with Mr. *John Fell*, kept up the Orders and Ceremonies of the Church of *England*, till the Restoration, being then deservedly Advanc'd as above.

*John Fell*, Created Bishop of *Oxford* by King *Charles II.* In 1643, he bore Arms in the Garrison of *Oxford*, and was afterwards an Ensign. In 1646, the Visitors dispossest him of his Student's Place; after which he liv'd retiredly in *Oxford*, where, with Mr. *Dolben* (just mention'd) he past the remainder of those Rebelious Times in Exercises of Piety and Devotion, till the Restoration render'd him more Conspicuous, becoming at that Time a Burning and Shining Light to his Generation.







A General  
**Bill of Mortality**  
 OF THE  
 Clergy of *LONDON*,

Who were Defunct by Reason of the Contagious  
 Breath of the *Sectaries* of that City, from the  
 Year 1641, to the Year 1647, with the seve-  
 ral Casualties of the same:

Or, a brief Martyrology and Catalogue of the  
 Learned, Grave, Religious, and Pious Ministers of  
 the City of *London*, who were Imprisoned, Plunder-  
 ed, Barbarously Used, and deprived of all Livel-  
 hood for themselves and their Families in the above-  
 said Years, for their Constancy in the Protestant Re-  
 ligion establish'd in this Kingdom, and their Loyal-  
 ty to their Sovereign.

**T**HE Cathedral Church of Saint *Pauls*, the Dean,  
 Residentiaries, and other Members of that  
 Church, Sequestred, Plundred, and turn'd out.

*Alhallowes Woodstreet*, Dr. *Watts*, Sequestred, Plun-  
 dred, his Wife and Children turn'd out of Doors,  
 himself forc'd to fly.

*Alhallowes Barking*, Dr. *Layfield* Purfivanted, impri-  
 soned in *Ely-house*, and the Ships, Sequestred, Plundred,  
 and afterwards forc'd to fly.

*Alhallowes Breadstreet* —

E

*Alhallowes*



*Alhallowes Great*——

*Alhallowes Honey-lane*——

*Alhallowes Leis*——

*Alhallowes Lombardstreet, Mr. Weston Sequestred.*

*Alhallowes Staining*——

*Alhallowes the Wall*——

*Alphage, Dr. Haley* shamefully abused, his Cap pull'd off to see if he were not a shaven Priest; Voted out, and died with Grief.

*Andrew Hubbard, Dr. Chambers Sequestred.*

*Andrew Undershaft, 1st. Mr. Mason,* thro Vexation forced to resign.

2d, *Mr. Prichard,* after that Sequestred.

*Andrew Wardrobe, Dr. Isaacson Sequestred.*

*Anne Aldersgate, Dr. Clewet Sequestred.*

*Anne Black-friars*——

*Antholins Parish*——

*Austins Parish, Mr. Udall Sequestred,* his Bed-rid Wife turn'd out of Doors, and left in the Streets.

*Bartholomew Exchange, Dr. Grant Sequestred.*

*Bennet Grace-church, Mr. Quelch Sequestred.*

*Bennet Fynck, Mr. Warfield Sequestred.*

*Bennet Sheerhog, Mr. Morgan,* died with Grief.

*Botolph Billingsgate, Mr. King Sequestred* and forc'd to fly.

*Christchurch,* —— turn'd out, and died.

*Christophers, Mr. Hanslowe,* forc'd to resign.

*Clement Eastcheap, Mr. Stone* shamefully abused, Sequestred, sent Prisoner to Plymouth, and Plundred.

*Dyonis Backchurch, Mr. Humes Sequestred and Abused.*

*Dunstons East, Dr. Childerley,* reviled, abused, and died.

*Edmunds Lombardstreet, Mr. Paget* molested, silenced, and Dead.

*Ethelborough, Mr. Clarke Sequestred and Imprisoned.*

*Faiths, Dr. Browne Sequestred and Dead.*

*Fosters, Mr. Batty Sequestred, Plundred,* forced to fly, and Dead.

*Gabriel Fenchurch, Mr. Cooke Sequestred.*



George Botolph-lane — } Dr. Styles, forced to resign.  
Gregories by St. Pauls }

Hellens, Mr. Miller turn'd out. Dead

James Dukes-place, Mr. ——— Sequestred

James Garlick-hythe, 1. Mr. Freeman Plundred and Sequestred.

2. Mr. Anthony, his Curate turn'd out.

John Baptist, Mr. Weemsly Sequestred.

John Evangelist ———

John Zachary, Mr. Edlyn Sequestred, forced to fly, and Plundered.

Katherine Coleman, 1 Dr. Hill forced to resign.

2. Mr. Kibbutts Sequestred.

Katherine Creechurch, Mr. Rush turn'd out

Laurence Feury, Mr. Crane Sequestred.

Laurence Pountney ———

Leonard Eastcheap, Mr. Calfe forced to give up to Mr. Roborough, Scribe to the Assembly.

Leonard Foster-lane, Mr. Ward forc'd to fly, plundred and died for want of Necessaries.

Margaret Lothbury, Mr. Tabor plundered, imprisoned in the Kings-Bench, his Wife and Children turn'd out of Doors at Midnight, and he sequestred.

Margaret Moses ———

Margaret New-Fishstreet, Mr. Pery forc'd to fly, plundered and sequestred.

Margaret Pattons, Mr. Meggs plundered, imprisoned in Ely-house, and sequestred.

Mary Abchurch, Mr. Stone plundered, sent Prisoner by Sea to Plymouth, and Sequestred.

Mary Aldermanbury ———

Mary Aldermay, Mr. Browne forc'd to forsake it.

Mary le Bow, Mr. Leach sequestred, and Dead with Grief.

Mary Bothaw, Mr. Proctour forc'd to fly, and sequestred.

Mary Colechurch ———

Mary Hill, 1. Dr. Baker sequestred, Pursivanted, and imprisoned.



36 *London CLERGY'S Persecution.*

2. Mr. *Woodcock* turn'd out, and forc'd to fly.

*Mary Mounthaw*, Mr. *Thrall* sequestred, and shamefully abused.

*Mary Somerset*, Mr. *Cooke* sequestred.

*Mary Stainings* ———

*Mary Woolchurch*, Mr. *Tireman*, forc'd to forsake it.

*Mary Woolnoth*, Mr. *Shute* molested, and vext to Death, and denyed a Funeral Sermon to be Preach'd by Dr. *Holdsworth*, as he desired.

*Martins Ironmongerlane*, Mr. *Sparke* sequestred and plundred.

*Martins Ludgate*, Dr. *Fermin* sequestred.

*Martins Orgars*, Dr. *Walton* assaulted, sequestred, plundred, and forc'd to fly.

Mr. *Mosse* his Curate turn'd out.

*Martins Outwich*, Dr. *Pierce* sequestred, and Dead.

*Martins Vintry*, Dr. *Rives* sequestred, plundred and forc'd to fly.

*Matthew Fridaystreet*, Mr. *Chestlen* violently assaulted in his House, imprisoned in the Compter, thence sent to Colchester-Goal in Essex, sequestred and plundred.

*Maudlins Milkstreet*, Mr. *Jones* sequestred.

*Maudlins Old-Fishstreet*, Dr. *Griffith* sequestred, plundred, imprisoned in Newgate, when being let out, he was forc'd to fly.

*Michael Bassishaw*, Dr. *Gifford* sequestred.

*Michael Cornhill*, 1. Dr. *Brough* sequestred, plundred, Wife and Children turn'd out of Doors, she died with Grief.

2. Mr. *Weld* his Curate assaulted, beaten in the Church, and turn'd out.

*Michael Crookedlane* ———

*Michael Queenhithe*, Mr. *Hill* sequestred.

*Michael Querne*, Mr. *Launes* sequestred.

*Michael Royal*, Mr. *Proctor* sequestred, and forc'd to fly.

*Michael Woodstreet* ———

*Mildred Breadstreet*, Mr. *Bradshaw* sequestred.

*Mildred Poultry*, Mr. *Maden* sequestred, and gone beyond Sea.

*Nicholas*



*Nicholas Acons, Mr. Bennet* sequestred.

*Nicholas Coleabby, Mr. Chibbald* sequestred.

*Nicholas Olaves, Dr. Cheshire* molested, and forced to resign.

*Olaves Hartstreet, Mr. Haines* sequestred.

*Olaves Jewry, Mr. Tuke* sequestred, plundered, and imprisoned.

*Olaves Silverstreet. Dr. Boosey* abused & died with Grief  
*Pancras Soperlane, Mr. Eccop* sequestred, plundered, forc'd to fly, Wife and Children turned out of Doors.

*Peters Cheap, Mr. Vochier* sequestred, & died with Grief

*Peters Cornhill, Dr. Fairfax* Sequestred, Plundered, imprisoned in *Ely-House*, and the Ships, his Wife and Children turn'd out of Doors.

*Peters Pauls-Wharf, Mr. Marbury* sequestred.

*Peters Poor, Dr. Holdsworth* sequestred, plundered, imprisoned in *Ely-house*, then in the *Tower*.

*Stephens Colemanstreet* —————

*Stephens Walbrooke, Dr. Howell*, thro Vexation, forc'd to forsake it, sequestred of all, and fled.

*Divers since turn'd out.*

*Swithens, Mr. Owen* sequestred.

*Thomas Apostle, Mr. Cooper* sequestred, plundered, sent Prisoner to *Leeds Castle* in *Kent*, Died with Grief.

*Trinity Parish, Mr. Harrison*, Dead.

*In the 97 Parishes within the Walls, besides St. Pauls, outed 85. Dead 16.*

*Andrew Holborn, Dr. Hacket* sequestred.

*Bartholomews Great, Dr. Westfield* abused in the Streets, forc'd to fly, and dead.

*Bartholomews Less* —————

*Brides Parish, Mr. Palmer* sequestred.

*Bridewell Precinct, Mr. Browne* turn'd out.

*Botolph Aldersgate, Mr. Booth* sequestred.

*Botolph Aldgate, Mr. Swadlin* sequestred, plundered, imprisoned at *Gresham College* and *Newgate*, his Wife and Children turn'd out of Doors.

*Botolph Bishopsgate, Mr. Rogers* sequestred.

*Dunstons West, Dr. Marsh* sequestred, and died in remote Parts.

George



*George Southwark*, Mr. ——— sequestred.

*Giles Cripplegate*, 1. Dr. *Fuller* sequestred, plundered, and imprison'd at *Ely-house*. 2. Mr.

2. Mr. *Hutton* his Curate assaulted in the Church, and imprisoned.

*Olaves Southwark*, Dr. *Turner* sequestred, plundered, fetcht up Prisoner by a Troop of Souldiers, and after forc'd to fly.

*Saviours Southwark*, ———

*Sepulchres Parish*, Mr. *Pigott* the Lecturer turn'd out.

*Thomas Southwark*, Mr. *Spencer* sequestred and imprisoned.

*Trinity Minories* ———

In the 16 Parishes without the Walls, outed 14, Dead, 2.

#### In the 10 Out-parishes.

*Clement Danes*, Dr. *Dukeson* sequestred, plundered, forc'd to fly.

*Covent-garden*, Mr. *Hall* sequestred, and forc'd to fly.

*Giles in the Fields*, Dr. *Heimwood* sequestred, imprisoned in the Compter, *Ely-house*, and the Ships, forc'd to fly, his Wife and Children turn'd out of Doors.

*James Clerkenwell* ———

*Katherine Tower*.

*Leonard Shoreditch*, Mr. *Squire* sequestred, imprisoned in *Gresham College*, Newgate, at the King's Bench, his Wife and Children plundered and turn'd out of Doors.

*Martins in the Fields*, Dr. *Bray* sequestred, imprisoned, plundered, forc'd to fly, and died in remote Parts

*Mary Whitechappel*, Dr. *Johnson* sequestred.

*Magdalen Bermondsey*, Dr. *Paske* sequestred.

*Savoy*, 1. Dr. *Balcanquel* sequestred, plundered, forc'd to fly, and died in remote Parts.

2. Mr. *Fuller* forc'd to fly.

In the 10 Out-Parishes, outed 9, dead 2.

#### In the Adjacent Towns.

The



The Dean and all the Prebends of the Abby-Church of *Westminster* (but only Dr. *Lambert Osbaston*) sequestred.

*Margarets Westminster*, Dr. *Wimbart* sequestred.

*Lambeth*, Dr. *Featly* sequestred, plundered, imprisoned, and died in Prison.

*Newington*, Mr. *Heath* sequestred.

*Hackney*, Mr. *Moore*, sequestred.

*Reddriffe* ———

*Islington*, Divers Ministers turned out.

*Stepney*, Dr. *Stampe* sequestred, plundered, and forc'd to fly.

In the adjacent Towns, besides those of the Abby Church, and *Islington*, outed 7.

The Total of the Ministers of *London*, within the Bills of Mortality, (besides *Pauls* and *Westminster*) turn'd out of their Livings by Sequestration and otherwise. } 115

Whereof Doctors in Divinity, above 40

And the most of them Plundered of their Goods, and their Wives and Children turn'd out of Doors.

Imprisoned in *London*, and in the Ships, and in several Goals and Castles in the Country } 20

Fled to prevent Imprisonment 25

Dead in remote Parts, and in Prisons, and with Grief ———— } 22

About 40 Churches now void, having no constant Minister in them.

*Usque quo Domine ? Rev. 6. 10.*

2 Chron. 13. 9.

*Have ye not cast out the priests of the Lord, the sons of Aaron and the Levites, and have made you priests after the manner of the Nations of other lands? so that whosoever cometh to consecrate himself with a young bullock, and seven rams, the same may be a priest of no gods.*

2 Chron.



2 Chron. 36. 16.

*But they mocked the messengers of god, and despised his words, and misused his prophets, until the wrath of the Lord rose against his people, till there was no remedy.*

Luke 6. 22, 23.

*Blessed are you, when men shall hate you, and when they shall separate you from their Company, and shall reproach you, and cast out your name as evil, for the son of mans sake. Rejoyce ye in that day, and leap for joy, for behold your reward is great in heaven, for according to these things did their Fathers to the Prophets.*

Phil. 1. 28, 29.

*In nothing be ye terrified by your adversaries; which to them is an evident token of perdition, but to you of salvation, and that of God. For unto you the grace is given in the behalf of Christ, not only to believe on him, but also to suffer for his sake.*

2 Tim. 4. 3.

*For the time will be, when they will not endure wholesome doctrine; but having itching ears, shall heap to themselves Teachers according to their own private lusts.*

1 Pet. 4. 16, 17, 18.

*If any man suffer as a Christian, let him not be ashamed, but let him glorifie God in this behalf. For the time is come, that judgment must begin at the house of God; and if it first begin at us, what shall the end be of them, that obey not the gospel of God? And if the just man be saved with difficulty, where shall the ungodly and the sinner appear.*

E I N I S.







---

Imprimatur.

*Humf. Hody*, Reverend.  
in Christ. Pat. ac D.D.  
*Johanni* Archiep. Cant.  
à Sacris Dom.

Nov. 7.  
1694.

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AN  
E S S A Y  
OF A  
New Version  
OF THE  
P S A L M S  
OF  
D A V I D:  
CONSISTING  
Of the first Twenty.

---

Fitted to the Tunes used in Churches.

---

Cor. I. XV. *And I will sing with the Understanding also.*

---

L O N D O N:

Printed for the Company of Stationers.  
M D C X C V.







A

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*New Version of the* PSALMS, &c.

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PSALM I.

1. **H**appy the Man whom ill advice  
From Virtue ne're withdrew;  
Who ne're with Sinners stood, nor sat  
Amongst the scoffing Crew :
2. But always makes the Law of God  
His bus'ness and delight;  
Devoutly reads therein by day,  
And meditates by night.
3. He, like a Tree by Rivers fed,  
With timely Fruit shall bend ;  
His Leaf shall flourish, and Success  
All his Designs attend.

A 3

4. Un



4. Ungodly Men, and their attempts,  
No lasting Root shall find ;  
Untimely blasted, and dispers'd  
Like Chaff before the wind.
5. The Wicked therefore shall not stand  
Before their Judges face ;  
Nor Hypocrites, who pass for Saints,  
Amongst the Just have place.
6. God knows the ways of righteous Men,  
To happiness they tend ;  
But Sinners, and their vain designs,  
Shall both in ruin end.

*PSALM*



---

P S A L M II.

1. **W**ith restless and ungovern'd Rage,  
 Why do the Heathen storm?  
 Why in such fond attempts engage,  
 As they can ne're perform?

2. The Great in Council and in Might,  
 Their various Forces bring;  
 Against the Lord they all unite,  
 And his anointed King.

3. Must we submit to their commands?  
 Blinded with pride they say;  
 No, let us break their slavish bands,  
 And cast their chains away.

4. But God, who sits inthron'd on high,  
 Whose Wisdom all things guides,  
 Does their conspiring strength despise,  
 Their empty plots derides.

A 4

5. Thick



5. Thick clouds of wrath Divine shall break  
 On his Rebellious Foes ;  
 And in loud Thunder thus he'll speak  
 To all that dare oppose.

6. " In spight of those who thwart my Will,  
 " The King that I approve,  
 " Whose Throne is fix'd on *Sion's* hill,  
 " Like that, shall never move.

7. " Listen, O Earth, whilst I declare  
 " My firm unchang'd Decree ;  
 " Thou art my Son, this day my Heir  
 " Have I begotten thee.

8. " Ask, and receive ; thy just Commands  
 " The Heathen World shall sway,  
 " The utmost Limits of the Lands  
 " Shall thy dread Will obey.

9. " Thy pow'rful Scepter thou shalt shake,  
 " And crush them ev'ry where ;  
 " As massy bars of Iron break  
 " The Potters brittle ware.

10. Learn



10. Learn then, ye Princes, and give ear  
Ye Judges of the Earth;

11. Worship the Lord with holy Fear,  
Rejoyce with awful mirth.

12. Appease the Son with due respect,  
Your humble homage pay;  
Lest he revenge the cold neglect,  
Incens'd by your delay:

13. If but in part his anger rise,  
Who can endure its flame?  
Then blest'd are they, whose hope relies  
On his most holy Name.

**P S A L M**



---

*P S A L M III.*

1. **L**ord, how of late are multiply'd  
The Troublers of my Peace!  
And as their Factious number grows,  
So does their Rage increase.

2. Insulting they my Soul upbraid,  
And him that I adore;  
The God in whom he trusts, say they,  
Shall rescue him no more.

3. But thou, O Lord, art my Defence;  
On thee my hopes rely;  
Thou art my Glory, and shalt yet  
Lift up my head on high.

4. Since, whensoe're in like distress  
To God I made my pray'r,  
He heard me from his holy Hill,  
Why should I now despair?

5. Guarded



5. Guarded by him, I laid me down  
My sweet repose to take;  
For I through him securely sleep,  
Through him in safety wake.
6. No force, nor fury of my foes,  
My courage shall confound;  
Were they as many Hosts, as Men,  
That have beset me round.
7. Arise, and save me, O my God,  
Who oft hast own'd my Cause,  
And scatter'd oft these foes to me  
And to thy righteous Laws.
8. Salvation to the Lord belongs;  
He only can defend;  
His Blessing he extends to all  
That on his pow'r depend.

*P S A L M*



---

*P S A L M IV.*

1. **O** Lord, that art my righteous Judge,  
To my complaint give ear;  
Thou that still free'st me from distress,  
Have mercy, Lord, and hear.
2. How long will ye, O Sons of Men,  
To blot my fame devise?  
How long your vain designs pursue,  
And spread malicious lies?
3. Consider, that the righteous Man  
Is Gods peculiar choice,  
And when to him I make my pray'r,  
He always hears my voice.
4. Then stand in awe of his commands,  
Flee ev'ry thing that's ill;  
Commune in private with your hearts,  
And bend them to his will.

5. The



5. The place of other Sacrifice  
Let Righteousness supply;  
And let your hope securely fix'd,  
On God alone rely.
  
6. Whilst worldly Minds impatient grow  
More prosp'rous Times to see,  
Still let the glories of thy Face  
Shine brightly, Lord, on me.
  
7. So shall my heart o'erflow with joy  
More lasting and more true,  
Than theirs, who stores of Corn and Wine  
Successively renew.
  
8. Then down in peace I'll lay my head,  
And take my needful rest;  
No other guard, O Lord, I crave,  
Of thy Defence possess.

*PSALM*



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*P S A L M V.*

1. **L**ord, hear the voice of my complaint,  
Accept my secret pray'r ;
2. To thee alone, my King, my God,  
Will I for help repair.
3. Thou in the morn my voice shalt hear ;  
And with the dawning day,  
To thee devoutly I'll look up,  
To thee devoutly pray.
4. For thou the wrongs that I sustain  
Canst never, Lord, approve,  
Who from thy sacred Dwelling-place  
All evil dost remove.
5. Not long shall hardn'd fools remain  
Unpunish'd in thy sight.  
All such as act unrighteous things  
Thy vengeance shall requite.

6. The



6. The fland'ring Tongue, O God of Truth,  
By thee shall be destroy'd,  
Who hat'st alike the man in blood  
And in deceit imploy'd.

7. But when thy boundless Grace shall me  
To thy lov'd Courts restore,  
On thee I'll fix my longing eyes,  
And humbly there adore.

8. Conduct me in thy righteous Paths,  
For watchful is my foe:  
Therefore, O Lord, make plain the way  
Wherein I ought to go.

9. Their mouth vents nothing but deceit,  
Their heart is set on wrong;  
Their throat is a devouring grave,  
They flatter with their tongue.

10. By their own counsels let them fall,  
Opprest with loads of sin;  
For they against thy righteous Laws  
Have harden'd rebels been.

11. But



11. But let all those who trust in thee,  
 With shouts their joy proclaim;  
 Let them rejoyce whom thou preserv'st,  
 And all that love thy Name.

12. To righteous Men the righteous Lord  
 His Blessing will extend,  
 And with his favour, from their foes,  
 As with a Shield, defend.

---

*P S A L M*



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PSALM VI.

1. **T**HY dreadful anger, Lord, restrain,  
 And spare a wretch forlorn ;  
 Correct me not in thy fierce wrath,  
 Too heavy to be born.

2. Have mercy, Lord, my strength decays,  
 Unable to endure  
 The anguish of my aking bones,  
 Which thou alone canst cure.

3. My tortur'd flesh infects my mind,  
 And fills my Soul with grief ;  
 But, Lord, how long wilt thou delay  
 To grant me thy relief!

4. Thy wonted goodness, Lord, repeat,  
 And ease my troubled Soul ;  
 Lord, for thy wond'rous mercy's sake  
 Vouchsafe to make me whole.

B

5. For



5. For after death no more can I  
 Thy glorious Acts proclaim ;  
 No pris'ner of the silent grave  
 Can magnifie thy Name.
6. Quite tir'd with pain, with groaning faint,  
 No hope of ease I see ;  
 The night, that quiets common griefs,  
 Is spent in tears by me.
7. My beauty fades, my sight grows dim,  
 My eyes with weakness close ;  
 Old age o'ertakes me, whilst I think  
 On my insulting Foes.
8. But those that triumph in my harms  
 No longer shall rejoyce ;  
 For God, I find, accepts my tears,  
 And listens to my voice.
9. 10. God hears and grants my humble pray'r,  
 And they that wish my fall,  
 Shall blush, and rage, to see that God  
 Protects me from them all.

P S A L M



P S A L M VII.

1. **O** Lord, my God, as I have plac'd  
My trust alone in thee,  
From all my persecutors rage  
Do thou deliver me.

2. Save me from my remorseless Foe,  
Lord, interpose thy pow'r;  
Lest, like a Savage Lyon, he  
My helpless Soul devour.

3, 4. If I am guilty, or did e're  
Against his peace combine;  
Nay, If I have not spar'd his life,  
Who fought unjustly mine;

5. Let then to persecuting Foes  
My Soul become a prey;  
Let them to earth tread down my life,  
In dust my honour lay.

B 2

6. Arise



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My Soul become a prey;  
Let them to earth tread down my life,  
In dust my honour lay.

B 2

6. Arise



6. Arise, and let thine anger, Lord,  
 In my defence engage;  
 Exalt thy self above my foes,  
 And their insulting rage:

Awake, awake, in my behalf,  
 The Judgment to dispence,  
 Which thou hast righteously ordain'd  
 For injur'd Innocence.

7. So to thy Throne adoring crouds  
 Shall still for Justice fly;  
 O! therefore for their suffering sakes,  
 Do thou return on high.

8. Impartial Judge of all the world,  
 I trust my cause to thee;  
 O! judge me by my Righteousness,  
 And hearts Integrity.

9. Let wickedness, and wicked Men,  
 Together be o'erthrown;  
 But fix the just, thou God, to whom  
 The hearts of both are known.



- 10, 11. God me protects ; nor only me,  
But all of upright Heart ;  
And daily lays up wrath for those  
Who from his Laws depart.
12. If they persist. he whets his sword ;  
His bow stands always bent ;
13. Ev'n now, with swift destruction wing'd,  
His pointed shafts are sent.
14. Those treach'rous plots my foe conceiv'd,  
Abortive are and vain ;
15. The pit he digg'd, has prov'd a grave  
His ruins to contain.
16. On his malicious head returns  
The mischief he contriv'd ;  
The violence, for me design'd,  
Is to himself arriv'd.
17. Therefore, of providence Divine,  
The Justice I'll proclaim ;  
I'll sing the praise of God most high,  
And celebrate his Name.



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*P S A L M VIII.*

1. **O** Thou, to whom all Creatures bow  
 Within this earthly frame,  
 Thro' all the world how great art Thou!  
 How glorious is thy Name!

In Heav'n thy wond'rous Acts are sung,  
 Nor fully reckon'd there;  
 2. And yet thou mak'st the infant Tongue  
 Thy boundless Praise declare :

Through thee the weak confound the strong,  
 And crush their haughty Foes;  
 And so thou quell'st the wicked throng  
 That thee and thine oppose.

3. When Heav'n, thy beauteous work on high,  
 Employs my wond'ring sight;  
 The Moon, that nightly gilds the sky,  
 With Stars of feeble light;

4. Lord,



4. Lord, what is man, that still thou lov'st  
To keep him in thy mind!  
Or what his offspring, that thou prov'st  
To them so wond'rous kind!
5. Him next in pow'r thou didst create  
To thy celestial train;
6. Ordain'd, with dignity and state,  
O'er all thy works to reign.
7. They jointly own his potent sway;  
The Beasts that prey, or graze;
8. The Bird, that wings its airy way,  
The Fish, that cuts the Seas.
9. O thou, to whom all Creatures bow  
Within this earthly frame,  
Through all the world how great art Thou!  
How glorious is thy Name!



---

P S A L M IX.

1. **T**O celebrate thy praise, O Lord,  
       I will my heart prepare;  
 To all the list'ning world thy Works,  
       Thy wond'rous Works declare.

2. The thought of them shall to my Soul  
       Exalted raptures bring;  
 Whilst to thy Name, O thou most High,  
       Triumphant Praise I sing.

3. Thou mad'st my haughty Foes to turn  
       Their backs in shameful flight;  
 Struck with thy presence down they fell,  
       They perish'd at thy sight.

4. Against insulting Foes advanc'd,  
       Thou didst my cause maintain;  
 My Right asserting from thy Throne,  
       Where Truth and Justice reign.

5. The



5. The insolence of heathen pride  
 Thou hast reduc'd to shame;  
 Their wicked offspring quite destroy'd,  
 And blotted out their name.

6. Mistaken Foes! your threats and you  
 Are to a period come:  
 Our Cities stand, design'd by you  
 Their slaughter'd owners Tomb.

7, 8. The Lord endures, who has on high  
 His Righteous Throne prepar'd,  
 Impartial Justice to dispense,  
 To punish or reward.

9. His kindness is a sure defence  
 Against oppressing rage;  
 As troubles rise, his needful aids  
 In our behalf engage.

10. All those who have his Goodness prov'd  
 Will in his Truth confide;  
 Whose mercy ne'er forsook the man  
 That on his help rely'd.

11. Sing



11. Sing Praises therefore to the Lord,  
From *Sion* his abode;  
Proclaim his Deeds, till all the world  
Confess no other God.

PART II.

12. When he enquiry makes for blood,  
He'll call their guilt to mind;  
The injur'd humble man's complaint  
Relief from him shall find.

13. Compassion on my troubles take,  
That spiteful Foes create,  
Thou, that hast rescu'd me so oft  
From deaths devouring gate.

14. In *Sion* then I'll sing thy Praise,  
To all that love thy Name;  
And with loud shouts of grateful joy  
Thy saving Pow'r proclaim.

15. Deep



15. Deep in the pit they digg'd for me,  
 The heathen pride is laid;  
 Their guilty feet to their own snare  
 Insensibly betray'd.

16. Thus by the just returns he makes  
 The mighty Lord is known;  
 While wicked Men by their own plots  
 Are shamefully o'erthrown.

17. His injur'd Saints, when most distrest,  
 He ne'er forgets to aid;  
 Their expectation shall be crown'd,  
 Tho for a time delay'd.

18. No single Sinner shall escape,  
 By privacy obscur'd;  
 Nor Nations from his just Revenge  
 By numbers be secur'd.

19. Arise, O Lord, assert thy pow'r,  
 And let not man o'ercome;  
 Descend to Judgement, and pronounce  
 The guilty Heathens doom.

20 Strike



20. Strike terroure through the Nations round,  
Till by consenting fear,  
They, to each other and themselves,  
But mortal Men appear.

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B 4

*PSALM X.*

---



P S A L M X.

1. **T**hy presence why withdraw'st thou, Lord?  
 Why hid'st thou now thy Face?  
 When dismal Times of deep distress  
 Call for thy wonted Grace.

2. The wicked, swell'd with lawless pride,  
 Have made the poor their prey:  
 O! let them fall by those designs  
 Which they for others lay.

3. For strait they triumph, if success  
 Their thriving crimes attend;  
 And fordid wretches, whom God hates,  
 In his despite commend.

4. To own a pow'r above themselves  
 Their haughty pride disdains;  
 And therefore in their stubborn mind  
 No thought of God remains.

5. Op-



5. Oppressive methods they pursue,  
And all their Foes they flight;  
Because thy Judgments unobserv'd  
Are far above their sight.

6. They fondly think, their prosp'rous state  
Shall unmolested be;  
They think their vain designs shall thrive,  
From all misfortunes free.

7. Vain and deceitful is their Speech,  
With curses fill'd and lies;  
By which the mischief they intend,  
They study to disguise.

8. Near publick Roads they lie conceal'd,  
And all their art employ,  
The innocent and poor at once  
To rifle and destroy.

9. Not Lions, couchant in their dens,  
Surprise their heedless prey  
With greater cunning, or express  
More savage rage, than they.

10. Some



10. Sometimes they act the harmless man,  
And humble looks they wear;  
That so deceiv'd, the poor may less  
Their sudden onset fear.

PART II.

11. For God, they think, no notice takes  
Of their unrighteous Deeds;  
He never minds the suffering poor,  
Nor their oppression heeds.

12. But Thou, O Lord, at length arise;  
Stretch forth thy mighty Arm;  
And by the greatness of thy Pow'r  
Defend the poor from harm.

13. No longer let the wicked vaunt,  
And proudly boasting say,  
"Tush, God regards not what we do,  
"He never will repay.

14. But



14. But sure thou see'st, and all their deeds  
Impartially shalt try ;  
The Orphan therefore and the Poor  
To thee for succour fly.

15. Defenceless let the wicked fall,  
Of all their strength bereft :  
Destroy, O God, their vile designs,  
Till none of them be left.

16. Assert thy just Dominion, Lord,  
Which shall for ever stand ;  
Through which the Heathen were expell'd  
From this thy chosen Land.

17. Thy humble suppliants still thou hear'st  
That to thy Throne repair ;  
Thou first prepar'st their hearts to pray,  
And then accept'st their pray'r.

18. Thou in thy righteous Judgment weigh'st  
The Fatherless and Poor ;  
That so the Tyrants of the earth  
May persecute no more.

PSALM XI.



## P S A L M XI.

1. Since in God I have plac'd my trust,  
 A refuge always nigh,  
 Why should I, like a tim'rous Bird,  
 To distant mountains fly?

2. Behold, the wicked bend their bow,  
 And ready fix their dart;  
 Lurking in ambush, to destroy  
 The man of upright heart.

3. When once the firm assurance fails  
 Which publick Faith imparts,  
 'Tis time for innocence to fly,  
 From such deceitful arts.

4. The Lord has both a Temple here,  
 And righteous Throne above;  
 Whence he surveys the Sons of Men,  
 And how their counsels move.

C

5. If



5. If God, the Righteous whom he loves,  
 For tryal does correct;  
 What must the Sons of violence,  
 Whom he abhors, expect?

6. Snares, fire, and brimstone, on their heads  
 Shall in one tempest show'r;  
 This dreadful mixture his revenge  
 Into their cup shall pour.

7. The righteous Lord will righteous Deeds  
 With signal favour grace;  
 And on the upright man reflect  
 The Brightness of his face.

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PSAL M XII.



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**P S A L M XII.**

1. **S**ince godly men decay, O Lord,  
Do thou my cause defend;  
For scarce these wretched times afford  
One just and faithful Friend.
2. One Neighbour now can scarce believe  
What t'other does impart;  
With flatt'ring lips they all deceive,  
And with a double heart
3. But lips that with deceit abound  
Shall never prosper long;  
God's Righteous Vengeance will confound  
The proud blaspheming Tongue.
4. In vain those foolish boasters say,  
" Our tongues are sure our own;  
" With doubtful words we'll still betray,  
" And be controul'd by none.

C 2

5. For



5. For God, who hears the poor oppress,  
And all their sufferings knows,  
Will soon arise, and give them rest,  
In spite of all their Foes.
6. The word of God shall still abide,  
And void of falsehood be ;  
As is the silver, sev'n-times try'd,  
From drossy mixture free.
7. The promise of his aiding Grace  
Shall reach its purpos'd end ;  
His Servants from this faithless Race  
He ever shall defend.
8. Then shall the wicked be perplex'd,  
Nor know which way to fly ;  
When those, whom they despis'd and vex'd,  
Shall be advanc'd on high.

*PSALM XIII.*



*P S A L M XIII.*

1. **H**OW long wilt thou forget me, Lord?  
 Must I for ever mourn?  
 How long wilt thou withdraw from me?  
 Oh! never to return!

2. How long shall anxious thoughts my soul,  
 And grief my heart oppress?  
 How long my enemies insult,  
 And I have no redress?

3. O hear! and to my longing eyes  
 Restore thy wonted light;  
 And suddenly, or I shall sleep  
 In everlasting night.

4. ~~Restore~~ me, lest they proudly boast  
 'Twas their own strength o'ercame;  
 Permit not them that vex my soul  
 To triumph in my shame.

C 3

5. Surely



5. Surely, as I have plac'd my trust  
 Beneath thy mercies wing,  
 E're long, when thy salvation comes,  
 My heart with joy shall spring.

6. Then shall my song, with praise inspir'd,  
 To thee my God ascend;  
 Who to thy servant in distress  
 Such bounty didst extend.

---

PSALM



## P S A L M XIV.

1. **T**H E wicked Fools must sure suppose  
That God is nothing but a name;  
This their corrupt lewd practise shews,  
Since righteous Acts they all disclaim.

2. The Lord look'd down from Heav'n's high  
And did the race of mankind view; (tow'r,  
To see, if any own'd his pow'r,  
If any, Truth or Justice knew.

3. But all, he saw. were gone aside,  
All were degen'rate grown and base;  
None took Religion for their guide,  
Not one of all the sinful Race,

4. But can these workers of deceit  
Be all so dull and senseless grown?  
That they, like bread, my people eat,  
And God's Almighty Pow'r disown?

C 4

5. How



5. How will they tremble then for fear,  
When his just Wrath shall them o'ertake?  
For to the righteous God is near,  
And never will their cause forsake.
6. In vain ungodly Men condemn  
Those counsels which the Just pursue;  
Since God a refuge is for them  
Whom his just Eyes with favour view.
7. Would he his saving Pow'r employ,  
To break his peoples servile band!  
Then shouts of universal joy  
Should loudly eccho through the Land.

*PSALM*



## P S A L M XV.

1. **L**Ord, who's the happy man, that may  
 To thy blest Courts repair?  
 Not, stranger-like, to visit them,  
 But to inhabit there?

2. 'Tis he, whose ev'ry thought and deed  
 By rules of virtue moves;  
 Whose gen'rous Tongue disdains to speak  
 The thing his heart disproves.

3. Who never did a slander forge,  
 His neighbours fame to wound;  
 Nor hearkens to a false Report,  
 By malice whisper'd round.

4. Who Vice, in all its pomp and pow'r,  
 Can treat with just neglect;  
 And piety, tho' cloath'd in rags,  
 Religiously respect.

Who



Who to his plighted vows and trust  
 Has ever firmly stood ;  
 And tho he promise to his loss,  
 He makes his promise good.

5. Whose soul in usury disdains  
 His treasure to employ ;  
 Whom no rewards could ever bribe,  
 The guiltless to destroy.

The man, who by this steady course  
 Has happiness ensur'd ;  
 When earths foundations shake, shall stand,  
 By providence secur'd.

*P S A L M*



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**P S A L M XVI.**

1. **P**rotect me from my cruel Foes,  
And shield me, Lord, from harm;  
Because my trust I still repose  
On thy Almighty Arm.

2. My soul all help but thine does slight,  
All Gods but thee disown;  
Yet can no deeds of mine requite  
The goodness thou hast shown.

3. But those that are of virtuous Note,  
Who love the thing that's right,  
To favour always and promote,  
Shall be my chief delight.

4. How shall their sorrows be increas'd,  
Who other Gods adore?  
Their bloody offerings I detest,  
Their very names abhor.

5. My



5. My lot is fal'n in that blest Land  
 Where God is purely serv'd ;  
 He fills my cup with lib'ral hand ;  
 My right's by him preserv'd.

6. In natures most delightful scene  
 My happy portion lies ;  
 The place of my appointed reign  
 All other Lands outvies.

7. Therefore my soul shall bless the Lord,  
 Whose Word's my guide and light ;  
 Who private counsel does afford,  
 In dark affliction's night.

8. Nothing, I know, can lie conceal'd  
 From his All-seeing Eye ;  
 And my firm hope has never fail'd,  
 Because he still is nigh.

9. Therefore my heart all grief defies,  
 My glory does rejoyce ;  
 My flesh shall rest, in hope to rise,  
 Wak'd by his pow'ful voice.

10. Thou



10. Thou, Lord, when I resign my breath,  
 My soul from hell wilt free;  
 Nor let thy Holy One in death  
 The least corruption see.

11. Thou shalt the paths of Life display,  
 Which to thy presence lead;  
 Where pleasures dwell without allay,  
 And joys that never fade.

*PSALM*



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**P S A L M XVII.**

1. **H**ear my just plea, to my complaint  
 Attend, O Righteous Lord!  
 And to my pray'r, as 'tis unfeign'd,  
 A gracious Ear afford.

2. As in thy presence I'm approv'd,  
 So let my sentence be;  
 And with impartial Eyes, O Lord,  
 My upright dealing see.

3. For thou hast prov'd my heart by day,  
 And visited by night;  
 And on the strictest tryal found  
 Its secret motions right.

Nor shall thy Justice, Lord, alone  
 My hearts designs acquit;  
 For I have purpos'd, that my Tongue  
 Shall no offence commit.



4. I know, what wicked men would do,  
Their safety to maintain;  
But me thy just and mild commands  
From bloody Paths restrain.
5. That I may still, in spite of wrongs,  
My innocence secure;  
O! Guide me in thy Righteous Ways,  
And make my footsteps sure.
6. Since heretofore I ne'er in vain  
To thee my pray'r address'd;  
O! now, my God, incline thine Ear  
To this my just request.
7. The wonders of thy love and care  
In my defence engage,  
Thou, whose right Hand preserves thy Saints  
From their oppressors rage.



PART II.

8, 9. O! keep me in thy tend'rest care,  
With shelt'ring wings stretch'd out,  
From cruel and oppressing Foes,  
That compass me about.

10. O'ergrown with luxury, enclos'd  
In their own fat they lie;  
And with a proud blaspheming Mouth  
Both God and Man defie.

11. Well, may they boast; for they have now  
My path encompass'd round;  
Their eyes at watch, their bodies bow'd,  
And couching to the ground.

12. In posture of a Lion set,  
When greedy of his prey;  
Or a young Lion, when he lurks  
Within a covert way.

13. Arise,



13. Arise, O Lord, defeat their plots,  
Their swelling rage controul;  
From the ungodly man, thy Sword,  
Deliver thou my Soul.
14. From worldly Men, thy sharpest scourge,  
Whose portion's here below;  
Who, fill'd with earthly stores, aspire  
No other bliss to know;
15. Pleas'd with a num'rous Race, to share  
Their substance while they live;  
Successive heirs, to whom they may  
The vast remainder give.
16. But, Lord, for me, I only crave  
The treasure of thy Grace;  
And waking in my Soul to find  
The Image of thy Face.

D

PSALM



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**P S A L M XVIII.**

1, 2. **N**O change of times shall ever shock  
 My firm affection, Lord, to Thee:  
 For thou hast always been a rock,  
 A fortress, and defence to me.

Thou my deliv'rer art, my God;  
 My trust is in thy mighty Pow'r;  
 Thou art my shield from foes abroad,  
 At home my safeguard, and my tow'r.

3. To thee I'll still address my pray'r,  
 To whom my praise I justly owe;  
 So shall I, by thy watchful care,  
 Be guarded from my treach'rous Foe.

4, 5. By floods of wicked Men distress'd,  
 With deadly sorrows compass'd round,  
 With dire infernal Pangs oppress'd,  
 In deaths unwieldy fetters bound.

6. To



6. To Heav'n I make my mournful pray'r,  
To God address my humble moan ;  
Who graciously inclines his Ear,  
And hears me from his lofty Throne.

P A R T II.

7. When God arose to take my part,  
The trembling Earth did quake for fear ;  
From their firm posts the Hills did start,  
Nor durst his dreadful fury bear.
8. Thick clouds of smoak, disperst abroad,  
Ensigns of wrath, before him came ;  
Devouring fire around him glow'd,  
That coals ~~were~~ kindled at its flame. *were.*
9. He left the beauteous Realms of Light,  
Whilst Heav'n bow'd down its awful head ;  
Beneath his feet, substantial Night  
Was, like a sable carpet, spread.
10. The Chariot of the King of Kings,  
Which troops of harness'd Angels drew,  
On a strong tempest's rapid wings  
With most amazing swiftness flew.



11, 12. Black watry mists and clouds conspir'd  
With thickest shades his face to veil;  
But at his brightness soon retir'd,  
And fell in show'rs of fire and hail.

13. Thro' Heav'n's wide Arch a thund'ring peal,  
Gods angry voice, did loudly roar;  
While earth's sad face, with heaps of hail  
And flakes of fire, was cover'd o'er.

14. His sharpen'd arrows round he threw,  
Which made his scatter'd foes retreat;  
Like darts, his nimble Light'nings flew,  
And quickly finish'd their defeat.

15. The deep its secret stores disclos'd;  
The world's Foundations naked lay;  
By his avenging Wrath expos'd,  
Which fiercely rag'd, that dreadful day.

PART III.

16. The Lord did on my side engage,  
From Heav'n, his Throne, my cause upheld;  
And snatch'd me from the furious rage  
Of threat'ning waves that proudly swell'd.

17. God



17. God his resistless Pow'r employ'd,  
My strongest Foes attempts to break;  
Who else with ease had soon destroy'd  
The weak defence that I could make.

18. Their subtle rage had near prevail'd,  
When I distress'd and friendless lay;  
But still, when other succours fail'd,  
God was my firm support and stay.

19. From dangers, that enclos'd me round,  
He brought me forth, and set me free;  
For some just cause his goodness found,  
That mov'd him to delight in me.

20. Because in me no guilt remains,  
God does his gracious help extend;  
My hands are free from bloody stains,  
Therefore the Lord is still my Friend.

21, 22. For I his Judgments kept in sight;  
In his just Ways I always trod;  
I never did his Statutes slight,  
Nor vainly wander'd from my God.



- 23, 24. But still my Soul sincere and pure,  
Did ev'n from darling sins refrain ;  
His favours therefore yet endure,  
Because my heart and hands are clean.

P A R T IV.

- 25, 26. Thou suit'st, O Lord, thy righteous Ways  
To various paths of human kind ;  
They who for mercy merit praise,  
With thee shall wond'rous mercy find.

Thou to the Just shalt Justice shew.  
Thy purity the pure shall see ;  
Such as perversly chuse to go,  
Shall meet perverse returns from thee.

- 27, 28. That he the humble Soul will save,  
And crush the haughty's boasted might.  
In me the Lord an instance gave,  
Whose darkness he has turn'd to light.

29. On his firm succour I rely'd,  
And did o'er num'rous Foes prevail ;  
Nor fear'd, whilst he was on my side,  
The best defended walls to scale.

30. For



30. For Gods designs shall still succeed ;  
His Word will bear the strictest Test ;  
He's a strong shield to all that need,  
And on his sure protection rest.

31. Who then deserves to be ador'd,  
But God, on whom my hopes depend ?  
Or who, except the mighty Lord,  
Can with resistless pow'r defend ?

P A R T V.

32, 33. 'Tis God that girds my armour on,  
And all my just designs fulfils ;  
Through him my feet can swiftly run,  
And nimbly climb the steepest hills.

34. Lessons of war from him I take,  
And manly weapons learn to wield ;  
Strong bows of steel with ease I break,  
Forc'd to my stronger Arms to yield.

35. The buckler of his saving health  
Protects me from assaulting foes ;  
His hand sustains me still ; my wealth  
And greatness from his bounty flows.



36. My goings he enlarg'd abroad,  
Before to narrow paths confin'd;  
And when in slipp'ry ways I trod,  
The method of my steps design'd.
37. Through him I num'rous Foes defeat,  
And in their hasty flight o'take;  
Nor from my fierce pursuit retreat,  
Till a full end of all I make.
38. Cover'd with wounds, in vain they try  
Their vanquish'd heads again to rear;  
Gro'ling beneath my feet they lie,  
From whence to rise they must despair.
39. God, when fierce Armies take the field,  
Recruits my strength, and courage warms;  
He makes my strong opposers yield,  
Subdu'd by my prevailing Arms.
40. Through him, the necks of prostrate Foes  
My conqu'ring feet in triumph press;  
Aided by him, I root out those  
Who hate and envy my success.

41. With



41. With loud complaints all friends they try'd,  
But none was able to defend;  
At length to God for succour cry'd,  
But God wou'd no assistance lend.

42. Like flying dust which winds pursue,  
Their broken troops were scatter'd round;  
Contemptible and vile they grew,  
As loathsom dirt that clogs the ground.

P A R T VI.

43. Our factious Tribes, at strife till now,  
At Gods appointment me obey;  
The Heathen to my Scepter bow,  
And Foreign Nations own my sway.

44. Remotest Realms their homage send,  
When my successful name they hear;  
Strangers for my commands attend,  
Charm'd with respect, or aw'd by fear.

45. All to my summons tamely yield,  
Or soon in battle are dismay'd;  
For stronger Holds they quit the field,  
And still in strongest Holds afraid.

46. Let



46. Let the Eternal Lord be prais'd !  
The Rock on whose defence I rest !  
O'er highest Heav'ns his Name be rais'd,  
Who me with his Salvation blest'd !

47. 'Tis God that still supports my right,  
His just Revenge my foes pursues ;  
'Tis he, that with resistless Might  
Fierce Nations to my yoke subdues.

48. My universal safeguard, He !  
From whom my lasting honours flow ;  
He made me great, and set me free  
From my remorseless bloody Foe.

49. Therefore to celebrate his fame  
My grateful voice to Heav'n I'll raise ;  
And Nations, strangers to his Name,  
Shall thus be taught to sing his Praise ;

50. " God to his King deliv'rance sends ;  
" Shews his Anointed signal Grace ;  
" His mercy evermore extends  
" To *David*, and his promis'd Race.

PSALM



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*P S A L M* XIX.

1. **T**HE Heav'ns declare thy Glory, Lord,  
Which that alone can fill;  
The Firmament and Stars express  
Their great Creators skill.
2. Revolving days, with ev'ry dawn,  
Fresh beams of knowledge bring;  
From darkest nights successive rounds  
Divine Instructions spring.
3. Their pow'rful Language to no Realm  
Or Region is confin'd;  
'Tis Natures voice, and understood  
Alike by all Mankind.
4. Their Doctrines sacred Sense itself  
Through Earths extent displays;  
Whose bright contents the circling Sun  
Around the World conveys.

5. No



5. No Bride-groom, for his Nuptials drest,  
 Has such a chearful face ;  
 No Giant does like him rejoyce  
 To run his glorious race.
6. From East to West, from West to East,  
 His restless circuit goes ;  
 And through his progress, chearful light  
 And vital warmth bestows.

## P A R T II.

7. Gods perfect Law converts the Soul,  
 Reclaims from false desires ;  
 With sacred Wisdom his firm Word,  
 The ignorant inspires.
8. The Statutes of the Lord are Just,  
 And bring sincere delight ;  
 His pure commands, in search of Truth,  
 Assist the feeblest fight.
9. His fear is clean, his worship fix'd  
 For ever to abide ;  
 His equal Judgments in the scale  
 Of Truth and Justice try'd.



10. Of more esteem than golden Mines,  
Or Gold refin'd with skill;  
More sweet than honey, or the drops  
That from the comb distill.

11. My trusty Counsellors they are,  
And friendly warnings give;  
Divine Rewards attend on those  
Who by thy Precepts live.

12. But what frail man observes, how oft  
He does thy Laws transgress?  
Do thou, who only know'st them all,  
My secret faults redress.

13. Let no presumptuous Sin, O Lord,  
Dominion have o'er me;  
Preserve me guiltless, or at least  
From great offences free.

14. So shall my pray'r and praises be  
With thy acceptance blest;  
And I secure on thy defence,  
My strength and Saviour, rest.

PSALM



## P S A L M XX.

1. **T**HE Lord to thy request attend,  
And hear thee in distress;  
The Name of *Jacob's* God defend,  
And grant thy Arms success.
2. To aid thee from on high repair,  
And strength from *Sion* give;  
Remember all thy offerings there,  
Thy sacrifice receive.
3. To compass thy own heart's desire  
Thy counsels still direct;  
Make kindly all events conspire  
To bring them to effect.
4. To thy Salvation, Lord, for aid  
We'll chearfully repair,  
With banners in thy Name display'd;  
The Lord accept thy pray'r.
5. Our



5. Our hopes are now confirm'd, the Lord  
Will by our Sov'reign stand ;  
From Heav'n the saving strength afford  
Of his resistless Hand.
6. Some trust in steeds, for war design'd,  
On Chariots some rely ;  
Against them All, we'll call to mind  
The Name of God most high.
7. But from their Steeds and Chariots thrown,  
Behold them through the plain,  
Disorder'd, broke, and trampled down,  
Whilst firm our Troops remain.
8. Still save us, Lord, and still proceed  
Our rightful cause to bless ;  
Hear, King of Heav'n, in times of need  
The pray'rs that we address.

**F I N I S.**







A  
Second Letter

To the Reverend

Dr. *Francis Atterbury*,

In Answer to his

VINDICATION  
OF THE  
DOCTRINE

Preach'd by Him at the  
Funeral of Mr. *BENNET*.

---

With a POSTSCRIPT relating to  
his Doctrine concerning the Power  
of Charity to cover Sins.

---

L O N D O N,  
Printed for *A. Baldwin* in *Warwick Lane*.  
1708.







A  
Second Letter

T O

Dr. *Francis Atterbury*, &c.

REVEREND SIR,

**T**H O' I might very well be discourag'd from entertaining any Hopes of having this *Second Trouble* kindly receiv'd, or favourably interpreted by *You* ; yet the *Subject matter* of it is of that singular Importance, that I cannot help beseeching *You* at least to pardon it in *one* who again assures *You* solemnly and seriously, as He hopes to answer for it at the great Day of accounts, that He neither had, nor now hath, any the least evil or uncharitable Design against *You*, or *Your Reputation* ; or any other Aim but that of defending the *Cause of Virtue* and of *Christian Morality* in a Point in which He could not but judge them to be very sensibly touched. If my own *Professions* can do any thing, towards the removal of those *Suspensions* *You* would willingly appear to entertain your self, and labour to infuse into your *Readers*, I am one who do



firmly believe the Truth of the *Christian Religion*, and that plain *Revelation* in it of a *Future State* in which Good Men shall be rewarded, and Wicked punished. But I cannot think it of much importance to any *Argument* whether the World know the *Writer*, or no ; unless it be, as it often proves, to lay *Prejudices* in the way of the *Readers*, who, I think, can better judge of the force of any Reasoning, when it is remov'd as much as possible, from every thing *personal*. If *Precedents* can be of any force to prove that *nameless Writers* may be wholly free from all *evil Designs*, I could appeal to your own *Example*, who began that *Controversy*, in which you have since gained so great a *Reputation*, with a Book destitute of the Name of its *Author*. You were at that time *in the dark* : but would you have thought it kind, or just and reasonable, if it had then been *inferred*, that You took advantage from thence to attack the *Reputation* of others without *hazarding* your own ; that there was little of *Goodness* or *Fairness* in that *Conduct* ; that you were of the number of those who have of late taken pleasure to insult Men of great *Abilities* and *Worth*, and to pelt them from their *Coverts* with little *Objections* ; that *Nameless Authors* have no right to be considered ; that however it might be of some use to examine what such a *Writer* had said, in order by a remarkable instance to shew how little *Credit* is due to *Accusations*, when they come from suspected (that is *nameless*) *Pens* ; and how artfully the *Mask* of *Religion* may be put on, to cover *Designs* which cannot decently be owned. I say, Could you have thought it excusable for any Persons to have treated you thus merely



merely for Writing without a *Name*; or would you not rather have thought that all this had proceeded from a diffidence in their Cause? Yet this and more than this have You argued in the *Preface* to your *Sermons* lately publish'd, from the want of a *Name* to what is just what it is, either *with* or *without* one. I could mention *others* for whom I dare say You have a great *Esteem*, who have written on very important Subjects, and concealed their Names, and whom I dare say You would defend from the imputation of *evil Designs*, tho' charged upon them by celebrated *Authors*. But without alledging this, when you shew me any *one* good reason for it; or prove that the *Cause* of *Truth* can gain any, the smallest advantage by it, I promise, You shall know who I am; tho' I fear my Name will add but little Glory to your Triumphs. At present, You have manifestly the advantage over me; bringing into the Field all the Reputation and Authority of a *celebrated Name*, to add weight and strength to your Arguments; and therefore have no cause to complain.

Whether your *Sermon*, which gave occasion to this Debate, were the production of *Hast*, or *Leisure* [*Pref. p. 4.*] whether you were transported in the Management of your *Subject* with a great *warmth* and *earnestness* [*ib.*] whether the *Doctrine* I have examin'd were only design'd as an *Introduction* to some *Practical Points*, [*p. 5.*] and this with a particular view to the *Person then to be interr'd*; are Points of very little concern to the matter. The *Doctrine* is equally good, or bad, useful or pernicious, with, or without any of these Suppositions: And I assure you



once more, it was against your *Doctrine*, not against *You*, that my Concern designed to shew it self. And pardon me if I retain still the same opinion concerning it, which I have heretofore express: not being able to see any thing in that *large Vindication* with which *You* have obliged the World, to induce me to alter it. Much less am I able to see how my differing from *You*, and pleading against your *Doctrine*, can be any sign of my favouring *Deism*; or how any advantage can come from hence to that *Cause*, which I have, on the contrary, always thought to receive Encouragement from any such *Doctrine*, as takes away from the intrinsic Evidence of the *Christian Religion*, by depressing the tendency of *Virtue* to the present *Happiness* of Men below that of *Vice*. It is my Concern lest Men of evil Principles should be persuaded by this means into Prejudices against the *Christian Religion*, that first engaged me to give you this trouble, and now obliges me to renew it. And if amidst all the Attacks of the *Deists* and *Infidels*, at a time when *Infidelity* finds so much Employment of another kind for all those who have a real Concern for the Cause of Religion, [Pref. p. 4.] instead of setting your self entirely against their pernicious Attempts, you can see the necessity, and find time, for Disputes about *Powers*, and *Privileges*, and *Adjournments*; methinks *You* of all Persons should be ready to pardon one, who writes seriously about a much more important matter, viz. the Nature and Tendency of *Virtue* and *Vice*, in which the *Christian Religion* is extremely concerned. The Principles I have maintain-

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ed, I take to be *some of the great Principles of Religion*; [ *Pref. p. 3.* ] And these, by your Advice, I now go on to maintain, in order to shew Men the excellent nature of the *Christian System of Morality*; hoping to do this in such a manner, as not to give ground of offence to any Persons. With your Permission therefore, I will now consider what You have offered for your own *Vindication* in the *Preface* to your *Sermons* lately published, and give you my Reasons why I cannot think it Satisfactory: Passing by every thing foreign; and easily leaving to your self the glory of that *Wit*, and *Satyr* with which you have embellished almost every Page of it; and entirely trusting to the naked force of *serious and grave Argument*, however displeasing this method seems to you.

Now in order to vindicate your self from my *Mis-representations*, You first inform your Reader that (*whatever the Letter-Writer, as you love to express your self, affirms to the contrary,*) Your *Doctrine* (about which our Dispute is) *must be understood, and is by You actually propos'd, under the following Restrictions.*

1. *When you prefer Beasts to Men, and bad Men to good, in point of Happiness, it is upon a supposition not only that there is no other Life after this, but that Mankind are persuaded that there is none:* [ *Pref. p. 8, 9.* ] And upon this occasion you spare not to call in question my *Modesty and Truth*, for affirming the contrary. Without returning the *Complement*, it shall be my business to shew, 1. That your *Doctrine* was not *actually proposed* in your *Sermon* under



this *Restriction*, and, 2. That you do in effect acknowledge as much in this very *Preface*, in which you affirm this.

1. As to your *Sermon*, I acknowledge that you sometimes use *St. Paul's* words, *If in this life only we have hope in Christ*: Nor did I ever deny this. But, 1. having found in your own *Account*, and explication of your *Doctrine*, in which you profess to go farther than the *Apostle*, the manifest *Supposition*, in so many Words, that *Men are under checks from Reason, and Reflexion*; feeling inward *Reproaches* for transgressing the bounds of their *Duty*; and having uneasy *Presages* of a future *Reckoning*, wherein the *Pleasures* they now taste must (this is your own Word) be accounted for; and may perhaps be outweigh'd by the *Pains*, which shall then lay hold of them: [p. 370.] Having found, I say, these words in your own account of your *Doctrine*, and knowing this to be the case of *wicked Men* only; I thought I might justly affirm, that in this *Argument* you supposed them to be under the apprehensions of a *Future State* of Punishment. And I may, I think, appeal to your self, if you do not in this *Page* represent this as the Condition in which they ought, even in their greatest *Fleshly Enjoyments*, to be considered. 2. As to the *good Men*, whose *Unhappineffes* you set forth, they are, by your own *Description*, Men who are obliged by their *Principles* to such and such *Virtues*, which you say your self no one is obliged to, without the belief of a *Future State*; such as study *Christian Perfection* in the practice of *Virtue*: And I need only ask you, whether the *best of Christians* can possibly be supposed



fed without the belief and hopes of a *Future State*; the suspicion and presages of which you expressly suppose in the worst of Men.

2. In this *Preface* it self, 1. You acknowledge that the Men you speak of are represented in the *Sermon*, as having these *uneasie Presages*: But you are pleased to add the words, *now and then*: and to make your *Reader* believe that you spoke of them as only *sometimes scaring themselves with the fears of another Life*: Whereas let him but turn to the *Sermon* from whence I was to take your *Notion*, and he will find you representing this, as the *Condition* in which Mankind is to be considered (tho' indeed it only belongs to the *wicked* part of them) and in which you chose to consider them, without being pleased at that time to speak of their being ever *perswaded* that there was no *Life* after this. If this, therefore, be an *immodest* and *truthless* Representation, it is built entirely on your own Words. 2. In your *Sermon* you represent Mankind as under *checks* from *Reason* and *Reflexion*, in pursuit of *sensual Gratifications*: Now in your *Preface*, p. 55. you do in so many words affirm, that, *had we no hope of another Life, the restraints of Conscience, in such a State, would no ways check Men in their pursuits*: And, p. 56. that a *Man's Conscience* would be so far from *blaming his pursuit of whatever appeared to Him necessary to his present Happiness*, that it would *approve his pursuit of it*, nay, it would *blame Him for not pursuing it*. How then can you say, that you suppose Mankind to be *persuaded* that there is no *Future State*, when you represent them under



under the *Terrors* of one ; and under such checks as, You say your self, they could not have, unless they believed a *Future State*.

3. How inconsistent is your own *Defence* in this *Preface* ? You say you suppose Mankind *persuaded* that there is no *Future State* ; and yet confess you represent them as *uneasy* under the *presages* of one ; *which* you take to be the case of all who profess to disbelieve a *Future State*. This may be the case of those who only profess to disbelieve it ; but it is impossible it should be the case of those who are *persuaded* there is no *Future State* ; unless it be possible for them to be *persuaded*, and not *persuaded* ; for they who are really *persuaded* there is none, not only profess to *disbelieve*, but do really *disbelieve* it. This is sufficient to justify my Representation, that you suppose the wicked Men you speak of, to have checks or reproaches of Conscience, and *uneasy presages of a Future State* : Which is a vast disadvantage to their Cause.

4. You say, in your own Vindication, that the Men you speak of are *such as those Corinthians against whom St. Paul argued*. What the meaning of this *Restriction* can be, I find it hard to judge. For give me leave to put you in mind that, under two Heads, you profess to speak, *first* of *Mankind* in general, and afterwards of the present unhappinesses of the *Best* of Men. Under the *former* of these you describe the condition of Men enjoying their fleshly and worldly Pleasures, under *inward reproaches* of Conscience, and the *uneasy presages of a Future Reckoning*. Under the *Second* you set forth the present unhappinesses



pineffes of the *best* and most *virtuous* of *Christians*, which you fix upon the tendency of their *Virtues*. I desire to know which of these two Characters come up to the *Corinthians*, against whom *St. Paul* argued. It is manifest He reasoned against *one* particular sort of Men. Were they the *Worst* sort of *Christians*, or the *Best*? I think they must be either the *one*, or, the *other*: And fix upon which you please, it is not possible you should speak of such Persons as the *Corinthians*, against whom *St. Paul* argued, because you speak, upon the same Supposition, under two different Heads, of two sort of Persons as diametrically opposite, as it is possible they should be. But you say they are such sort of *Christians* as you represent (in the Sermon, *viz.* under your first Head,) as *having the uneasy presages of a Future Reckoning, and scaring themselves sometimes with the Fears of another Life, even while they do not entertain any Hopes of it.* Now this cannot possibly agree to those *Best* of *Christians*, whom you speak of under the *Second Head*. Therefore, if those against whom *St. Paul* argued were the same with these, they could not be likewise the same with those *Best* of *Christians*, of whom you speak under the *Second Head*. Besides, How can these good Men, the very *Best* of *Christians*, be of the same sort with those *Corinthians*, against whom *St. Paul* argued? Who surely do not appear to have been, or to have been esteemed by Him, as such: And how then can you say that *the Men* you speak of are *such as those Corinthians*?  
 5. In this very Preface, (p. 13.) you let us



us understand that the good Men you speak of under the *Second Head*, are the *Best of Christians*, who do, upon *Christian Principles*, practice the Gospel-Precepts to *Perfection*, and live a life of *Evangelical Mortification* and *Self-denial*. Very well, Let it be so. Are not these *Best of Christians* render'd thus perfect by that belief of a *Future State* only, which you say your self was clearly reveled as something necessary to enable them to be so? Or shall the *Best of Christians* be supposed without the persuasion of a *Future State*? Or, in your words, *persuaded that there is none*? I should think these were the *worst of Christians*, and not the *best*. But if you can suppose the very *Best Christians* without the firm *persuasion* of a *Future State*; then is not the *Revelation* of it necessary, as you in other places contend, and as I do truly think, to render them thus perfect. Let the *Reader* therefore judge, whether I have deserved the heavy charge you lay upon me; and whether I had not reason to say, that the wicked Men, in your Supposition, are uneasy under the presages of a *Future State*; and that the good Men you speak of, are *good Christians*, and consequently such as cannot but have the present support of the *Belief* of a *Future State*, whether in reality there be one or not.

2. Proceeding (you say) [ *Pref. p. 9.* ] upon this Supposition (which I have clearly shewn you did not) you affirm not that the *Best Men* would be always, but often the most miserable. The Letter-Writer, you say, dissembles his knowledge of this remarkable Restriction, and yet you

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own *He* expressly takes notice of it at last. This Accusation makes me doubt whether you ever read the *Letter* through, or no : Since where I have occasion to mention that *Proposition* of yours, I quote it in your own Words, and that word, *often*, of which you are here so fond, is constantly inserted. Let the *Reader* but turn to the *Letter*, p. 16, 17, 20. He will find the justice of your present *Remark*. These are the places in which I have occasion to mention your *General Proposition* ; and your own Eyes may convince You, that in every one of them I have remembered the word *often*. That your Arguments prove your good Man *always* the most miserable, is as true, as that your *general Proposition* affirms them to be only *often* so : Neither of which Points ought to be *dissembled*, or hid from the *Reader*. Nor do you once attempt to prove that your *Arguments* do not equally prove both. For, supposing that you do put the *Case* of *Persecution* (which I shall presently examine) yet since you cannot, and do not, deny that You prove the misery of Good Men (above that of Wicked) from their practice of those Virtues which are their indispensable duty in Prosperity, as well as in Persecution : From hence it follows that it is the result of your *Arguments*, that they are *always* the most miserable of Men. But indeed what You call supposing a *Case* of *Persecution*, is nothing like it, but a proof that the Good Man is *always* exposed to greater Troubles in this Life than the *Wicked*. This respects the constant Course of this World, what always hath been, and always probably will



will be the condition of it: Which is vastly different (You know) from what we call a *State of Persecution*, and from such a *State* as I suppose *St. Paul* to point at. And therefore,

3. Let us examine the third *Restriction* You now lay down, [ *Pref. p. 10.* ] and for the denial of which, You go to that height as to charge your Adversary with being *lost to all sense of Justice, and Truth.* An heavy Charge! How justly founded I intreat You to consider. What I say is this, (*Lett. p. 21.*) *These Positions You maintain without once supposing such a State of Persecution as the Apostle pointed at, but with reference to the most quiet and prosperous condition of this Life.* Now one Question here is, whether throughout the whole of that proof which You give of your *Positions*, there be once mentioned the *Case of Persecution.* Consult your *Sermon* your self, from p. 373. to p. 375. in which Pages only You attempt to prove the Good Man *most exposed to the Troubles and Dangers of Life*; and see if there be any thing but what respects the ordinary course of *God's Providence*: Which You very well know is always distinguished from a *State of Persecution.* I grant that You affirm that *the Principles of Good Men expose them most to the Troubles and Dangers of this Life.* But this is not what is properly called a *State of Persecution*: Nor could You so intend it, because in your proof of it, You urge such *Arguments* as, if they prove any thing, prove the Good Man *always* thus exposed in this State, as will appear. I grant your first *Proof* of this is taken from the Good Man's being



ing inflexible in his Duty, tho' sore Evils, and great temporal Inconveniences should sometimes attend the discharge of it ; that no prospect of interest can allure Him, no fear of Danger can dismay Him : Whilst the Hypocrite can fall in with the fashion of a wicked World. Now the fashion of this World is ordinarily and generally such, that sore Evils, and great Temporal Inconveniences may sometimes attend the discharge of what an upright Man accounts his Duty ; therefore it is plain these Words may be used without supposing any thing more than ordinary in the World ; and not such a State of Persecution as I affirm St. Paul to have pointed at ; and as Divines generally understand by that Phrase. And that this was your Meaning is plain from the farther Prosecution of your Argument ; in which, I grant, as You urge in Your Preface, that You represent Good Men as most exposed to Trouble, because they often become a Reproach and a By-word to licentious Tongues. I grant it ; but this is not a State of Persecution. This may be true in the most prosperous Times the Church of God ever knew. It is true of our own Times : Yet they are not Times of Persecution, or ever called so. I grant again, that You say, Good Men suffer unjust and illegal Encroachments. But had You told your Reader by what Means You affirm this comes to pass, He would have seen very clearly that the Case of Persecution was not in Your View. Let him turn to Your Sermon [ p. 374. ] He will find You make these the Effects of their Humility and Meekness ; Compliance and Condescension : which must be practi-  
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fed by them in the most prosperous Condition this World can probably know. All this manifestly belongs to the ordinary course of God's Providence ; or results (according to You) from those Duties which they are oblig'd to practise in *Prosperity* as well as *Persecution*, and in all Conditions of this World. *Lastly*, I grant that in the summing up your Argument, [p. 376.] (and not, as You would make your Reader believe, in the proof of your *Positions*) You observe that in this Life *even the greatest Saints are sometimes made the most remarkable instances of Suffering*. But I answer that neither doth this at all prove that You once argue from what we call a State of *Persecution* : and that for this plain reason, Because it hath been true in all Ages in the World, as it is in the present Times, and in this Nation, and in the ordinary course of God's Providence ; (which manifestly is not a State of *Persecution*, properly so called, but always distinguished from it ; ) that *the greatest Saints are sometimes made the most remarkable instances of Suffering*. And now, having examined the Particulars alledged by You upon this Head, whether I was *lost to all sense of Justice and Truth*, when I affirmed that You maintained your *Positions* without once supposing such a State of *Persecution* as the *Apostle* pointed at, I leave to the impartial Reader, nay to Your self, to determine. This was the *first* Point here to be considered. The next *Question* is whether You do not maintain your *Position* with reference to the most quiet and prosperous Condition of this Life. Now if You use any such *Arguments* as do prove Men *always* more miserable



miserable than Beasts, and Good Men *always* more miserable than the Wicked ; then it is certainly true that You do maintain your *Position* with respect to the Quiet and Prosperous, as well as to the Troublesome and Afflicted Condition of this Life. And that You do use such *Arguments* is as plain as Words can make it. As to the Comparison between *Man* and *Beasts*, we have under this Head no Dispute as far as I can see. As to the *Unhappiness* of Good Men above the *Wicked*, Your Proof is taken not only from their *being most exposed to the Troubles of this Life* ( which You prove amongst other things from their obligation to *Humility, Meekness, and Placability*, Matters of unalterable obligation in all States and all Times) but likewise from their *not tasting so freely of the Pleasures of Sense as the Wicked*. And their *Unhappiness* under this Head, You prosecute by observing their obligation to *fit loose from these Pleasures ; to be moderate in the use of them ; to mortify the Deeds of the Body ; to restrain themselves in unforbidden Instances for fear of Danger or Offence ; to have a regard to the Good and Happiness of Society ; to bound their Desires and Designs ; and to be content in every State ;* [p. 372, 373.] Is not this one main part of Your Proof ? And is it not true therefore, that You have attempted to prove the Good Man more miserable than the Wicked, by shewing his obligation to these Virtues, and Practices ? And is it not true that He is indispensably obliged to these Virtues in the most quiet and prosperous condition of this Life ? And doth it not follow from hence that You have maintained Your Position with reference to



*the most quiet and prosperous condition of Life?* I never denied, nor thought of denying, that You had spoken of the *Troubles* of Good Men: but I say again, that You draw Your Arguments from such Points, as, if they prove any thing, prove the Good Man more miserable than the Wicked, as well in his Quiet and Prosperity, as in his Troubles: which I have now demonstrated; and therefore humbly hope that it is not in Your Power to make the most prejudic'd Person believe that I *was* lost to all Sense of Justice and Truth, when I affirmed this. Thus much for your *Third Restriction*.

4. Your *Fourth* follows thus, *Even when I suppose good Men not to be under a state of Persecution, yet still I suppose them to live in a state of Mortification and Self-denial, [Pref. p. 11.] The good Men you speak of You say, p. 13. are the Best Christians.* So I assure You are they, of whom I would chuse to be understood; exactly the same You describe in Your *Sermon*, p. 372, 373. just now cited. This is so far from helping Your Cause, that in my poor Opinion it serves to confute it. Whatever undeserved and groundless Insinuations You are pleased to amuse Your Reader with under this Head; I, for my part, was ever ready to contend that the *Christian System* of Precepts carried *Morality* to a greater Height and perfection than *unenlighten'd Reason* ever did, or ever would have done: tho' at the same time nothing is recommended in it but what is perfectly agreeable to our best and uncorrupted Reason. And I argue, because it carries its sincere Professors to the greatest heights of *Virtue*, therefore doth it  
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tend more effectually to their present Happiness. You acknowledge, (as far as it relates to those measures of Duty, which natural Reason, unenlighten'd by Revelation, prescribes) that Virtue and Vice do in their own Natures tend to make Men at present happy or miserable: But not so, as far as it relates to the measures and degrees settled in the Gospel, [p. 12, 13.] If You will pardon the Words, this is wonderfully strange and unaccountable; that Temperance, Chastity and Abstinence, Command of Desires and Designs, in a lower degree, should tend to the present Happiness of Men; and their Natures should be so changed, that when practis'd by a Christian in an higher degree, they should be turned into his Unhappiness, or diminish his Felicity. Contentment is one of those Virtues that You are pleased to instance in, when you are setting forth the present Infelicities of the Good Man. Tell me, therefore, Doth the greater degree even of Contentment it self prove a Man more unhappy, or less happy, than if He he were obliged to a lesser degree of Contentment? Shall the best of Christians, who have their Appetites, their Desires, their Designs under the strictest Regulations, and their Passions under the greatest Command be the unhappier for this, or render'd less happy by their Observance of the Gospel-Precepts, p. 13. in these instances. See to what a pass you are come, when rather than Your Reader should not believe I have misrepresented You, You will (as I verily think) misrepresent your self. You acknowledge You instance in some Virtues common to Heathens with Christians: but you sup-



*pose them to be performed by Christians after a more sublime, and excellent manner.* [ib.] Now this, I say, adds to the present Happiness of the Practisers. The more excellent and perfect in Temperance, Chastity, Command and Regulation of their Passions and Desires; especially in Contentment; the more happy at present by this Practice. But the best of *Christians* are most excellent in these Virtues, and perform them *after the most sublime and excellent manner*; therefore is their present Happiness much greater than that of any who perform them after a more imperfect manner, and in a lesser Degree. The Demonstration is plain: The greater degree we have of any thing that tends to Happiness, the happier we must be. But Virtue (as You acknowledge) in the degree Heathens practised it tends to present Happiness. Therefore much more in that greater degree, and after that more excellent manner in which the *best Christians* practise it.

But, to shew You to what Shifts and Streights You have reduced your self, You would here make Your Reader believe, 1. That You only maintain that the best of *Christians* are by the observance of some Gospel-Precepts, render'd more miserable, or, which is all one, less happy than they would otherwise be, &c. And that I have misrepresented You when I make You affirm that the Best of Men are render'd more miserable than the Wicked by the Practice of Virtue. Be Judge Your self. Your own Words in your Sermon are, *The Best of Men, and Most miserable*, and Your way of proving Your Position is by shewing that the Pra-



Practice of the *Virtues* they are obliged to, is the thing that makes them the *most miserable*. If the *most miserable*, then *more miserable than the Wicked*. If not more miserable than the *Wicked*, then not the *most miserable*. If the *most miserable* by reason of those Practices they think themselves obliged to, as You argue, then are they render'd *more miserable than the Wicked by the practice of Virtue*. What can be plainer? Farther, In the summing up Your Argument, You speak of the *Impious Man's Joys exceeding those of the upright*, [p. 376.] and [p. 373.] You compare your *Good Man* with the *Hypocrite*: From whence it is evident that Your Design was not only to compare the *Best of Men* with other *Virtuous Men*, less perfect, but with the *Wickedest of Men* likewise. Nay, in this *Preface*, You own that You prefer *bad Men* to good in point of present *Happiness*, [p. 8. & p. 13.] That You compare the *Happiness of Good Men and Bad*, in this Sermon, and this by founding *Happiness upon pleasing Sensations*: which sort of *Happiness* is pursued in a peculiar manner by the *Wicked*. And therefore if your Arguments prove the *Best of Christians* less happy than they themselves would be were they not governed by such strict Rules; much more do they prove them more miserable, or less happy than the *Wicked*, who are least of all tied up by any such Rules. This You seem sensible of Yourself, when You affirm it to be the Consequence of Your *Doctrine*, [p. 13.] that *they who are not tied up to the Severities of the Best of Men would have a manifest Advantage over those who are*, upon supposition that there

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were



were no Future State. What is this but to own in so many Words, that the Best of Men who are tied up to the Severities of Christian Virtue, are by that means render'd, at present, *more miserable*, (as Your Words at first were) or *less happy*, (as You have now changed them) than the *Wicked*, who are least of all *tied up* to any such *Severities*? And what is this but in the same Breath to condemn me for fixing a *Doctrine* upon You, and to own it Your self? But your Readers perhaps may be led by *so happy a variety of Expression* [p. 52.] to overlook all this. 2. I fear what You say here may lead many to think, that there is something in *Christian Mortification and Abstinence*, tending to no better end at present than to make Men's Lives uneasy: and therefore crave leave to observe that there is nothing of that *Mortification*, or *Self-denial* You mention, commanded by God for it's own sake, but all in order to make Men greater Masters of their Appetites and Passions, and consequently nothing but what tends to exalt their present *Happiness*, as well as their *Virtue* above that of others; and all to be regulated by *Prudence*, and made consistent with the Health of their Bodies, and all necessary Provision for themselves and their Families. And I cannot but think that the contrary *Doctrine* is false in it self, and layeth an unnecessary Stumbling-block in the way of the Gospel. 3. You would here make Your Reader believe that in Your Sermon You speak not of *Virtue* as practised by the *unenlighten'd Heathen*, which You acknowledge to tend to present *Happiness*, but by the *Best of Christi-*



ans [p. 12, 13.] Did not then the *Heathen Philosophers* plead for sitting loose to the Pleasures of Sense; for being moderate in the use of them; for keeping the Appetites in due subjection to the Reasoning Powers; for Restraint even in innocent Pleasures; for living with the greatest Regard to Society; for being contented with their Station? Are not these the Instances You mention? and are not these Instances of *Heathen Virtue* as well as of *Christian*? (Tho' the *Christian Religion* gives more powerful Motives towards the most exalted degrees of them) And shall *Heathen Abstinence*, and Command of Appetites, and Restraint in innocent Pleasures, and Contentment, make Men happy at present; and *Christian Abstinence*, and Command of Appetites and Passions, be of that odd Composition as to make the Practisers of them at present unhappy? Nay, shall *Christian Contentment* help to make a Man discontented and uneasy; and the more so, the greater degree He is obliged to have of it? O glorious Privilege of *Christian Virtue*! But O unhappy State of the Gospel if this be true! I think it high time to remonstrate when such Doctrines as these are taught: And were I as truly a *Deist* as You have labour'd to prove me, yet the *Christian System* of Moral Virtues is so divine and noble, and hath so beneficial and happy a tendency even at present, that I should endeavour to oppose with Zeal whatever tends to affright or discourage Men from tasting the present Happiness of those who practise it. But now, in one word, to shew You, beyond all contradiction, that You have again misrepresented Your self, and that You did not in Your Sermon intend to



confine Your Discourse to Christian Morality as distinguished from Heathen, I entreat You to turn to it, p. 377. where You say in so many Words, that the Argument You have been prosecuting, before that Revelation had enlightned the World, was the very best Argument for a Future State which Mankind had to rest upon; and again, the only sure Foundation of Hope which the wisest and most thoughtful amongst the Heathen pretended in this case to have, &c. and to the same purpose also in this Preface. What? Did the Heathens, before Christianity, argue that the Best Christians were made less happy here by the observance of some Gospel-Rules, &c. and therefore there must be a Future State? Did they argue that otherwise the Impious Man's Joys must, upon the whole, exceed those of the Upright; i. e. as You contend to have been Your Meaning, of the very Best of Christians? Did they argue concerning a State of Virtue, which You say they knew nothing of, and was not in being in their Days? If this Absurdity be too gross to be admitted, then it is certain that You intended what You had before said of Good and Virtuous Men in general; and not only of the Best of Christians. But if You mean here that the wisest Heathens argued concerning the tendency of Virtue, and the present Infelicity of the most virtuous amongst themselves, as You have done, then how can that be true which You acknowledge, and contend for in Your Pref. p. 12? For if their Virtue, prescrib'd by unenlighten'd Reason, tended to make them happy in this World (contrary to what You affirm of Christians) as You in this place acknowledge; then how can You



You say that the wisest of them were ever so senseless, as to argue from their Obligation to several Virtues, to their present Unhappiness, and so to the expectation of a *Future State*; or to make use of such an Argument as Yours: When in truth, according to Your own Acknowledgment, they could not but know that the practice of *Virtue*, as far as they were acquainted with it, tended to their *present Happiness*. So that here You have proved Your self the truth of what I affirmed, that the *Wise Heathens* could not possibly make use of such an Argument as this for a *Future State*. But, why should You chuse rather to take refuge in forgetting, and contradicting Your self, than be willing to let your Reader think that I have once understood You aright?

5. To make your proceeding all agreeable You add, [*Pref. p. 13, 14.*] that you pretend not to compare the happiness of Men and Beasts, Good Men and Bad any farther than it results from *Worldly Pleasures and Advantages, and the Objects of Sense that surround us*. You know, Sir, that You pretend to prove upon this Bottom, that the *Impious Man's Joys do upon the whole exceed those of the Upright*, unless there be another *State* to come; That the Best of Men are upon your Supposition, render'd the most miserable in this Life by the practice of Abstinence, Temperance, Command of Appetites, Contentment it self; Humility, Meekness, and Placability. This is what you know you have undertaken to do after such a manner, as to prove them the most miserable in all States of Life, as well



as in times of Trouble. This I have plainly shewn already. You know your *Argument* for a *Future State* signifieth nothing, unless you shew that the *Case* of the *Virtuous* is at present, all things consider'd, the *most miserable*; and you know the method in which you have labour'd to prove this. And now to make your *Reader* believe that all You undertake is to shew that Wicked Men enjoy more sensual and brutal Pleasures, and are more free to lay hold on all worldly Advantages than the Best Men, hath something very peculiar in it. Who ever doubted this? But what *Argument* is this for a *Future State*, as You manage it, unless this be greater Happiness than what results from the practice of Virtue. This You are sensible of your self, and therefore after You have a little diverted your *Readers* Thoughts with this, You acknowledge that You do likewise say, that pleasing and painful Sensations, *might be esteemed the true measure of Happiness. Might be esteemed, i. e. without doubt, might justly be esteemed. But this is not a proper place, You say, to justify that Supposition; tho' without that Justification, nothing that You have said, can be true. Yet You are pleased to say, You look upon it to be a most clear and indubitable truth: And You add, This not only might be so esteemed, but would actually be the true measure of Happiness and Misery to the far greater part of Mankind, supposing no Belief of a Future State, which yet I have proved You did suppose. But what is this to our purpose? The Question is not whether the generality of Men would chuse Virtue for their Happiness; but whether*



ther they ought not to do so ; and whether  
 those few who should chuse it, would not  
 be really the happier for so doing. Nay,  
 were there not one in the World who should  
 make it his choice, this would not prove  
 that any Virtue could tend to make Creatures  
 miserable, or that *pleasing and painful* bodily  
*Sensations*, such as the Beasts are capable of,  
 might justly be esteemed the measure of  
 Happiness and Misery ; or that the not being  
 tied up to the strictest rules of Virtue could  
 be greater Happiness to Man, than their be-  
 ing so tied up would be. How wide is it  
 therefore from your purpose to speak of what  
 would actually be, upon your Supposition ?  
 You see the generality of the World actual-  
 ly make *pleasing Sensations, and Worldly Advan-*  
*tages* the measure of Happiness, even under  
 the Gospel, and under the Belief of a *Future*  
*State* ? Are they therefore truly happier,  
 than those few who do not ? *God forbid !* But  
 if You do still think this an *indubitable Truth*,  
 I beg leave to put You in mind of two  
 Things, 1. That You have no reason to be  
 concerned (as You seem to be, p. 11.) that  
 I make You to maintain, that the *practice of*  
*Vice tends to make Men more happy, in all States*  
*of this Life, than the practice of Virtue.* For  
 You argue that the Wicked, by practising  
 Vice, enjoy more and higher *pleasing Sensati-*  
*ons* than the *Virtuous*, even in their most pro-  
 sperous Condition, can allow themselves to  
 taste of. And as for *painful Sensations*, You  
 have laboured to shew that the *Hypocrite*,  
 and *Wicked* are more secure from them,  
 than those who practise such Virtues as, ac-  
 cording



cording to You, tend to present Trouble. And these You make, upon your Supposition, the *measures* of *Happiness* and *Misery*. If this *Position*, as, You say, p. 12. cannot be repeated without being abhorred, then how can *pleasing and painful Sensations*, (of the former of which You have proved the *Virtuous Man* to have fewer, and of the latter many more than others) be the *true measure* of *Happiness* and *Misery*? 2. The other thing I would put You in mind of, is what You seem to have forgotten, tho' contended for but in the *Pages* immediately going before; That the *Virtuous Heathens* were made happier by *Virtue*, than the *Vicious Man*. Now, how can this be consistent with what You here say? Did not the *Moral Philosophy* of the *Wise Heathens* restrain them from such a *Taste* of *Sensual Pleasure*, as the *Vicious* enjoyed? And if these *pleasing Sensations* be the *measure* of *Happiness*, (supposing no *Future State*) then how could the *virtue* of the *Heathens* tend to their present *Happiness*, upon that Supposition, (as You acknowledge it did;) I say, how can this be, if *pleasing Sensations* (of which sort the *Wicked* of all sorts, You own, have more abundance) be the *measure* of present *Happiness*? But You acknowledge that *Heathen Virtue* did make Men happier at present than *Vice*: Ergo, *Pleasing Sensations* cannot be the true measure of *Happiness*. Or if You still say that they are so, then must You be obliged to bring *Heathen Virtue* to the level of *Christian*, and make it equally an Enemy to present *Happiness*, supposing no *Future State*.

Thus



Thus have I distinctly considered every one of the *five Restrictions* You have now guarded your *Doctrine* with. Whether they were *now first devised to qualify it*, [Pref. p. 16.] or *plainly proposed together with it, and interwoven into the Body of your Reflexions in your Sermon*, I leave to others to judge. As to the *first* of them, that You suppose Mankind persuaded that *there is no Future State*, I have shewn the contrary, by shewing that the *Men* You profess to speak of in *General*, are such as You represent to be *under the uneasy presages of a Future Reckoning*; and that the *Good Men* You speak of are the very *best of Christians*, by your own Confession, *i. e.* such as could not be what You suppose them to be, without the firm expectation of a *Future State*. As to the *Second*, I have shewn that, tho' You use the word *often* in your general Proposition, yet Your Reasonings are such as prove the *Best of Men* not only *often*, but *always* the most miserable. As to the *Third*, I have shewn that none of the *Expressions* You quote from your *Sermon* do prove that You once in your *Argument* suppose such a *State of Persecution*, as *St. Paul* (according to me) points at; and that your main proof of the *unhappiness* of *Good Men* is taken from their obligation to such *Virtues* as they are always, and in all conditions of this *Life*, commanded to practise. As to the *Fourth*, I have shewn from words in your *Sermon*, that You could not intend to make such a *Distinction* between the nature and tendency of *Heathen* and *Christian Virtue*, as You here labour to establish; that such a *Distinction* in the tendency of them

is



is unconceiveable; and that the more exalted and extraordinary the degree of those *Virtues* You mention is, the more effectually, and not the less, must they contribute to present Felicity. As to the *Fifth* and *last*, I have shewn that it was your Design, (and that without which your *Argument* signifieth nothing) to prove the *Happiness* of the *Wicked*, in the whole, greater than that of the *Best of Men*, supposing no other Life to come; and that You do this by making *Sensual Pleasures*, and what we call *Worldly Advantages* the greatest *Happiness* of *Man*, upon that Supposition, without considering any of the Advantages of the *Virtuous* Life: And under several of them I could not avoid shewing how frequently You forget, and contradict your self, in order to get rid of a present Difficulty. These *Restrictions* I have the more largely considered, because what hath been said under them, will let the *Reader* plainly see the main Point about which we debate.

But you are willing You say to set aside these *Restrictions*, [Pref. p. 16.] important as they are, and to take your *Doctrine* as the *Letter-Writer* himself hath represented it, i. e. as briefly contained in your two *Positions*, and the *Notion* on which they are founded. I beg leave here to ask how it is consistent, for You, in this place to represent me, as taking your *General Positions* alone, without considering your manner of explaining them, and p. 51. of this same *Preface* to accuse me of a very odd way of Proceeding, in pretending to prove your *Doctrine* (contained in these *Positions*) to be false only by offering some *Observations* on your manner



manner of proceeding in the Argument, and by endeavouring to prove your Defence of it weak and improper, p. 52. Is it not manifest then by your own Confession, that it was not your *General Doctrine*, but your *Explication*, and manner of proving it, that I concerned my self with? And indeed how should I know what your *Doctrine* is, from general Expressions capable of several ways of *Explication*, but by Your manner of explaining it? Or how otherwise should I know Your own Sense of Your *General Expressions*? All who will but read the *Letter*, will see that it is not the *General Expressions*, and *Positions*, which engaged me to give You the trouble of it, but Your explaining them in such a manner, as I thought must necessarily bring a Disgrace upon the nature and tendency of *Virtue*. You do wisely therefore to fix all my charge upon Your *General Positions*, and *Notion*, did You not so soon forget Your self, and accuse Me of another manner of Proceeding.

You do wisely, likewise, to make Your Reader believe, that one of my principal Charges was *Novelty*, and so to amuse Him with an *Heap of Quotations* out of *Authors* who may seem to Him to agree with You. You know this was the least of my Concern, and that my principal Heads had nothing of this Charge in them. *Authority* merely *Humane* is generally the worst Argument in the World, and the want of such Authority of the least Importance with me in such a Case as this. And of those *four Passages* which You have quoted to introduce Your *Vouchers*, there are but *two* in which there



there is any thing like this Charge ; and in these it is only affirmed of my self, and that by the by, that I *never heard the like from the Pulpit* ; and that I *know not that the like Assertions were ever maintained by any Person of Virtue and Understanding* ; and not that the like were never heard, or read by others. A piece of Ignorance, one would think, easily to be pardoned by You, and to be thought consistent with the greatest Sincerity, because, (when it is for Your purpose) You unwarily boast, after having quoted Your *Authorities*, that *You have fallen into like Thoughts with those Writers, without knowing what they had written on the Subject*. So that it is not long, since even You, with all Your Reading, knew not that these *Writers* had taught the same *Doctrine*. Our Crime, therefore, or our Innocence is the same ; since You here acknowledge, that *You knew not, before now, that the like Assertions had been before maintained by these Writers*. So that if You have produced any exactly agreeing with Yours ; all that will follow from hence is, that *You have now read more Authors than I had when I wrote last* ; not that I was in the least mistaken in what I affirmed of my Self : Much less will it follow that I am in these Affirmations either *Rash*, or *Base and Dishonest* ; or that I leave You little room to hope for Candour or Common Justice, by laying the foundation of my Reasonings in so *notorious an Untruth*. Hard Expressions ! which I heartily pardon, and leave to others to judge of. Doth He lay the foundation of his Reasonings in a *notorious Untruth*, as You here call the charge of Novelty,



ty, who mentions it but twice accidentally, and then only with respect to Himself? Whose principal *Heads*, and main Discourse have nothing to do with the *Novelty* of Your *Doctrine*, but are intended to prove it foreign to the *Apostle's* Design, and *false* and *pernicious* in it self? Shew me one *Reasoning*; one piece of any Reasoning I have used, which I founded upon this *notorious Untruth*; Or else acknowledge the Injury You have here done me. And then for *Untruth*, or *Baseness*, or *Dishonesty*, or even *Rashness* it self; I beg to know whether it can be either *Rash*, or *Base*, or *Dishonest*, or a *notorious Untruth*, for me to say of my self, that I never heard, or read Your *Doctrine* maintained by any *Person* of *Virtue* and *Understanding*. Pardon me, Sir, if I tell You, that it is such Language, and such a manner of Writing in *Divines*, that gives some of the deepest strokes to *Christianity*, and exposeth it most to Men of unstable Principles. Supposing therefore that all the *Authorities* You here alledge were exactly to Your purpose, I might answer only this, that I never before read these Passages; that You have indeed shewn me something to prove that some other *Writers* have been of Your mind; and so might proceed to make good what I chiefly alledged against Your *Doctrine*, that it is not *true* and *just* in it self, or agreeable to the *Apostle's* Design in Your *Text*: Which doth not at all depend upon the agreement, or disagreement of other *Writers*.

But I will not be so injurious to those *Writers* You mention, as to suppose them, with-



out farther Examination, to maintain that same *Doctrine*, which I have so much blamed in *You*. Only before I consider this farther, it is necessary to observe what any one who reads the *Letter* may see, That the Debate between us was not whether the acquiring and establishing the Habit of *Virtue* be not in many Cases attended with great present *Difficulties*, as *You* would sometimes make your *Reader* believe, which I never denied; or whether these *Difficulties* would not in event affright the greatest part of Men, if not all Mankind, from acquiring it, were they not animated with a *Belief* of a State to come: But whether the *Best* of Men, as Your own repeated Expression is, are render'd the most miserable at present by the practice of those *Virtues* *You* mention; whether, in Your own words, the *Foys of the Impious do, upon the whole, as to this State, exceed those of the Upright*. Do not therefore think to evade the force of what hath been said by changing the *Question*; or by insinuating to Your *Reader*, that what *You* said was not intended concerning such as have acquired the *Habit of Virtue*. For who are the *Best* of Men, the *Best* of *Christians*, but such as are in the most established, and habitual manner, *Virtuous*? Nay, do we ever call any *Virtuous*, or *Upright*, but such as are habitually so? Are not they, whom *You* represent as denying themselves upon Principles, the gratifications of Sense, and the laying hold on Worldly Advantages; as contented with their present Condition; as Humble, Meek, and Placable: Are not these, I say, habitually so? If not,  
how



how are they the *Best of Men*, or how is Your Position proved? Are not they, in Your own words, *inflexible, and unalterable*; such as *nothing can make remiss in the practice of their Duty*; such as *no prospect of Interest can allure, no fear of Danger can dismay*? p. 374. and if *these* be not the *habitually Virtuous*, who are? Or how would You chuse to describe them? Is it not the *habitually Virtuous*, of whom the *Wicked* say, *He is not for our turn, &c.* as You quote from the *Book of Wisdom*? And is it not from all this manifest, that our Debate is about the *Habitual Practice of Virtue*? Again, it is evident from the *Letter*, that what I so much complained of was not that You say, in General, or *en passant*, that, supposing no Life after this, *Mankind would be more miserable than the Beasts, and the Best of Men often the most miserable*, but that the way in which You understand these Positions, and the manner in which You prove them, doth very much reflect upon the *nature and tendency of Virtue*: That, as I have now again shewn, You suppose the *Wicked Man* to be under the uneasy Presages of a *Future Reckoning*, and Your *Good Man* to be the *Best of Christians*, enjoying the support of the *Belief of a Future State*; that You argue from the tendency of those Virtues, which He is always obliged to perform; that You prove Him miserable from his *Obligation to command his Appetites, to practice Contentment, Humility, Meekness, Placability, and the like*; that consequently, You endeavour to prove that He is *always, and in all Circumstances the most Miserable*; and that the Vi-



ces of the Wicked tend in their own Nature to make them more happy, than the Good Man is made by his *Virtues*, in the ordinary, and most quiet State of *God's Providence*. If You will, therefore, pompously and largely vindicate Your *Doctrine* from the charge of *Novelty* (which was never absolutely fixed upon it) You are obliged to produce Men who have asserted, and maintained this in Your Sense : For otherwise You know they can no more be said to agree with You, than I can. Now,

1. I observe in *General*, that all that You have produced do manifestly put into their *Supposition*, that there is in Mankind no such thing as the *Belief* of a *Future State* ; that their *Wicked Man* when they prefer Him to the *Good* in point of Happiness, must be understood to be free from all reproaches and checks of Conscience, and not uneasy under the Presages of a Future Reckoning ; and that their Good Man (whom they sometimes post-pone) is not one supported by the firm expectations of a Reward to come : Contrary to You, whose *Wicked Man* I have shewn to be, in Your own Words, uneasy under *Checks*, and *Presages*, nay, *terrified* and *scared* ; and whose Good Man is the *Best* of *Christians*. This *one* difference You can never get over. It is manifest in Your *Sermon* ; It is confess'd, as well as denied, in this very *Preface*. Take therefore the *Sentence* which You have quoted out of Bishop *Wilkins*, *Pref. p. 28.* and the other out of Dr. *More*, *p. 19.* which of all appear to come nearest to Your Point : And You will find that the *former* founds



founds what He saith upon this *Supposition*, If there be no such thing as *Happiness* or *Misery* to be expected hereafter; and upon a total disbelief of a *Future State*; and that the other, with extream Weakness, founds the present advantages of the Wicked upon that variety of *Mirth*, and *Pastime* that *Flesh and Blood* can entertain it self with, from either *Musick*, *Wine*, or *Women*: absolutely contrary, You know, to Your self, who have precluded Mankind from this Plea, under Your first Head, by maintaining as You do, p. 370, 371. that *Reason* and *Reflexion*, by representing perpetually to the mind of Man, the meanness of all sensual Enjoyments do, in great measure, blunt the edge of his keenest Desires, and pall all his Enjoyments; that in the midst of the Pleasures He tastes, He hath uneasy Presages of a Future Reckoning; that the dread of Death, like the Hand-writing on the Wall, damps all his Mirth, and Jollity. Which reasoning of Yours, You must be sensible, will prove the present happiness of the Best of Men superior to that of the Wicked rather than the contrary. So then You see these two Sentences, (which speak of the tendency of *Vice* to *Happiness*, and are of all the most likely to serve Your purpose) are not agreeable to Your Sense in this matter.

2. That these two Writers are in these passages perfectly mistaken, and perfectly inconsistent with Your present notion of Things, is evident from what You acknowledge in this Preface, p. 12. and p. 57. that even in such a State as this, the Virtue taught by Reason tends to *Happiness*, and that the Pleasures of a mature and



*confirm'd Habit of Virtue would be justly preferable to those of Vice, &c.* which, if You would have Your Reader believe it to be agreeable to Your Sermon, at once destroys all pretence to the Authority of these, and others here cited. But of this more by and by.

3. These two great Men, when they come to treat professedly of *Virtue* and *Vice*, and their *Natures* and *Tendencies* do absolutely contradict You. Bishop *Wilkins* hath a particular *Book* in the same *Treatise* You quote, to shew that the practice of *Virtue* doth *physically* tend to the present Happiness of Mankind: Which methinks might have been taken notice of, as well as one *Sentence* in another part of his Work. Dr. *More* in his *Ethics* sufficiently shews the tendency of *Virtue* to the same End; and before his Work puts that *Sentence* of *Tully*, That one day pass'd according to the Precepts of Moral Philosophy, is to be preferr'd before an Immortality spent in Vice. As for the other *Sentence* You quote from Bishop *Wilkins*, [*Pref. p. 21.*] it only affirms, that the natural desire of Immortality, planted in Man, would make him the most miserable of Creatures under the thought of *Annihilation*; and that *Virtue* likewise must contribute to make Men miserable, not in Your Sense, but as it would make Men more desirous of an Immortal Life, and more uneasy under the thought of *Annihilation*; as He himself explains it: Which bears no relation to Your *Doctrine*.

4. Archbishop *Tillotson* is likewise cited by You, as agreeing with You in what I so much blamed. But I have so great a veneration for



for his Memory, that I cannot let such a Blot as this lie upon it. And therefore I observe, 1. That the *Passages* You quote from Him p. 18. concerning the miseries of Mankind above other Creatures, are founded upon a *Supposition* that *Men were not supported and born up, under the Anxieties of this Life, with the hopes and expectations of a better*: Whereas You, as I have shewn, suppose Your *Good Man* to enjoy this Support. 2. All his proof of this is founded on the aggravations of the miseries of Man (from Thought, and Reflexion) above those of the lower Animals: Not from the *Beasts* enjoyment of *Sensual Pleasure* to a higher Degree, which likewise makes a great and visible difference in Your Sense and his, supposing the *General Proposition* to be the same. 3. His saying in general, *What would a Man gain, if the Soul were not Immortal, but to put himself into a worse and more miserable Condition, than any of the Creatures below him?* doth not shew at all that He agrees with You in the *Sense* in which You have explained this *general* way of Speaking. He might place this greater misery, as Bishop *Wilkins* did, in that greater keenness, and perpetual grief which the Reason of Man would add to the thought of *Annihilation*, which other Creatures would not be sensible of. It is manifest, however, that He doth not place it in what You do, from the *Sentence* before-cited. 4. As for the other passages You quote from Him, p. 25. You have very much altered the appearance of them, by not letting Your Reader know the occasion and scope of them,



but beginning Your *Quotation* in the middle of a *Sentence*. For in his *Sermon*, Vol. 9. p. 48. here cited by You, He is so far from agreeing with You (whom I have shewn to argue from the tendency of Virtue, in many Instances, to our present unhappiness, in the ordinary and quiet State of God's Providence;) That He allows that Maxim, that *Virtue is a sufficient Reward for it self to have some truth in it, if we set aside those Sufferings and Miseries, and Calamities, which Virtue is frequently attended with in this Life*; that He here speaks of a *State of Virtue attended with great Sufferings*, and with respect to this only faith, that the Determination of the *Apostle*, in Your Text, is according to the truth and nature of Things, as You could not but see when You transcribed this Passage. He doth say indeed, that without the hopes of Immortality, *Virtue is but a dead and empty Name*, i. e. would have but little influence and effect upon the minds of Men: But then this is nothing at all to Your purpose, who allow the hopes of Immortality to Your Good Man: Nothing in this of the tendency of Abstinence, and Temperance, and Conquest of Passions, to Unhappiness, as You have pleaded: Nay, It is manifest, that He means it with respect to support under great Suffering; presently, and in another part of the same Sentence, which You avoid to set before Your Reader, letting us know that He is speaking of *Virtue as encumbered with Difficulties, and attended with such Sufferings and Inconveniences as are grievous and intolerable to Human Nature*; and intimating that in other Cases



Cases it is justly preferable to *Vice*, in point of present Happiness. In the other *passage* You cite from his 2d Vol. p. 265. his Supposition is, *If we were sure that there were no Life after this* : which makes what He saith very different from You, who represent Your Wicked Man as very uneasy under the Presages of a *Future State*, and Your Good Man as the *Best of Christians*. Well, upon this *Supposition* He saith the *wisest thing* would be to enjoy as much of the present *Satisfactions and Contentments of this World*, as He could fairly come at. This in my Opinion, might be best compassed by *Honesty, Diligence, Justice, Humanity, Conquest of Passion, Temperance, Contentment*, contrary in some Instances to Your account of the happiness of the Wicked : And this I doubt not, I could prove from many passages to have been his Opinion. Nor can the *Apostle* in allowing the Reasoning of the *Epicure*, *Let us eat and drink, for to Morrow we die*, be supposed by Him to allow it to be good Reasoning, *Our Life is confined to this State, therefore let us eat and drink intemperately* : But only let us enjoy the conveniences and comforts of Life, and not expose our selves to grievous Sufferings without hope of a Reward : With respect to which *Sufferings* Archbishop Tillotson is in this place speaking, and not implying in the least, that there is any thing in the Condition of the *Highest Virtue*, excepting these outward Sufferings, which is not justly preferable to *Vice*. 4. This I could prove from numberless passages of his excellent Sermons. The first of his *Posthumous Volumes* begins with



an admirable Demonstration of the *Temporal* and *Present advantages* of *Honesty* above *Trick* and *Knavery*. The *Fourth* of the first Volume, published by Himself, sets forth the tendency of *Virtue* above that of *Vice* to *present Happiness*, and to the Enjoyment of the Good things of this Life. But it is needless to multiply instances of what every one who hath ever been conversant in his *Writings* must have so often met with. He seems to have made it his Business to oppose the *Notion* You have explained: And let any one judge from what I have now said, and what will follow immediately, with how great Justice You affirm *that You have the Honour exactly to agree with Archbishop Tillotson, who wrote and reasoned, You truly say, as justly as any Man of his time: Too justly, indeed, to bear the Thoughts of any such Doctrine as You have taught.*

5. To shew farther upon how little ground You can quote *Writers* as agreeing with You, let the *Reader* but review what You cite from *Mr. Lock*, [p. 34.] in which he will find, that upon supposition of no State after This, no *Prospect* beyond the Grave, *it will be no wonder to find variety and difference in Men's Judgments about present Happiness; but not the least intimation but that they who should place it in the Practice of Virtue, in those instances particularly which You mention, might justly be esteemed happier, than such as should place it in Vice; and not the most miserable. Let us enjoy what we delight in, He saith, would then be a right Inference: But He makes the Virtuous Man's Delight and Happiness at least equal to any. In one word,*  
You



You might as well have cited his *Discourses* upon *Trade*, or *Money*, as this ; for they are equally to Your purpose.

6. If any one examine the *other great Names* You alledge, he will find, either that they use only the *general Expressions* You use, without declaring in what sense, and in what respects they understand them to be true ; as the Lord Bishop of *Rockester*: that they make *Beasts* happier only in regard they have *lesser Cares*, and *fewer Disappointments*, as Mr. *Glanville* ; that they put the *Unhappiness* of Man above *Brutes* upon their being destitute of all Hopes of another Life to set against their Fears and Miseries in this, as Mr. *Calvin*, Mr. *Pemle*, Dr. *Stradling*, and Dr. *Goodman*, in one of the *Passages* cited. As for the *other Passage*, there is this difference between You, that what He advanceth placeth *Brutes* above *Virtuous Men* chiefly as to *present Happiness*, and what You advance placeth them above *Wicked Men* chiefly : and is inconsistent with what You afterwards say of the *Unhappiness* of Good Men. The same may be said of what Mr. *Pemle*, and Dr. *Stradling* say of the *Happiness* of *Beasts* : it is with respect to the *Godly*, and to *Good Christians* only : which makes a great difference between You. It is plain likewise that those others, whom You triumphantly cite as agreeing with You concerning the present *Happiness* of the *Wicked* above the *Virtuous*, do not place that *Unhappiness* in the tendency of those *Virtues* You mention ; or do not first suppose Men actually as *virtuous* as possible, and then declare their present condition worse than others on that account ;



count ; or do not lay down their *Positions* absolutely : that they do not suppose any such things as *Checks* and *Restraints* in a course of *Wickedness* ; as Apprehensions of a *superior Good* to which Man is ordain'd ; as Principles enabling Men to be what Your *Best of Men* are ; but that the contrary is in their Supposition, before they affirm what they do, *viz.* that there is no Suspicion, no Expectation of any but this present State, and so that all Motives of Action, may justly be taken from this State : or that the Dictates of Reason, would be different from what they are now ; which You do not suppose in Your *Sermon*. These things make an irreconcilable difference between these *Writers* and Your Self, who have supposed Mankind under *Checks*, under Pre-*sages* of a *Future Reckoning*, under Apprehensions of being ordain'd to a *greater Good* than any in this State ; and some under the effectual influences of *Christian Principles*, and upon this ground maintained Your *Positions*. How then can this be said to be an Agreement ? Or how can You say, that they *make use of the same Instances, and the same Mediums, &c.* [p. 35.] I crave leave therefore here to remark that my Concern was not chiefly about Your *first Position*, which relates to *Brutes* ; but Your *Second*, as You explain it, *viz.* that the best of Christians (who certainly, if any in the World, are the most *virtuous*) are render'd more miserable than others, by Temperance and Abstinence, by conquering their Passions, restraining their Appetites, nay, by being contented with their Condition, by Humility, Placability, &c. This is the Point which



which You know is the occasion of this Debate. This I lay before the *Reader* in order to compare with Your *Quotations*, and leave Him to judge whether this be the *Doctrine* of those *Writers* You have cited. Particularly, I cannot but desire the *Reader* to observe from hence with how little ground You affirm, [p. 2.] that the *worthy Dean of Canterbury preached the Doctrine, opposed in the Letter, before Her Majesty, and printed it by Her Order.* For in the first place that *worthy Person* doth not prefer the present Happiness of a *vicious Course* before that of a *virtuous*, or make the *Best of Men* the most miserable by the tendency of their Practices. This is the chief Point ; and this He toucheth not upon. In the next place he prefers the *Beasts* before Men solely with respect to the *Aggravations of Human Sufferings and Calamities*, considered without the Support of the Belief of a Future State. This Belief he supposeth all Men to be destitute of. And lastly, He doth not speak upon supposition that Men make the best use possible of Reason and Consideration, as You do under Your *Second Position*. All these shew that He may differ entirely from Your main *Doctrine*. And if the *Reader* finds any of these whom You have cited agreeing with You in it, I leave him to conclude, which is all that can follow, that there are some *Authors* in the World, and some Passages in *Writers* which I had not read, before You furnished me with them. But one more thing I must here observe, because You do in a particular manner recommend it to my consideration, [p. 32.] and that is, Your *Quotation* out of Dr. Stradling,



ling, of which I have this to say, that He contradicts Your Reasoning in Your Sermon; and speaks perfectly agreeable to my Sentiments. 1. He contradicts Your Sermon in confessing that *to live according to the Rules of right Reason is most agreeable to Human Nature, and conducing to Happiness in this Life.* If so, then how are the *Best of Men* render'd the *most miserable* by living according to these Rules? 2. He perfectly agrees with my Sentiments when he questions whether this *Truth* would in effect be sufficient to engage Men to chuse and pursue *Virtue*, without any Hopes of another Life, and affirms that it *cannot possibly subsist in the World without the Belief of another Life.* I believe so truly: nor have I said one Word to contradict it. But He here seems to agree with those *Heathens* who made *Virtue* a Reward to it self, at least in many instances: And as for those He blames for crying up *Virtue* to the *weakening our Belief of a Life to come*, it is plain He means only such as would leave *Virtue* destitute of such a Support as the Hopes of Immortality; not such as do maintain the natural tendency of *Virtue* to *present Happiness*, amongst which He himself is, as well as Your self in this Preface. This is all I have done towards the *ruine of Virtue*, and this He hath done himself, in these very *Quotations*. And therefore to apply this to me, as if I had weaken'd the Belief of a Life to come, which I have at the same time owned and established upon the best Arguments, is like the rest of your Usage. Dr. Stradling was too wise to weaken the Cause of *Virtue* by maintaining it's tendency to *present Unhappiness*.



*happinefs*, as You do in Your Sermon. This He absolutely contradicts, and indeed from what He saith in this place I should conclude that had He read Your *Argument* for a *Future State* as You have managed it, the Reflexion He would have made upon it might have been this, Thus to establish the Belief of a *Future State* by crying down *Virtue*, and making it to tend to present *Unhappinefs*, however at first blush it may seem plausible, tends, in effect, to no better a consequence, than to weaken both the *Cause* of *Virtue*, and the *Belief* of a *Future State*, which cannot subsist upon so false and deceitful a Foundation: Not that I can imagine You capable of such a *Design*, how hardly soever You judge of me.

By this time I hope the *Reader* will be satisfy'd that I can easily read all Your *Quotations* without *blushing*; in the first place, because *Novelty* was not part of my main Charge against Your *Doctrine*; and in the next place, because He may see the wide difference between these *Writers* and Your *Sermon*. Your *Sermon* I say; for I must put him in mind, that supposing they were perfectly agreeable to Your *Doctrine* in that, yet You do in this very *Preface* [p. 57.] contradict the very Purpose for which You alledge these *Writers*, and declare, after all, that, even in such a State as this, the *Habit* of *Virtue* once acquir'd, would afford the Possessors of it greater Satisfaction than any the *Wicked* and *Licentious* did or could enjoy. If therefore they agree with You in the one, it is impossible they should agree with You in the other likewise, unless they



they contradict themselves ; as You seem to have done. For, if this be true, how can the *Best* of *Christians*, who, if any ever did, certainly have acquir'd this *Habit*, be render'd more miserable than others by their *Virtue*, as You endeavour to prove in Your *Sermon*? If this be true, and acknowledged so to be by You, to what purpose is all Your *Large Vindication*, when in this one *Sentence* is contained all that I ever contended for, and all Your own Reasoning about the Infelicities of Good Men is answered? For could You possibly by the *Best* of *Christians* mean Persons who had only the lower degrees of *Virtue*, and perform'd only some interrupted Acts of it? Or could we be supposed in a Debate about *virtuous* Men, and in comparing their condition with that of Persons *habitually vicious*, not to speak of such as are *habitually*, and in a settled manner *virtuous*? Again, If this be true, how could the wisest of the *Heathens* (as You say they did) make use of Your *Argument* for a *Future State* drawn, in great part, from the tendency of *Virtue* to present Misery ; unless You will suppose that none of them ever arriv'd at the *Habit* of *Virtue*? If this be true, then do You as effectually ruine the Cause of *Virtue* by *Virtue* it self ; and as truly cry up *Virtue* to the weakning the Hope of Immortality, as the *Letter-Writer* ever did, who never contended for more, than what is expressly, or by just Consequence, contained in this Confession of Yours. Lastly, If this be true, what becomes of Your *Notion* concerning the measure of present Happiness, and of Your *Argument*



gument for a *Future State*, as You explain and manage it in your Sermon, viz. The *Best Men*, (who certainly are the *habitually Virtuous*) are render'd more miserable here than others by the practice of the *Virtues* I have so often named; therefore there must be a Reward hereafter? For if the Habit of *Virtue* affords its Possessors in this State greater satisfactions than any the *Wicked and Licentious* can enjoy, then First, pleasing and painful Bodily Sensations cannot be the measure of Happiness and Misery, supposing no other State but this; and Secondly, There can be no Argument for a *Future State* founded upon the tendency of the *Virtue* of the *Best of Men* to make them miserable at present, because it doth, according to your self, make them the happiest of Men, even in this State. And I shall add that, upon consideration, it will probably be found, that this could not be true of the *Habit of Virtue*, unless every single *Act of Virtue* had the same advantage over its contrary *Vice*, with respect to Happiness. Those who have not quite conquered their *Consciences*, and effaced their notices of Good and Evil, are more miserable in their *Acts of Vice*, than those who have not entirely conquered their *vicious Inclinations* are in their *Acts of Virtue*, and sincere endeavours after such a Conquest. Their *Difficulties* are not attended with Reproaches from within: And serve to enhance their Happiness after the Conquest. After the Conquest I say, lest You should again be so unreasonable as to think I meant otherwise, when I said that the Difficulty of *Virtue* doth not destroy the present Happiness

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ness resulting from it, but inhance and improve it. The Happiness resulting from Virtue, can be no other than what results from the Practice of it; and this cannot be before it is practised in any Instance, but after; and when it is once practised, the difficulty of the Practice is over in that particular Instance: And this any one might see must be the meaning of my Words, because they are not capable of any other.

I must here add likewise, that You have not only contradicted Your Sermon in what You more than once acknowledge concerning the Happiness of an Habit of Virtue; but You have likewise found out a way to make the Good Man happy in the beginning of his Course; and even while He is conquering all the Reluctancies and Difficulties that lie in the way towards that Habit, Pref. p. 58. For where once the persuasion of a better State is well-fixed, You grant, it will smooth all the roughness of the way, that leads to Happiness, and render all the Conflicts we maintain with our Lusts and Passions pleasing. Now having shewn that by Your Good Man You understood one fully persuaded of the Future State; you cannot make Him the unhappiest of Men, even supposing Him in a State of Conflict, and Mortification, (which is the only Evasion You have) because You say his Difficulties are lost, and swallowed up in the sweet hopes of a better State, and render'd easy and delightful, even at the time of Conflict it self. So that Your Good Man is happy even while He is acquiring the Habit of Virtue, as well as after He hath acquired it. How true this is, I will not now examine: But how well



well it agrees with Your Doctrine in Your Sermon, I may leave to the commonest Readers to judge.

I shall not detain You, or the Reader, any longer on this Head, than whilst I set before You two Quotations out of our own Divines, with whom You give Him leave to think I am somewhat acquainted. The first shall be out of Archbishop Tillotson's Sermons published in his Life-time, p. 334. Upon due search and trial it will be found, that true Pleasure is no where to be found but in the practice of Virtue and Service of God. The Laws of Religion do not abridge us of any Pleasure that a wise Man can desire, and safely enjoy, I mean, without a greater evil and trouble consequent upon it. You see by this how exactly You agree about the Nature of Christian Mortification. The pleasure of commanding our Appetites, and governing our Passions, by the Rules of Reason (which are the Laws of God) is infinitely to be prefer'd before any sensual Pleasure whatsoever: Because it is the pleasure of Wisdom and Discretion, and gives us the satisfaction of having done that which is best and fittest for reasonable Creatures to do. Again, Nothing is more certain in Reason and Experience, than that every inordinate Appetite and Affection is a punishment to it self, and is perpetually crossing its own Pleasure, and defeating its own Satisfaction, by over-shooting the Mark it aims at. For proof of this, He instanceth, in Intemperance, and Revenge: And affirms the same to be evident in other sensual Excesses. You see here He chuseth the very Instances, in which You place the present Unhappiness of the Best of Men, to prove their present Happiness.



ness above others: From whence it is plain how widely He differs from Your Sense concerning the nature and tendency of *Virtue*; and how widely You err (p. 35.) when You fix upon this great Man not only Your *Positions*, but the same manner of handling them with Yours. That He doth *make use* indeed of the same *Instances*, and the same *Mediums*, the *Reader* will see from hence: But this makes the difference between You much the more apparent, to find that by the same *Instances* and *Mediums* by which You attempt to prove the *Best* of *Men* the most miserable with respect to this present State, He endeavours to prove their *Happiness*. This is the *exact* agreement with this excellent *Writer*, of the *Honour* of which You so much boast! An agreement as *exact* and compleat, as that between Your *self*, and the *Writer* of the *Letter*.

The other *Quotation* shall be taken from the *Learned* and *Judicious* Dr. *Gastrell's* *Sermons* concerning the *Certainty* and *Necessity* of *Religion*. In the first place I observe that He justly and wisely founds his *Argument* for a *Future State* upon the *Extrinscal Evils*, and *Sufferings* of many *Good Men*: and cautiously endeavours to guard against Your *Notion* which founds their present *Misery* chiefly upon their being debarr'd by their *Principles*, from the *Practices* and *Pleasures* of the *Wicked*; and to secure the connexion between *Virtue*, and *Happiness*; *Vice* and *Misery*. In the next place it is very observable, that He likewise chuseth some of those very *Instances*, in which You place the present *Unhappiness* of the



the Best Men, in order to prove the contrary, viz. in his own Words, p. 181. *That, upon a due Ballance of all the usual accidents of Life, 'tis very probable that a Religious Man should enjoy more Happiness while He lives here, than a Person of another Character. He who acts upon a true thorough sense of Religion, hath, with respect to all the external Enjoyments of the World, more contracted Desires, and fewer Wants than another. In this He shews the Best Men to be the happiest; in this You place one part of their Misery. Again, He is not eager in the pursuit of the necessary Supports, and lesser Conveniences of Life; and He takes care to avoid all manner of Injury and Offence to others. In this He wisely places the Good Man's present Happiness: whilst You place part of his present Unhappiness in his not grasping at the Advantages of this World, but bounding his Desires and Designs, &c. Again, The Good Man professeth to contribute all He can to the Happiness of other Men, without designing any Worldly Advantage to himself, upon which account He judgeth He will be more happy and more secure than another, who is known to act for himself only: Whereas You in reckoning up the present Disadvantages of the Good Man, mention his living not for himself alone, but having a regard in all his Actions, to the great Community wherein He is enclosed. You see what a wide difference there is between these two excellent Writers, and Your self. I recommend their reasonings to Your Consideration: and so proceed to the other parts of Your Vindication, in which I am much more concern'd, viz. the Agreeableness of Your Doctrine to the De-*



sign of the *Apostle* in the *Text*; and the *Truth* of it.

As to the *former* of these, before You enter upon Your *Vindication*, according to Your usual Method, You are representing me to Your *Reader*, as using *Artifice*, and *saying* and *unsaying*, rather than I would miss a small occasion of *carvilling*: When in truth I have carefully represented You in Your own words. For, as to Your 1st *Position*, about the present Happiness of *Beasts* above Men, I do lay before the *Reader*, 1st, That You insinuate it to be agreeable to the *Apostle's* Design, tho' not expressed in the *Letter* of Your *Text*: 2. That in explaining Your *Text*, and *St. Paul's* Concession, as You call it, You make him say that *Good Christians*, upon his supposition, are the most abandoned of *Creatures*. 3. That You expressly put into Your *Argument*, as You draw it up Your self, the present *Unhappiness* of *Man*, in comparison with *Brutes*, and then call it, in so many words, the *Argument* used by *St. Paul* in the *Text*. Upon which accounts I think it fitting that the *Reader* should be shewn that this is neither agreeable to the Design, or *Letter* of the *Text*, for fear he might mistake You, as it seems I have done, and be so weak as to think You meant what You said. But, I pray, what *saying*, or *unsaying* is here on my part? On *Yours* indeed there is, because You have in words fixed this *Position* upon the *Apostle*, as truly as You have Your *other*; and yet implied that it is not agreeable to the *Letter* of Your *Text*, i. e. not necessarily implied in it, and consequently not



to be positively fixed upon the *Apostle*. Is not this *Account* of Your words true? Yes. But what need I understand by *Creatures*, any other besides *Mankind*, since the *Scriptural Use* of the word *Creatures*, doth sometimes determine it to *Rational Creatures* only? It would have been a greater satisfaction, if You had affirmed that You meant by *Creatures* only *Mankind*, which You do not once do. For You cannot but know, 1. That the *Scriptural Use* of a *Word* is nothing at all to the common received use of it amongst us, which may be very different. This may be a good reason for interpreting it so sometimes in *Scripture-Writers*, but not amongst those, who hardly ever, if ever, use it in that *Sense*. 2. If the *Scripture Use* be of Importance to the interpreting *Scripture-Writers*, then the Common-received use of words must be the ground of Interpretation, where *Writers* speak not professedly in the *phrase* of *Scripture*, but in the common manner. And indeed the reason why that *Word* is used so sometimes in *Scripture*, is because that *use* of it was likewise received and common at that time, as well as the other. 3. In what sense this *Word* is used in *Scripture* it self, must be determined by the *Circumstances*: And the Signification You contend for appears to belong to such places ( I believe to such places only ) as would be wonderfully absurd, without supposing this to be the Signification. As, *Preach the Gospel to every Creature*, must mean only to every *Rational Creature*, capable of hearing it, because it would be absurd to the last degree to suppose any other.



ther. But the *Tenour* of your following Discourse is so far from confining the word to this Signification, that it rather inclines to the *other* : And had there been such a *Sentence* as this in *Scripture* it self, it could not be proved that the word was here used in that confined Sense, unless the like absurdity would follow upon supposing the contrary: 4. If the peculiar use of this word in *Scripture* in one Sense, be any reason why I should understand it so here; the more frequent *Use* of it in *Scripture* in a more large Signification, will be a greater Argument why I should here understand it, in *another* Sense, no absurdity, according to You, following upon it; Nay, your following Discourse leading to it. 5. By the same way of arguing, You may make it appear that You are not understood aright in almost any *Sentence* You will pitch upon, because there are so many words, used in *Scripture* in a peculiar Sense; and amongst us commonly understood in another, and that received and universally embraced; and because it is possible You might not mean them in the ordinary received Sense, but in the peculiar Sense in which they are *sometimes* used in *Scripture*. But this tends to confound our *Ideas*, and to frustrate the end of Language. You see, Sir, how easy I have found it to justify my self in *this* Case.

The other *Question* I have here to answer is, why I must needs understand that You call your Argument, that great Argument for a *Future State* urged by St. Paul, as including that Proposition, relating to the Happiness of Beasts above



above Men? Why truly, Sir, for no other reason, but because You do in so many words your self call it his *great Argument*, as including that *Proposition*. Let the *Reader* consult your *Sermon*, p. 377. there He will find that You call it his *Argument*; and that You put into it this *Position* as well as the *other*; and that I could not be just to You without understanding You so in this Place. If in any other Place, You have said what is inconsistent with *this*, I cannot help that. All that I observe is, that your *Argument* summ'd up by your self, and at the same time *fixed expressly* upon the *Apostle*, is summed up, and fixed expressly upon the *Apostle*, as including this *Position*: Which You cannot deny. But You have one very peculiar way of dealing with me, and that is, You labour to fix your own Inconsistencies, upon me, because I am obliged to take notice of them: And because I acknowledge that You seem'd to *unsay* in one place, what You *say* in another, therefore You call upon the *Reader* to observe my *Artifice*, and my *Frowardness*, and my *venturing to say and unsay the same thing*; as if all the *Contradictions* observed in any *Writer*, were to be charged upon the *Observer*, and not upon the *Writer*. But it is time to come to the Point.

The main thing, as far as relates to what we are now considering, is whether the *Apostle* meant your *Text* with respect to the *Case* of the *Primitive Christians*, exposed in the *first Ages*, to the bitterest *Persecutions*; or, as You have explained it, with respect to the *great Duties*, and that exalted State of *Virtue* required



required of them, and the tendency of this to make them of all Men the most miserable, supposing no State after this. This will require but little pains; because You immediately lead me into a way to demonstrate even to your self, that this *latter* could not be the *Apostle's* Intention, no not so much as one part of it; and that You give no sufficient proof that He did not confine what He said to a *Case of Persecution*.

1. That it could not be the *Apostle's* Intention to affirm *Christians* the most miserable of all Men, with respect to the *Virtues* required of them I argue: 1. From your placing this *Unhappiness*, p. 47. in the rigour of those Precepts by which *Christians* are obliged to resist their dearest Appetites, and most natural Inclinations, and to undergo a very difficult Struggle: Which Struggle in this place You do indeed, (as was agreeable to your present purpose) declare cannot be joyous but grievous while it lasts, and that, You say, is as long, usually, as Life it self, in some degree or other: From your placing their *Unhappiness*, I say, in this Struggle, and yet so soon forgetting your self as to acknowledge, p. 57, 58. that this Struggle, even whilst it lasts, is made easie and delightful, and the Difficulties of it lost and swallowed up in the sweet hope of a better State; the Prospect of which renders all the Conflicts we maintain with our Lusts and Passions pleasing. I cannot help the inconsistency of these things. But it is manifest that supposing You place your Good Christian in a State of perpetual Warfare, Combat, and Conflict: Yet according to your self this very State is made happy,



happy, easy, pleasant, by the Hopes that are in Him; by these Hopes, which I have shewn, You suppose to be in Him, when You endeavour to prove Him the most miserable. From hence it appears that St. Paul according to You could not place the Unhappiness of Christians, even in the lowest State of Christian Virtue, because there is that in the good Christian You speak of, sufficient to make even that a State of present Pleasure, and Happiness. 2. I argue from your own Interpretation of your Text, (Pref. p. 40.) in which You make St. Paul by the word *We*, to mean the Corinthians, Himself, and All who profess to live up to the strict Rules of Christianity, &c. *We*, that is, You, and I, and All, &c. and from your own Concession, (p. 44.) That Men of excellent Minds may possibly by a long practice of Virtue, have render'd even the Heights and Rigours of it delightful, and brought their Duty, and Happiness to be in every Case consistent, without attending to the Rewards of a Future State. Now, not to insist upon this inaccurate and hasty Expression; not to ask whether You do not here make the Virtue of some Men its own reward in every Case; and the expectations and belief of a Future State unnecessary to these, in all the most hard Circumstances of Life (which is more than the Letter-Writer himself ever did towards the ruining Virtue by it self, or invalidating your own Argument for a Future State;) I say, not to insist upon this; but to argue with You a little from this, and the other Concession You make, [ p. 57. ] that even in such a State as this the Habit of Virtue once acquired, would



would indeed afford the Possessors of it greater satisfaction than any the Wicked and Licentious did, or could enjoy ; I desire to know whether there were none amongst the Corinthians who had acquired this Habit ; whether St. Paul himself was not *Habitually Virtuous* ; whether none of all the Professors of Christianity were then arrived at the pitch of *Virtue* You describe. Remember that You introduce St. Paul as saying to the Corinthians, You and I, and All Christians are the most miserable of Men, supposing no *Future State*. If therefore, St. Paul means this, as You say, of *Himself* and all *Christians*, then neither was He, *Habitually Virtuous* ; nor any other Christian at that time. But St. Paul was *Habitually Virtuous* ; and so were many other Christians of whom He spoke this Sentence : Therefore He could not, according to You, mean this, in the least, with respect to the *Christian System of Morality* ; because You acknowledge the *Habitually Virtuous*, in this State, to be so far from being the most miserable, that they are, You say, the most happy. It remains, therefore, that He must mean it with respect to some great *Extrinsical Evils*, or *Persecution*, distinguishing Christians at that time from other Men. If herein I have discovered another inconsistency in You, I hope You will not call it *frowardness*, or *saying and unsaying* on my part. Besides, what You say in your Sermon is manifestly intended of the *Habitually Virtuous*, such as are proof against all *Temptations*, such as do constantly govern their *Appetites* ; How therefore can St. Paul in this Sentence consider Christians as You considered



dered them, when You own He could not mean what He said, of such as are *Habitually Virtuous*? Nay, how could He possibly mean that the good Man's obligation to *Contentedness* makes him the more miserable, as You affirm?

And that he could not intend what He said, with respect to the Moral Virtues of *Himself*, who I suppose practised them in as exalted a pitch as You could wish, is evident from *Ver. 30, 31, 32.* where, when He comes to explain what He only laid down in general, He doth it by appealing to those Sufferings in which He died, as it were, a daily Death; to his standing in *Jeopardy* every hour, to his being exposed to *wild Beasts* at *Ephesus*; and not by mentioning any thing of those *Moral Duties* required of Him, which He certainly would have done, had He intended his *General Proposition* with relation to them, and not to *Sufferings* only. But in explaining it, He appeals only to his *Sufferings*: therefore, I argue, He intended it only with respect to them. As for that expression, in which He is supposed to allow the reasoning of some Men, if the Dead arise not, *Let us eat and drink*: If it mean any thing favourable to the *Cause* of *Vice*, You must suppose *St. Paul* to say it is the best way, upon that Supposition, to eat and drink intemperately. But this was against the Doctrine of even *Epicurus* himself; and too absurd to be here intended, because it is evident that *Intemperance* in *Eating* and *Drinking* doth not consult the happiness of Man in this Life so much as *Temperance*. But all that the *Apostle* could mean by this, if it be a concession was



was this, that supposing no State after this, it was the wisest way to take care to enjoy the necessaries of Life, and not to profess such a Religion as had no reward to come, and at that time debarr'd him and others often even from the common necessaries of Life. This is the most that can be made of this Expression, which cannot make *pleasing bodily Sensations*, as enjoyed by the Wicked, *the measure of present Happiness*: And may very well, and reasonably be explained, with reference only to those *Persecutions* which hinder'd the *Apostle* and others at that time from enjoying even the commonest conveniences of Life. Nay, as You your self explain it, [ p. 43. ] *Let us please and gratify our selves with what we like best, and be as easy as we can in this World*; it debarrs no Man from the making *Virtue* his choice, or from his *Plea to Wisdom and Happiness* in so doing: And therefore doth your Cause no Service. Add to this, that if the Man be so constant as to come to be possess'd of the *Habit of Virtue*, He is by your self pronounced the happiest of Men in this State: Therefore St. Paul could mean nothing contrary to this, according to your self; and consequently nothing to prefer the choice of the *Wicked*, before that of the *Virtuous*, supposing no Resurrection. Add to this, that You contend that *Heathen Virtue* doth tend to *present Happiness*, tho' *Christian* doth not: Therefore, You of all Men, cannot think that St. Paul could allow the arguings of *vicious Epicureans* to be good; which You disapprove your self by preferring *Heathen Vir-*



due, as to present Happiness, before *Heathen Vice*.

*Lastly*, As for the authority of *Expositors*, interpreting your *Text* as You do ; You cannot name one, I dare say, who proves the present Misery of good Men from their Meekness, their Placability, their Government of their Passions, their Contentment, as You do, and therefore they do not explain it as You do. You give your *Reader* leave to think me capable of consulting *English Writers* : And therefore I take the boldness to tell You, that You have not done well to quote Mr. *Lock* as expounding your *Text* as You do, because He only uses a general Expression, without so much as attempting to name particularly in what it was that St. *Paul* made the misery of *Christians* at that time to consist. Whether the *others* do any more agree with You, I will not judge from hence : but leave to those who please to examine. When it appears they do ; I will venture so much at *Greek* and *Latin*, as to undertake to produce as great, and as authentic, and as many names, for the more confined Interpretation ; to shew of how little account the *Argument* taken from *Authority* ought to be esteemed. But what I have observed of Mr. *Lock*, shews how exactly and truly You speak, when You tell the *Reader*, [ p. 51. ] that these *Expositors* You have quoted ( amongst which is his Name ) speak very home to the Point, and do all of them represent the *Apostle's* Decision, as built on the peculiar disadvantage which *Christians* lie under in point of *Worldly Enjoyments*. I am sorry to find that You scruple not to speak openly and  
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positively, what any one who will turn to his *Exposition* will find not to be true.

2. You give no sufficient proof that the *Apostle* did not confine his Assertion in your *Text*, to those times of bitter Persecution. I find but two *Reasons* You give against this confined Interpretation. 1. That the thing it self is not true, because *Jews* have been as much persecuted as *Christians*. In answer to this I might urge, 1. That it is not to be supposed that the *Apostle* intended by this saying, to affirm that there never had been any Person, or Persons, in the World, who had experienced the like evils to them *He* and *others* were exposed to; but only that *He*, and *others*, were at that time to be reckoned amongst the most miserable of Men, supposing no *future Reward*. 2. If at that time neither the *Jews*, nor any other *Sect* of Men were under the like or comparable Pressures, this is sufficient to justify what the *Apostle* affirms; which, I say, is confined to those days, in which *Christians* expected and experienced little besides *Persecution*. 3. You acknowledge your self that their *Persecutions* are implied in this Sentence. Now they can be no more implied, than solely intended, according to this reasoning of yours. For the *persecutions* of the *Jews*, You say, had been equal to those of *Christians*. As to *Persecution*, therefore, according to You, the *Christians* were but *equally miserable* with the *Jews*: And consequently whatever proves them *more miserable*, must be something distinct from this, and not implying it; because what implies this proving them only *equally*



equally miserable, can go no farther than that, nor have any part in proving them more miserable. It is their *Moral Virtue* alone as to which You say they are *more miserable* : Therefore I say, according to your arguings, their *Persecutions* cannot so much as be implied, because they only put them upon an equality with *others*. But, You say, these *Persecutions* are *implied* in your *Text* : From whence I again argue, they must be so implied, as what considered by themselves are sufficient to prove the *greater present misery* of *Christians* : Otherwise they are not implied at all. 2. You argue that the *Corinthians* had not yet experienced any *Persecution* : And therefore St. Paul cannot be supposed solely to intend *that* in what He affirms. Now,

1. This again will prove that He could no more *imply* it, than solely intend it. For if He might *imply* it, He might likewise intend nothing else. But You own that He implied it ; therefore He might likewise solely intend it, notwithstanding this Argument.
2. The *Corinthians*, if any of them were good *Christians*, certainly had experienced all the *Persecution* You mention in your *Sermon* : And therefore if what You speak of there be truly, as You pretend in this *Preface*, a State of *Persecution*, then had *they* already had experience of it.
3. It is remarkable that St. Paul saith, *We*, and not *You*, or the *Best* of *You*, are of all Men the most miserable : Which former is a much more large expression than the latter : And takes in the whole of *Christians* considered in the Circumstances they were then in. Had He intended



it concerning the Practicers of *Christian Morality*, He might with more advantage have pressed his Argument upon the *Corinthians* themselves, by urging the present misery of the most *Virtuous* amongst them above that of the *wicked World* about them. We see He urgeth particularly the absurd folly of those ( whoever they were ) who were *baptized for the Dead* ; and the folly of Himself and others for suffering *Persecution*, upon supposition of no Resurrection to come : And can We think that He would not have plainly mentioned, nay, particularly insisted upon the folly of those who lived up to the best System of Morality, had any such thing been in his Mind ? But his business was not to prove the whole Church of the *Corinthians* the most *miserable*, upon the supposition He makes, as You intimate ; but *Himself* and the very best and chief of *Christians* at that time. 4. It is sufficient that the State of *Christianity* was such at that time, that there was no hope for the *Corinthians*, any more than for *others*, to escape grievous Persecutions : And that *Christians*, in general, were then in a very calamitous, and suffering Condition : Tho' upon second thoughts I should rather interpret this verse of the *Apostles* chiefly, and the *Leaders* of the *Flock of Christ*, whose Office suffered them to enjoy but very few, and short, intervals of *Rest*, and *Quiet* ; as *Grotius*, and others interpret it. Thus You see that your *Reasons* against confining the interpretation of this place to the Case of *Persecution*, are not at all conclusive : And at the same time that St. Paul doth



doth not explain this *general* Proposition himself any otherwise, than by the *Sufferings* and *Persecutions* He, and others were at that time exposed to. If *Authorities* be of any force, as You seem to think them in your own Case, I could add to *Grotius*, *Dr. Hammond* and many others, who confine this Verse to the Case of *Persecution*. But I desire *Reasons*, and not *Authorities* for any thing of this Nature: And so conclude this Head, leaving it to the Reader to judge how exactly agreeable to *St. Paul's* Sense your interpretation of your Text is.

I come now to the *Third Head*, the falseness and perniciousness of the *Doctrine* taught in your *Sermon*. Here you tell your Reader, that I have put You under no necessity of considering every thing I have said on this Head, because I pretend to prove your *Doctrine* false, only by offering some *Observations* on your manner of proceeding in the *Argument* you undertook: As if, You add, *Observations* on your manner of proceedings would determine the truth or falshood of the *Argument* it self! [ p. 51. ] I put You in mind before that You taxed me of great unreasonableness in considering and opposing your *General Positions* without considering those *Restrictions*, and that particular manner in which You understood and defended them. What must I do? Can nothing satisfy You? Must I be charged with, and severely blamed for, two *inconsistent* Things? As for taking your *General Positions* by themselves, I have shewn that I did not do it; but that I made Conscience of understanding them, after the manner in which You understood them,

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before



before I pretended to fix any thing upon You, or to argue against You. I could not have been just to You, without considering your particular manner of proceeding: otherwise how I could know what your *Doctrine* was, I cannot tell, or how I should be able to argue with You. And as I could not understand your *Doctrine* without considering the manner in which You explained your Positions: So neither could I take any more effectual way to convince You particularly of the falseness and perniciousness of it, than the offering to You some Observations upon your manner of proceeding. And tho' from what I have said, it cannot follow either that your *General Positions* are false, or the *Argument* built upon them, as others may understand the same *general words* which You use; yet, if I have argued aright, this is sufficient to prove to You, that the *Positions*, and *Arguments*, as You understand, and explain them, are *false*, and *pernicious*. This was my design; and the method I have taken is the only proper method for that end. As for your ingenious Reflexions upon my *Gravity*, or upon my using the same plain manner of expression upon several Occasions; I confess to You that I think *Levity*, and *Repartee* little becoming the *Subject*. If I express myself so as to be clearly understood; it is all I aimed at. The glory of Embellishments, and the beauties of *variety* of *Expression*, if that be the contest, I yield to You. Had I designed to have *disparaged* You, as You express your self, I would have taken another method, not unlike that of some *Modern Precedents*:



dents : But my design being only to disprove your *Doctrine*, i. e. your *General Positions*, and *Argument*, as *You*, (not as others) understand, and explain them; I defy *You* to name a method in which I could *honestly* do this, without considering the particular manner in which *You* handle them.

But on a sudden, and in the middle of another debate, *You* ask, *What tendency hath it towards a discovery of Truth in this important matter, to spend two pages in proving that when I call the Text a Concession of the Apostles, I speak improperly?* Now, 1. The business I was then upon was not the *truth* of your *Doctrine*, but the *agreeableness* of it to the *Apostle's* design in the *Text* : And certainly it hath a tendency to shew that your interpretation was very foreign to the *Apostle's* meaning, to shew that the *Apostle* is not making a *Concession* to the *Cause of Vice*, as *You* expressly said He was. 2. This is of as much importance, as it is to know the full meaning of this passage of *Scripture*, and therefore worthy to be remarked. The fortunes of *Greece* do not depend upon it, as *You* ingeniously observe : But the true interpretation of the place depended upon it, as far as it was contested between us ; which to a *Christian* is of some Importance. 3. *You* do not well to magnify the matter, in order to make your *Reader* think me trifling : For there is but *one* page, and that consisting not of many words, concerning it. 4. *You* add that the expression is not so improper, but that the *Letter-Writer* himself vouchsafes to employ it in the very same Sense, and upon the very same Occasion : which



You prove from his producing your *Explication* of the *Text*, and then adding, *This is in truth a Concession*. And if it be, say You, so also is the *Text* it self in that *Sense* at least, wherein I understand it. It will be hard, I believe, to parallel this way of arguing. I say that You mistake when You call the *Text* a *Concession* of the *Apostle's*: therefore I may not say that your *Explication* of it is in truth a *Concession* of yours. The *Text* in the *Sense* You understand it is indeed a *Concession*. But St. Paul is making no *Concession* in it; therefore You understand it amiss. I acknowledge You make a very great *Concession* to the *Cause* of *Vice*, in the way, in which You interpret your *Text*. May I not therefore, very consistently say, that the *Apostle* makes no such *Concession* as You would put upon him? Yours is a *Concession* in truth. The *Apostle's* is no *Concession*. Is this employing the *Expression* to the very same *Sense*, and upon the very same *Occasion*? I say it is foreign to the *Apostle's* design, to call his words a *Concession*, as You do: May I not therefore own that your words, not his, are a *Concession* in truth? Nothing can be using that expression to the same *Sense*, and on the same *Occasion*, but my calling the *Apostle's* words a *Concession* of his: which You know I never do. But too much of this, which keeps us from the main *Debate*.

Of my ten grave *Observations*, there is but one which You think fit to consider: And of this, only one part, viz. that which concerns the *Happiness* of a *Being*, made capable of imitating God in the practice of *Virtue*, and endowed with *Reason*. Here are two points to



be considered, 1. *That the chief Happiness of a Reasonable Creature, must consist in living as Reason directs.* This I prove to You by your own Concession, [p. 12.] *That Virtue and Vice do in their own natures tend to make those Men happy, or miserable, who severally practise them, is a Proposition of undoubted (and, I am sure, by me undisputed) Truth; as far as it relates to Moral Virtue or Vice properly so called; that is to those measures of Duty, which Natural Reason, unenlightened by Revelation prescribes.* These are your own words, from whence my Proposition follows: or rather, it is the same in other words. 2. *That the chief happiness of a Being made capable of imitating God, must consist in that Virtue which is the imitation of God; of what duration soever its Life is.* This is, in effect, much the same with the former: And this likewise I prove to You from your own words, [p. 44.] *Men of excellent Minds may possibly by a long practice of Virtue, have render'd even the heights and rigours of it delightful, and brought their Duty and Happiness to be in every Case (observe the words) consistent, without attending to the rewards of a Future State.* And, [p. 57.] *The Habit of Virtue once acquired, would afford the Possessors of it greater Satisfaction than any the Wicked and Licentious did, or could enjoy.* Now then, let us enter, if You please, upon the Debate.

1. You say, My Argument proves too much, even that a Man may be happy under the most grievous Persecutions. 1. This, indeed, You have affirmed in words, making the Happiness and Duty of some Virtuous Men, in every Case, consistent: which I have not done. On the con-



trary, I have all along excepted the *Case* of *Persecution*; and professed to speak with respect to the general, and ordinary course of God's Providence. But first remove this *Difficulty* from these Sentences which I have cited from your self: and then object it to me, if You can. You see, I have quoted from *Archbishop Tillotson*, his Opinion concerning the great happiness of living according to the dictates of *Reason*: From whence it is evident, that the words You here object from Him, were not designed against such reasoning as mine; but against those who make *Duty, and Happiness in every Case* (which words include even the intense and continued Pains of the Rack) *consistent, without attending to Future Rewards*: and whether You, or I, have done this, I leave to your self. 2. In other places, upon supposition of no *Future State*, You make *sensual or Worldly Pleasures* the *chief happiness* of Man. I desire to know whether this supposeth a Man may be happy even upon the Rack. If You except such *Cases* when You debate about *Happiness*; why will You not allow *me* the same favour? If You say, The *Virtuous* may retain his *Virtue*, and so according to me, be happy: I answer, He cannot upon the Rack practise those *Virtues*, upon which Practice his chief Happiness, in the ordinary course of *God's Providence*, was founded. He may retain his love to them; and so may a *Wicked* Man his love to his *Vices*, which are his *chief Happiness*; and yet not be happy in such Circumstances. 3. He may, I grant, practice *Patience* and *Submission*: And tho' a Man cannot properly be said



to be an happy Man, who is under intense Torments ; yet it may be said, that what small degree of *Happiness* can be enjoyed results from the support of his former *Virtues*, and present *Patience*; and consequently, that this may be called his *chief Happiness*, even in the worst of Circumstances ; as we see it often is in the *Case* of Good Men under violent bodily Pains. But 4. When we dispute concerning the happiness of Man, it is evident we suppose Man not only capable of it, as to himself ; but in such a condition, in other respects, as is not utterly inconsistent with it. If therefore the *Case* You mention be utterly inconsistent with any degree of Happiness, your arguing affects me no more than if You should say, *Virtue* cannot be a Man's *chief Happiness*, because it is impossible it should be any Happiness to Him in a fit of an *Apoplexy*, or a *Letbargy*. If it be not inconsistent with all degrees of Happiness, then *Virtue* may be the *chief Happiness* in it. For I must observe that *Virtue* may be a Man's *chief Happiness* in a *Case* in which the Man cannot properly be called an happy Man. 2. Were the Being of Man circumscribed to this Life, You deny that his *chief Happiness* would result from the most excellent part of his Constitution : And You prove it by what only proves that all his Happiness would not. I answer, All his present Happiness doth not, even under the revelation of a *Future State* : Yet his *chief Happiness* doth. So tho', upon your Supposition, the Body must be regarded as well as the Soul (which I never denied) yet, notwithstanding this, the



the *chief Happiness* may result from the *Soul*. What else becomes of your concessions in favour of *Virtue* just now produced? Nay, who is there that regards the health and vigour of the *Body*, more truly than the virtuous Man doth, in the ordinary course of God's Providence? And again, if both parts must be regarded, in order to present Happiness, I desire to know how it is possible for You to reconcile this with the making *pleasing Sensations*, as enjoyed by the Wicked, the *measure* of present Happiness. Doth not their prosecution of these, imply in it a total Disobedience to the dictates of the most excellent Part? Or, may the more *excellent part* in our Constitution be with greater Happiness neglected, than the inferior, and baser Part?

3. You say, *Had we no hope of another Life, the directions of Reason would not be the same as they are now*; and so our *chief Happiness* would not consist in living as Reason directs. 1. I deny the Inference, if the *directions* of Reason would be different, yet still they would be the *directions* of Reason: and so my general expression may be true. 2. This doth not enter into your *Supposition*, as it was explained in your *Sermon*, in which You suppose Mankind under the apprehension of an *End* superior to that of *Sensual Pleasures*; under *Checks*, and *Restraints*; and Reason guiding them after the same way it doth now; and *Virtue* and *Vice* what they are now. 3. If it would not be the Happiness of Man to follow Reason, what becomes of your Concession about the *dictates* of Reason just now cited; and concerning the happiness of an *Habit*



bit of *Virtue*, above that of *Vice*? 4. You argue from the unsuccessfulness of such *Doctrine* as mine, that no one would be influenced by it, &c. I answer this signifieth nothing. Do not You say the same in this *Preface* for all this? Besides, the *Question* between us is not, whether any will be sufficiently moved to the practice of *Virtue* by such Arguments: But whether this practice would not be their *Happiness*, were they once established in it. This You agree to. We see that few will be moved, even with the prospect of a *Future State*, or by the happy Rewards of a *Religious Life* at last. But this is because Men will not see their *Happiness*; not because their *Happiness* is misrepresented to them. Besides, I do not make the *Cause* of *Virtue* to rest upon its natural tendency to present Happiness. I know how weak a support this would prove to most Men against a present violent Temptation. But I would willingly remove out of the way of it, the contrary Prejudice; which may sometimes hinder Men from being moved to the practice of it, even by the hopes of a great Reward to come. And I think there can be no harm to the *Cause* of *Virtue*, to unite both these Arguments for its support. 5. You do in one *Sentence* unsay all that You have been here saying, acknowledging all that I contend for concerning the *Habit* of *Virtue*, or the habitual imitation of God: And so make it unnecessary for me to add any thing farther.

This being all You are pleased to say in justification of your *Doctrine*, I proceed now  
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to consider what You urge by way of freeing it from those evil Consequences which I fixed upon it; at the same time removing the imputation of them from *your self*. Here it is necessary to observe, that I did not fix these bad Consequences upon your *General Positions*; but upon the *Positions* as You understand and explain them, *i. e.* upon your *Doctrine* maintained under them, *viz.* that the practice of Meekness, Humility, Placability, Contentment; that the conquest of our Passions, the governing our Appetites, the bounding our Desires with respect to this World, included in them greater present *unhappiness* than their contraries. Now You do not say, nor attempt to say, the least word to shew that those Absurdities, and evil Consequences do not flow from it: But think it sufficient to mention your *General Positions*; and a good justification of your self, that You use these Positions for a good end; to prove the certainty of a *Future State*. This You call a *short, but full* answer to all I have said upon this Head, *Lett. p. 28, 29, 30.* to which I cannot but wish the *Reader* would do You the justice to turn, to see how *fully* You have vindicated your self in this Point. Let any one judge, in the *first* place, of what importance it is to urge that You designed what You say for the support of the *Belief* of a *Future State*. For, 1. I never doubted the goodness of your Design: but this doth not at all take off from the falsehood, or evil effects of your *Doctrine*. 2. I have observed before now, that this *Article* of our *Faith* stands not in need of any such supports



supports as this. 3. It is certain that to support such an *Article* by weak, or false Principles, tends to bring it into doubt and contempt amongst Men of weak, or evil Minds: And consequently that to shew the falshood of such Principles, and to direct Men to better and more substantial *Arguments*, is of service to the belief, and credit of the *Article* it self. As, if any Person should pass over the plain Declarations of *Jesus Christ*, and declare that such or such passages of *Scripture*, which are either *obscure*, or spoken of other Subjects, were the very *best proofs* of the revelation of a *Future State*, I could not but think it a great piece of service to that important *Article*, to shew the weakness of such an *Argument*; there being nothing hardly which more effectually brings a discredit upon any *Article* of *Faith*, than the using such *Arguments* to prove it as are weak, and without Foundation. The *End* aimed at cannot at all justify the *means* used towards the obtaining it. Secondly, Let any one judge likewise to what purpose it is to say, that the *ill consequences* which I have vainly endeavoured to fasten on your *Doctrine*, are in truth so far from being ill Consequences of your *Doctrine*, that they are Consequences only of that false Supposition, which You advanced in order to disprove it, and by that means to prove the truth of my *Doctrine*. This is a very extraordinary way of arguing indeed, in which You puzzle the understanding of your *Reader*, by using the word *Doctrine* in two different Senses, and applying it to two different parts of your *Doctrine*; one of which only was charged  
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by me with any evil Consequences. I must explain this matter a little, because You have made it so intricate by this way of speaking. The *false Supposition* You make use of is this, *If there be no Future State*. This *false Supposition* You make use of in order to prove the truth of your *Doctrine*, i. e. This *Supposition* You make use of to prove that there is a *Future State*. This is the *Doctrine* aimed at by the making this *false Supposition*. But You know this is not the *Doctrine* which I charged with evil Consequences. The *Doctrine* about which I was concerned, was this, That supposing no *Future State*, the *Best Men* are made the most miserable by the practice of those *Virtues* I have so often mentioned; by those *Virtues* which are their Duty in the most quiet, as well as troublesome state of Life. This is what I charged with *Absurdities*, and *evil Consequences*: which You now say are the *Consequences* only of that *false Supposition*. This is the *Question* between us, whether *Humility*, *Placability*, *Conquest of Passions*, *Command of Appetites*, *Contentment*, are to be reckoned amongst the *Evils* of this present Life; and to be accounted greater than those of a *Course* of the *contrary Vices*. This *Doctrine* of yours concerning the present tendency of *Virtue*, as You have explained it, doth not it self depend upon that *false Supposition*; and therefore the *Consequences* of it cannot. That the *Doctrine* it self doth not, is evident from hence, that supposing a *Future State*, it is still true, according to your *Sermon*, that, as to this State, the *Joys of the Wicked* do upon the whole exceed those of the *Upright*; and that the



the *Best* of *Christians* are render'd here the *most miserable* of *Men* by the practice of the *Virtues* now mentioned. And if this *Doctrine* it self, as delivered by You, do so little depend upon the *false Supposition*, that it is equally true with it, or without it : It is impossible that the *Consequences* of this *Doctrine*, should be the *Consequences* of a *false Supposition* only, upon which the *Doctrine* it self doth not depend. And thus You have given a *full answer* to the *absurd* and *evil Consequences* I fixed upon your *Doctrine*, by not so much as naming them, or attempting to answer them ; and by amusing your *Reader* with a double use of the same word, in the same Sentence.

Your next way of getting rid of the *ill Consequences* of your own *Doctrine*, is to charge a very bad one upon mine, viz. *That there is no need of a Future State to set right the unequal distributions of happiness in this.* This You say, my *Doctrine manifestly tends to.* My *Doctrine* is in short this, that the *Virtues* You mention are so far from contributing to the present misery of the *Men* who practice them, that they naturally tend to their *Happiness*. According to this, say You, *there is no need of a Future State to set right the unequal distributions of Happiness in this.* Now, 1. Remember that You have in this *Preface* owned, that *Virtue taught by Reason tends to present Happiness*, and that *an Habit of Virtue fills its Possessors, in this Life, with greater pleasures than the most Licentious enjoy ;* nay, that *the Duty and present Happiness of some Men, is united in every Case.* Doth it follow from hence that there is no  
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need of a *Future State*? If not, do not so soon forget your self as to charge that upon another, who hath not yet said so much as this last. 2. You know there are Men, whose *Happiness* is now as compleat as all the prosperous circumstances of *Life* can make it; they are your own words. Doth this, therefore, debar them from any claim to *Future Happiness*? God forbid! Doth it follow that because *Good Men* are now happy in any respect, therefore they have nothing to expect hereafter; or that if a *Virtuous Man* prosper at all in this World, He hath nothing farther to hope for? 3. The *Evils*, and *Miseries* of the Best of Men in this State are sufficiently numerous, without reckoning their *Virtues* amongst them. They are often grievously afflicted by the Hand of *Providence*; in their *Bodies*, their *Estates*, their *Relations*; and sometimes given up to the fury and torments of *Persecution*. There are many inequalities in the distribution of *Providence* to be made up in a *Future State*, without adding to the number; or charging the nature of *Virtue* with a tendency to *Unhappiness*. It is manifest, therefore, that the practice of *Virtue* may tend to *present Happiness*; and yet that on other accounts, there may be need of a *Future State*, to set right the inequalities of this: And therefore that this charge of yours is wholly groundless, and void of all foundation.

But lest the *Reader* should think too favourably of me, and be apt to charge this only upon my *Doctrine*; and not upon any design of mine, You are pleased to add ( I suppose



pose in return to my civility, in carefully avoiding the doing You so great an Injury ) some Instances in order to prove that the pretended Patron of *Vertue*, as I am called, can hardly, if at all, be freed from the imputation of an evil Design. As 1. You positively affirm, that *I have substituted no other Argument for a Future State, in the room of that which I have endeavoured to weaken. This gives great suspicion.* Now, 1. Supposing I had not, it cannot possibly give any just ground of suspicion to shew the weakness of any Argument that is built upon a false Foundation, and raised upon the ruins of *Virtue*. To destroy such reasoning as this, shews a desire that the Belief of a Future State should be received upon good grounds; not that it should not be received at all. 2. It was not my business to settle that Matter, but to shew that your *Reflexions* upon *Virtue* are groundless, which I esteem of great service to the *Christian Religion* it self. 3. The Accusation it self is without foundation. You own that I mention the Argument for a *Future State*, drawn from the *Sufferings of Good Men*. Now, had I had any bad design, I should have shewn the weakness of *that*, as well as of *yours*. But any Person of *Candour*, and *Equity*, would rather have concluded from what I say, that I esteemed it a good Argument, than the contrary. Again, You acknowledge that I say, that our Lord's *Resurrection*, and his assurances of a *Future State* which He confirmed by numberless *Miracles*, added to the presumptions of *Reason*, are sufficient to satisfy all that are willing to listen to truth. Yet



You are so candid as to add, that I do not say of *what truth* these *Arguments* will satisfy a Man. Behold the unwillingness You profess to *make the worst and most invidious construction of things!* [p. 64.] What can the assurances of a *Future State* given by our Lord satisfy us of, but of that very *Future State* which He assured us of; that *Future State* in which the *Righteous* shall be rewarded, and the *Wicked* punished? How is it possible to put any other interpretation upon the Words? And yet your great *Candour* hath carried You to insinuate that I might mean some other *truth*: For instance I might possibly mean, that the assurances of a *Future State* given and confirmed to us by our *Lord* are sufficient to satisfy us not of that *Future State* which He assured us of, but that *two* and *two* make *four*; or of some other *matter* as foreign to the purpose. This I'm sure of, that I could mention no greater *Argument* than what I have done in that Sentence: And amongst *Christians* no other can be of so great Importance.

2. You affirm that I am so far from giving an account of the presumptions of Reason for a *Future State*, that I have all along employed such Reasonings as, if true, are strong presumptions against a *Future State*: And this because I say that the imitation of God must be the happiness of Man; and that the practice of Virtue is Happiness it self. Now in my own words some *Virtues* only, as Contentment, Peaceableness, &c. are said to be *Happiness it self*: But this was not so much to your purpose; and so You have been so kind as to alter then. But take me



me as You represent me. 1. You soon forget what You have acknowledged about the *Habit of Virtue*, which is the imitation of *God*: You forget that You have declared the *Duty* and *Happiness* of some *Virtuous Men*, to be the same in every Case. Let me therefore ask, If their *Duty* be their present *Happiness*, doth this destroy all hopes of *Future*? Doth this imply that no addition can be made to it? Doth this imply that a Man *without* the prospect of another World, is as happy as *with* it? Or any other of those things which You have unreasonably laid to the charge of my *Doctrine*, without remembering that You have said the same thing your self in some places? Alas, Sir, You forget that *Virtue* may, in the ordinary course of Providence, be the chief *Happiness* of Man; nay, *Happiness* it self in some Instances; and yet it may not be perfect *Happiness*; it may not be so circumstantiated as to make him incapable of greater to come. There are degrees in what we call *Happiness*, all allow; And this World may be a Scene, notwithstanding what I, or You have said about the *Happiness* of *Virtue*, far removed from such *Happiness* as we may justly seek after, and are made capable of: And therefore there may be need of *another State* to make up the Deficiencies, and Inequalities of this, notwithstanding what You say, that the *Duty* and *Happiness* of the most *Virtuous* is the same; and notwithstanding what I say, that *Virtue* is the *chief Happiness* of Man, nay, in some Instances, *Happiness* it self. When we call Men happy, on any accounts, in this World,



we always are understood to mean, as far as it is possible for them to be so in such a state as this. Our *Blessed Lord* declares that Meekness and Humility shall bring rest to our Souls; and shall contribute to our present Happiness; whatever some teach: Doth it therefore follow that there *remaineth no rest* above for the *Meek and Humble*? St. Paul declares that *Godliness* hath the *promises of the Life which now is*: Doth it therefore follow that He might not consistently with himself add, *and of the Life which is to come*? *Solomon* saith the *ways of Religion are ways of Pleasantness, and all her paths are Peace*: Doth it therefore follow that all its Reward is here below, and none to be expected above? How justly therefore do You fix it upon the *Letter*, that if the *Doctrine of it be true, this World may be our Home, a state of Fruition and Felicity, not of Preparation and Trial, &c.* whereas You may as well say, that because any degree of *Happiness* is enjoyed at present by a *Good Man*; therefore He hath none to expect hereafter: Nay, You may as well charge this absurdity upon *Solomon, St. Paul, and our Blessed Lord himself*. That these *Principles do not tend to subvert the Belief of a Future State*, as You charge them, is evident, because, as I have shewn, the *contrary* are not in the least necessary towards the establishing that *Belief*; and because *these* are perfectly consistent with it. But if the *Accusation* be true, You must have the greater share in it your self, because *You* have gone much farther, and made the *Duty and present Happiness of the most Virtuous* the same, in every Case; nay, affirmed, that



that the very *Conflicts* which Men maintain with their *Lusts and Passions* in the beginnings of Virtue, are render'd pleasing by the hopes of a *Future Reward*; and consequently that He who hath the hopes of a *Future Reward* at present enjoys Pleasure, even in his most difficult combats against Vice; and that they who are arrived to the height of Virtue, have, in every Case, a present Reward. According to your way of arguing, therefore, what necessity do You leave for their *future Reward*? But indeed if You can but get rid of a present difficulty, or bring a present discredit upon the Man who is so bold as to argue against You; You seem not at all to regard whether You contradict and condemn your self, or no. This appears again from your other *Accusation*, that according to my *Doctrine*, a *virtuous Heathen* is as happy as a *virtuous Christian*; a *virtuous Man* without the prospect of another World, as happy as with it: Whereas, according to my *Doctrine*, the greater degree of Virtue attained by a Christian exalts his Happiness above that of others; and according to your express Affirmation, the *Virtue* of *Heathens* tends to present Happiness, which the *Christian Virtues* diminish, and so, a *virtuous Heathen* is by You made not only as happy, but much more so than a *virtuous Christian*. So much do You forget your self in your zeal. As for the other part of this *Accusation*, You may as well tax me with teaching that all who are happy in any Respect, or in any State, whether here, or hereafter, are equally so. Whether the Letter-Writer intended by what He



*hath wrote, to undermine this Belief, is left, You say, to God, and his own Conscience. Not by You, I am sure: for in the very next Page, this great Candour is forgotten, and You charge me, in effect, with this Wicked and Impious Design. For because I say that I much question whether there was ever, or can be, a Persecution merely for the sake of the Moral Virtues of any Person; this Doubt of mine You declare You cannot account for, but upon this foot that I foresaw that the persecution of Virtue as Virtue, must infer a Future Reward; and that, therefore, I must question the truth of this, merely because I would not have the Belief of a Future State admitted. In order to convince me of my Error in matter of fact; You are so kind as to name me some Instances in which Virtue as Virtue hath been persecuted. Before I answer to them, I must observe that the Debate here is, not whether any Virtuous Persons have been persecuted; nor whether they have not incurred the displeasure of some Persons by being so, when this hath stood in the way of their Evil Designs; but whether the immediate Cause of their Evil Treatment hath been declared and acknowledged to be taken from their Moral Virtues. This is what I questioned: and supposing me mistaken, is Ignorance so unpardonable a Crime with You? But now let us examine the Instances You produce. Were not, say You, Socrates, and Aristides plain Instances of this kind? Not at all; Socrates was persecuted not under the notion of a Virtuous Man, but as an Impious Contemner of the Gods of his Country. Aristides was not condemned to Banishment,*



ment, as a *Virtuous Man*: But by *Themistocles's* Artifice, who wanted him out of the way, He was painted out in false, and not in his true Colours. The *Historian* tells us, that the answer of one of his *Ignorant Condemners* who was asked by *Aristides* himself why He was against him, was this, that He did not know *Aristides*, but that He did not like a Man that had endeavoured to appropriate to himself the Title of *Just*. By which it appears that this Man had been set against Him, not as a truly *Just* Man, but as one who had only pretended to be so, and vainly affected to be so surnamed, and distinguished from others: And that the Cause of his Persecution publicly pretended by *Themistocles* was not his *Virtue*; the reality of which was without doubt denied, or dissembled by his Adversaries, whose *Eloquence* it was that gave such a representation of Him, as to move the Multitude against Him. Again, You ask, when *Joseph* suffered under the Accusation of *Potiphars Wife*, was He not persecuted merely for the sake of Moral Virtue? I answer, No, quite the contrary. He was punished as a Person who had attempted her Chastity: And had not been punished, had He not been represented by her as a Vicious Man. So that *Virtue* as *Virtue*, was not punished in any of these Instances: which all help to confirm the truth of what I intended, that the Cause of *Virtue* hath had such a Reputation in the World, that when any *Wicked Persons* have a design of bringing any Punishment, or Persecution upon the *Virtuous*; their business is first to paint them out in black Colours,



Colours ; to hide their *Virtues* ; and to represent them as *Vicious* in some respect or other, before they can hope to compass their End. This any one may see was my meaning ; and this to be sure You must take to be my meaning : otherwise You might as well have produced our *Saviour*, and all his *suffering Disciples*, as contradictions to what I maintained. Upon this Head I must observe to You, that I hold it to be a sufficient ground for the expectation of Happiness to come, that *Virtuous Men* are so frequently persecuted, and miserable here ; tho' I deny them to be persecuted under the notion of *Virtuous Men* ; or to be made *miserable* by the tendency of their *Virtues*.

But should *Virtue* be persecuted, Yet still (You say) I deny the hopes of a distant *Recompence* would afford it any immediate Relief. The Reader will here have a fresh Instance of your great unwillingness to make the worst and most invidious construction of Things. My Words, on which You ground this Charge, are these, That the best of Men are sometimes in this State the most miserable, as far as the Evils of this World can make them so, may possibly be true : but it is equally true, whether You suppose a Future State, or suppose it not. Of this, You say, You can make no other Sense than that *Virtuous Persons* so persecuted are equally miserable under both Suppositions ; their hopes of future Happiness being no manner of allay to their present Miseries. Now this is so far from being the only Sense of which they are capable ; that they are not at all capable of it : Nor is it possible for You with all your *Wit*, to make



make them capable of it. On the contrary, they do imply that the *present support* under their misery, arising from their *Hopes*, is the *same*, whether in reality there be such a *State* or no. It is not said, they are *equally miserable* at present; whether they have *hopes* of a *Future State*, or no. This was far from my thoughts: but, whether in reality at last, such a *State* shall be found, or not. These are two very different things, between which I have carefully distinguished, as You ought to have done: And therefore to fly out, as You here do, upon a mistake and inadvertence of your own, will make your *Accusations* sit much the lighter for the future, and only redound to your own Disadvantage, who, with all your Abilities, and all your *Critical* severity upon others, know no other Sense of a plain *Sentence*, than one of which it is utterly incapable.

Agreeable to this is your *Charge*, that, by removing *such supports* as the *Argument* You make use of in your *Sermon*, I take away the *strongest inducement* the best *Philosophers* ever had to believe a *Future State*: and then leave You to depend upon the bare assertions of other *Philosophers*, on their authority without Reason, for the truth of it. Now, 1. You have not, tho' I called You to it before, named any one *Philosopher* who ever believed a *Future State* upon what You call the *strongest Inducement*; the tendency of those *Virtues* You mention to present misery. Nor can You produce one. Nay, 2. How can You pretend to do it? when You own that their *Virtue*, as taught by Reason, tended to present  
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Happiness ; ( which *they* must know as well as *You* ; ) and that what *You* speak to the contrary, is only with relation to *Christian Virtue*, of which they knew nothing. 3. My business was not to produce their *Reasonings*: but my referring to the *Philosophers* is so far from leaving Persons to believe on their *Authority*, that it is the advising them to read, and examine their *Reasonings*. 4. Not content with this, I expressly mention the great demonstration of a *Future State* by the *Gospel*: Which I think is the best thing I could do.

Thus have I followed *You* very closely, and considered every thing, in *Your large Vindication*, which hath the face of Reasoning, and *Argument*. I shall here add, that I hope the *Reader* will be so just as to turn to the *Letter* it self, to see how compleat and full an answer *You* have made to it. So He will the better judge whether of *Ten Observations* one only deserves to be touched upon, and all the rest to be answered by the wonderful *virtue* of one single Word, and by the allegation of so unpardonable a Crime as writing *gravely* on so serious an *Argument*; whether the *Contradictions* which I mentioned in order to convince *You* of *Your Error*, did not deserve to be mentioned and considered; whether the *Wise Philosophers* who, *You* say, made use of *Your Argument* for a *Future State*, should not, have been produced by *You*; and the like, which I now leave to the judgment of others.

Why *You* were singled out, as *You* express it, from the crowd of *Writers*, who have all along  
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*maintained the same Doctrine, may very well be accounted for without Your supposition of Insincerity or Malice in the Letter-Writer. For, 1. By the same Argument every Writer must be Insincere and Malicious, who endeavours to shew that any other Writer hath been mistaken, if that other Writer can but shew that He followed the footsteps of any who wrote before Him: And I fear Your self must come under the Imputation; as well as the greatest Writers in our Church. The Man against whom Mr. Chillingworth wrote might as well ask, Why He was singled out of the crowd of Writers, who had said the same things, &c. 2. Supposing this crowd of Writers to have taught Your Doctrine, there is the more need of openly declaring against it, if it be false: And You having taught it in a very particular and open manner, it cannot be any more criminal to single out You, than to single out any of them, in order to shew the falshood of it. The last Writer, if He be a Person of any Note, commonly makes the greatest Impression: And I think it no little Complement to You, that I feared Your Name might add weight where it is wanting in Argument, and help to propagate what I judged to be of pernicious Consequence. But, 3. I have shewn that there is no such crowd of Writers before You, in this Cause, as You would make the Reader believe. 4. If I were so ignorant, or forgetful, as to think that these Writers had not taught any thing like Your Doctrine, this is a sufficient justification of my saying so; which You seem to think a manifest indication of my*

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*Insincerity, and Malice*: Not remembering that You confess, that when You taught this *Doctrine*, Your self laboured under the same *Ignorance*, or want of Memory. As for any *Evil Design* against You, God knows I had none: And I think it manifest to any Reader from my manner of Writing. You have not attempted to produce one *Personal Reflexion*; unless You be resolved to call that *Personal*, which only concerns Your manner of handling Your Argument. So far from any other *Personal Design*, that if I have unwarily drop'd any one unnecessary Expression which looks another way, I am ready sincerely and heartily to beg pardon for it.

But indeed, Your manner of *Writing* in this Controversy hath something so very peculiar in it, that I cannot help, in my own necessary Defence, laying before the Reader some of those many Absurdities and Contradictions, into which Your zeal against the *Letter-Writer* seems to have carried You. In the first place, Mankind is supposed by You, in Your Argument, *persuaded* that there is no Future State; and yet scared and terrified with the apprehensions of one; [p. 8.] in a condition in which the *restraints of Conscience* would no ways check Men in their pursuits; nay, in which it would blame Men for not pursuing Sensual Pleasure, if they judge it necessary to their present Happiness, [p. 55, 56.] yet in Your Sermon Mankind are represented, upon Your Supposition, as under checks from Reason and Reflexion, representing the meanness of all Sensual Enjoyments, &c. as under inward Reproaches, &c. [p. 370.] and Your Good Man to be such



such an one as, You say, He could not be without the hopes of a *Future State*. Again, The *Virtue* taught by *Reason* tends to present Happiness : but *Christian Virtue* doth not, tho' acknowledged to differ, in many Instances, only in degree, which must add to the Happiness of it. *Heathen Virtue* tended to present Happiness ; yet the *Wiseſt Heathens* made use of Your *Argument* taken from the present Unhappiness of a *Virtuous Life*, to prove a *Future State*. What You say of these Unhappineſſes You declare in Your *Preface*, is only with respect to *Christian Virtues* : Yet in Your *Sermon* the Argument drawn from them is declared to be the very best Argument used by the *Heathens* before the *Christian Revelation*, i. e. before there was any such thing as *Christian Virtue* in the World. The best of Men, the best of Christians are made miserable by those *Virtues* mentioned in Your *Sermon* : Yet there are Men arrived to such a pitch in *Virtue*, as that their *Duty* and present Happiness are the same in every case ; yet the Habit of *Virtue* fills its possessors with greater present Pleasures, than any the most Licentious can enjoy. Again, the habitually *Virtuous*, are happier at present than the *Vicious* : Yet the *Letter-Writer* is a *Deist*, an Underminer of one of the greatest Articles of *Christian Faith* for contending for no more than this ; and the Cause prosecuted by Him called the Cause of Infidelity, because He would not have such an Article built upon a *Falshood*, which may be pernicious to the Cause of *Virtue*. You tax me, [p. 4.] with falsely representing You, i. In speaking, as if You had undertaken to demonstrate



strate the Truth You supposed to be contained in Your Text: Whereas, You affirm, [ p. 5, ] that your *declared Intention* was only to shew the *undoubted truth* of the *Argument* contained in it, i. e. in other words to demonstrate it. Thus the *Mathematicians* are misrepresented when they are said to undertake to demonstrate the truth of their Propositions; whereas their *declared Intention* is only to shew the *undoubted truth* of them. 2. I *Falsly* represent You in speaking, as if You had undertaken to state the Point, i. e. on which part the greatest Happiness lies, as it immediately follows; whether on the side of the *Virtuous*, or *Vicious* Life: Whereas it is manifest from Your Sermon, that You only undertake to shew, that it lies, as to this Life, on the side of the latter. But can this possibly be undertaken without implying the other? Or can this be shewn by considering nothing but the Advantages on one side; and nothing but the supposed Disadvantages on the other? Or can it be proved that the advantage lies on one side, without proving that the Advantages on the other side are not comparable? And if You had not time to mention all the present Advantages on the side of *Virtue*, yet methinks You might, in general have intimated, at least, that there were some? Again, You blame the *Letter-Writer* for considering only Your *General Propositions*, without regarding the particular manner in which You understand them, [ p. 16. ] yet, [ p. 51. ] You are scoffing at him for being so weak as to attack Your Doctrine, by considering Your manner of proceeding in it; i. e. by considering the particular manner in



in which You understand and maintain it. You will leave my Design to God and my own Conscience, [ p. 62. ] yet at the very beginning You declare the end of Your Writing to be that Men may see how artfully the Mask of Religion can sometimes be put on to cover Designs which cannot decently be owned; and [ p. 63. ] You insinuate that it is impossible to account for some things, but by supposing Me to have written with a design against the Belief of a Future State. This may suffice to shew how Zeal, and an impatience of being opposed, may hurry Men of bright Parts, and Abilities, into Absurdities, and apparent Contradictions.

As for the *uncharitable Usage* I have met with from You, without the least ground, unless for being of a different Opinion, and representing this difference to You *seriously*, and *gravely*; I pray God not to lay it to Your Charge. My Civility You have returned by supposing the worst that can be supposed of me; by charging me, not with involuntary Mistakes, but Wicked, and Impious Designs. The Cause I maintain is the Cause of Infidelity. Deist, Egyptian, Rash, Insincere, Malicious, Base, Dishonest, Ignorant, and the like, are the Christian Complements which, with an happy variety of Expression, You pass upon one who acted a very different part towards You: and who now forgives You; well knowing that all the Provocations You can offer, cannot justify, what they well deserve, the return of the like from a Christian. I know not what effect the foregoing Pages may have upon You. Perhaps You may despise them. Perhaps



haps You may answer them by proving the *Writer* an *Atbeist*, or something worse than a *Deist* now : Which if he were, his *Arguments* are still the same ; and, if seriously proposed, not beneath the consideration of a *Christian Divine*, or unworthy of his serious, and charitable Reply. Whatever the event be ; be assured that, as on one hand I will let slip no just opportunity of defending the Cause of *Virtue*, which I have undertaken ; so on the other, no ill usage of Yours shall rob me either of the present *Pleasure*, or future *Reward* of a forgiving Temper. But for God's sake, if You will permit me to advise, consider, if you think fit to defend Your Cause again, that *Truth* is uniform, and in nothing *Self-contradicting* : Consider the conclusion of Your own *Preface*, and think whether any thing can give the *Common Enemies* of Religion a greater Advantage, than to see such returns made by a *Christian Divine*, to what He acknowledges to be *seriously* and *gravely* proposed ; and in which He cannot complain of one *abusive*, or *uncivil* Expression. Permit me to apply my self to You in some of Your own Words. These are such manifest Contradictions to the Spirit of Christianity, as all Your following solemn Pretences of Concern for the foundations of it cannot cover, or elude, [ p. 65. ] and carry in them a Reflection so much to the disadvantage of Religion, that could they possibly be concealed, I should think my self obliged to pass them over in Silence. How must it afflict good Men to see such Replies made, and in such a manner, as even to make sport for Unbelievers ? Are these the Blessed Effects



fects of Zeal, and Concern for the great Truths of Religion, of which we hear so much in some Men's Writings? How long shall the best words in the World be thus perversely applied to the worst Purposes, &c. [ p. 68. ] These are what will lie heavy upon a Christian in another World: as in this they expose Religion it self, to the laughter and scorn of profane Men, who shoot out the Lip, and shake the Head, saying, Aha, so we would have it: [ Pref. p. 69. ] and I fear do more harm to the Cause of Christianity amongst Men of unsettled Minds, than all the Speculative Arguments, managed by the same Persons, can make amends for. Your large Vindication, hath unavoidably drawn out this Reply to a great length; and I fear I may be thought to have repeated the same things too often upon different Occasions: But the Truth frequently requires this Method; and by it is often set in a clearer light than otherwise it would be.

It would now be proper to conclude; but that I think my self obliged to say something to Your severe Criticisms upon Mr. West at the end of Your Preface. For since He hath incurr'd Your Displeasure so grievously for encouraging and assisting the Egyptian, as Your Phrase is, [ p. 82. ] it is but just that the Egyptian should take upon himself the Resentments of which He was the sole Occasion. 1. In the first place, therefore, I beg leave to ask why You should so readily apply to Your self, what was said by Him in General. If He have spoken of a particular Notion, and given such an account of it, as that You disclaim it,

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what concern have *You* in it, on whom He never fixed it? 2. I observe that a Person of Your Abilities descends very low, when He takes notice of what is manifestly an Error of the Press, as a piece of *false Grammar*. If the same method were taken with Your self, this very *Preface* would furnish us with *Mistakes* not at all inferior to this: As the 171<sup>st</sup> Page of this *Volume* unfortunately doth with a piece of *Grammar* exactly parallel to it; in which You speak of *those Men who makes us their Derision*. One would think this passage *fatally* overlooked by You, that it might stand upon Record against Your indecent *Critical* Severity upon others. 3. I observe that You forget Your self in the midst of Your *Criticism*, and, in order to give the better turn to Your *Satyr*, allow that to be good *Divinity*, the contrary to which, this *Preface* informs us, Your *Sermon* was designed to teach, *viz.* that the *practice of Christian Virtues* hath a fairer title to present Happiness, than their contrary Vices, setting aside the consideration of a Future Reward. Now in the *Sermon* You teach, that the *Virtues* You name tend to make the *best* of Men the *most miserable* at present: And in this *Preface* You tell us You mean this peculiarly of *Christian Virtues*. What Consistency is there in these things? Is this good *Divinity* at *one* time, and the contrary to it good *Divinity* at another? 4. You endeavour to make Your Adversary Ridiculous, by making him speak that *Nonsense* which indeed He doth not speak. For I think it very allowable to speak thus, It doth



doth not appear that the Antients ever denied the happy tendency of *Virtue*, tho' some Moderns have invented a *Notion* which overturns it. For the word *invent* doth not carry along with it the *idea* of a *first Inventor*. Nay, it would be allowable to say, even of the *Art of Printing* it self, (which is Your *Instance*) It doth not appear that the Antients *invented* it, tho' the Moderns have. For there may be more *Inventors* than one of the same *Notion*, or the same *Art*. But it is not at all parallel to this, to say, *Tho' a Notion hath been invented of late, yet it doth not appear the Pharisees of old had the same*: For in this, You design that the word *invented* should be confined to the *first invention* of it. Nor is it parallel to say, *The Art of Printing doth not appear to have been known to the Antients, tho' it hath been invented since their times*; that is, according to You, *first invented*: For otherwise it is no more than to say, it doth not appear that the *Antients* found out any such *Art*, tho' the *Moderns* have been ingenious enough to do it; so that I think You need not have made Your self so pleasant upon this Head. 5. You give no proof besides Your own Affirmation, that Mr. *W.* hath given an *injurious account* of Your *Notion*. Nor do I believe that You can: for if Your *Notion* doth not prefer the *brutish Pleasures* before those of *Religion*, as to the present Life; I confess it is hard to find out what Your *Notion* is: And if it doth; the more *brutish* any *Pleasures* are, the more preferable to those of *Religion*. I this be *unseemly Language*, blame Your own



*Notion.* Look into Your own *Sermon*, and see how You Your self speak of the *Pleasures* of the *Beasts*; of the *Pleasures* of *Sense* relished by them in a more exquisite degree, and the like, which I care not indeed to repeat: And if You find occasion to reprehend this in others, I intreat You, correct it in *Your self*, whose *Doctrine* it is that gives just ground for such a Representation. 6. The *Pharisees* were the most bitter, and watchful *Enemies* our *Blessed Lord* had; and ready to lay hold of any thing either in his *Doctrine* or *Life*, which they could turn to his *Disadvantage*: And therefore it was extreamly proper to observe that even *They* never made any such *Objection* as this against our *Lord*, that the *Morality* He taught was so different from all that was taught by *Reason*, that it tended to make his *Followers* the most miserable of *Men*, in this *Life*, in the ordinary course of *God's Providence*. This certainly they might have managed so much to his disadvantage, could they have said it with any colour; that it had been worth their while to have cast it, as a *Stumbling-block*, in the way of the *Gospel*. And I pray, why may not any one be allowed to take notice of this; or why must You be so apt to think that the *Pharisees* are here, by mistake, mentioned, instead of the *Sadducees*; unless it be requisite that every one should write, and speak, and intend just what You see fit? 7. You cannot imagine why a *Jewish Sect* should be represented as delivering their *Judgment* concerning the consequence of practising the *Christian Virtues*.



Virtues. But others will very easily imagine that a *Jewish Sect* may very fitly be represented as it is in this place; and that it may very aptly be observed that the *Pharisees* who were Witnesses of what our Lord taught, and had it in their power to know his *Doctrine* exactly, and were ever ready to lay hold on any colourable pretence to his disadvantage; that even *these*, I say, never denied the tendency of his *Moral Doctrine* to present Happiness. But, setting aside this *just* reply, I think *You*, of all Persons, should have avoided mentioning Your surprize upon this Head, because You declare that in Your *Sermon* Your Argument is founded upon the nature and tendency of *Christian Virtues*, as different from *Heathens*, and yet more than once affirm that the *Wise Heathens* made use of Your Argument for a Future State: i. e. You represent Heathens as delivering their judgment concerning the consequence of practising Christian Virtue; which, according to You, is a thing different, in its tendency, from their own *Virtue*; and was utterly unknown to them. This makes it, indeed, very *unaccountable* in You to bring in their *Authority*: But those who think *Christian Morality*, at least, in many Instances, of the same species, and tendency, with all other *Morality* founded upon Truth and sound Reason, may be allowed to bring in the Judgment of others about it, who, supposing they knew it not, under the notion of *Christian Virtue*, yet were acquainted with what, according to them, differed not in kind, or tendency, from it. Much more

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may the *Pharisees*, who had it both in their Power, and their Will, to examine nicely into our *Lords Doctrine*, be represented as not denying the happy tendency of it in this World. 8. Last of all, Why You should, after You have endeavoured to expose Mr. *W.* as much as You thought fit, not be content with that; but bring in so worthy a Gentleman as Mr. *Fervoise* by Name, and others, to bear their part in Your *Farce*, will remain a wonder to all who understand the Rules of Civility, and good Manners. At whose Shrine this Incense was dedicated, is too plain to admit of any doubt. [p. 67.] I am tempted to say something more of it: but shall forbear; not doubting but that those Gentlemen are perfectly of Your Opinion, that some Attacks are so harmless, that nothing but a Defence can make them considerable. *Ib.* I once more pray God to forgive You all Your unjust Insinuations against my Self; and to lead You to the acknowledgment of the Truth; being still, as in *Christian Duty* bound,

Y O U R

Hearty Well-wisher, &c.

P O S T.



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## POSTSCRIPT.

**H**AVING read over your *Sermon*, now reprinted, concerning the *Power of Charity to cover Sins*, I lay hold on this Opportunity of representing to *Your self*, and the World, my Thoughts concerning *several Passages* in it: which I assure You I should not do, were it not, that, upon the most mature Consideration, I am not able to reconcile them with some important Truths, or with the Terms of Salvation plainly reveled in the *Gospel*; and therefore think there is reason to fear that they may be of most *fatal* Consequence to many Men, by infusing into them false Notions concerning the most excellent of *Virtues*; or by engaging them to place their Hopes upon such a Foundation, as must at last miserably deceive them. These *Passages* I beg leave now to lay before You; together with such *Observations* concerning them, as appear to me to deserve the consideration of all *Christians*, who are truly concern'd about the *Terms* of their *Eternal Salvation*.

Your *main Doctrine* is summ'd up by Your self in this general Proposition, *The Virtue of Charity*



rity is of so great price in the sight of God, that they who possess and exercise it in any eminent manner, are peculiarly entitl'd to the divine Favour and Pardon, in regard to numberless Slips and Failings in their Duty which they may be otherwise guilty of. This great Christian Perfection, of which they are Masters, shall make many little Imperfections to be over-looked and unobserved. This main Doctrine, tho', as I am persuaded, against the design of Your Text, yet I should have left free from Censure, considering that You might be understood only of such unavoidable Slips and Failings, and little Imperfections as have not the Wrath of God in another World expressly reveled against them in the Gospel. But the Particulars which follow, and the Manner in which You chuse to explain this general Proposition, cannot so readily be pass'd over.

I must observe likewise, in order to do You justice, that the Charity which You suppose to be of this great force and efficacy, is sometimes declared to be the Love both of God and Man, as comprehending all, or almost all, the moral Duties, and that regular Behaviour which must naturally follow from so divine and fruitful a Principle, [ p. 46.] nay, that this is the Queen of Virtues, and that the rest constantly attend upon her, appearing and disappearing with her, [ p. 58.] tho St. Peter's Charity is Charity amongst one another; and that which hath the peculiar Promise of Forgiveness annexed to it, however this Promise be to be understood, is the Charity by which we forgive one another. Yours is indeed of much greater extent: and, as You say,  
leaves



leaves the Man incapable of *very gross Sins* [ p. 47 ; ] I should think, incapable of *any* at all for it self to *cover*. And the Man actuated by this *divine* and comprehensive *Virtue*, may properly after this be said to have *no Sins to be covered*, because *Charity* in this sense is inconsistent with *any* ; and cannot be said to take away the Guilt of them, but by taking away their Existence. Neither for this, tho' I think it remote from the design of Your *Text*, should I have given You this trouble ; because if Men could once be persuaded to possess themselves of *Charity* in this extent, they could not but come up to the *Terms* of the *Gospel* ; which is all that I am concerned about. But alas ! what follows doth not appear to be of so innocent a nature, or of so good a tendency as this ; and therefore deserves to be very carefully examined.

1. In the midst of this account of *Charity*, after you have told us that the Man possess'd of this Principle cannot be supposed capable of committing any heinous Sins whilst He is under the guidance of it, You immediately subjoin, *And as for those which he had fallen into before the attainment of this Gift, they were certainly remitted also, and covered before the attainment of it ; else, doubtless He had never attained it, [ p. 47. ]* On the contrary, the *Gospel* doth over and over again declare that *unless we forgive Men their Trespases, our heavenly Father will not forgive us the Trespases which we have at any time committed against Him ;* and, as plainly as Words can do it, assures us that our former Sins shall not be covered till we have attained that *Charity* to which the Promise of Forgiveness is



is annexed. Besides that You do by this *Doctrine* make *Charity* to be of no force, and of no account with God, with respect to our *past Sins*: which it seems He pardons without any regard to our *attainment* of *Charity*, nay whilst we are void of it, and *before* we have attained it; notwithstanding that he hath expressly declared the contrary. This therefore, I cannot but desire You to consider, and to see whether it be possible to reconcile it with many of the plainest Declarations of the *New Testament*.

2. In the account You give us of the *Grounds and Reasons* of this wondrous *Efficacy* attributed to *Charity*, You tell us that the *Charitable Man* is peculiarly intitl'd to the Pardon of many *Sins*, because He is in a peculiar manner liable to incur the Guilt of many, [p. 53.] Just now it was said that the rest of the *Virtues* constantly attend upon *Charity*; that no great Guilt of any kind can well be thought to harbour in that Breast where true *Charity* dwells; and the *charitable Man* was declared incapable of committing any heinous *Sins*. Now, He is the most liable of all others, to incur the Guilt of many *Sins*; and these not of the *lightest* sort, as will appear. Let us see then by what means this strange thing comes to pass. Why it proceeds, 1. From that frame of mind on which *Charity* is grafted, and 2. From the very Exercise of the *Virtue* it self. 1. This most excellent *Virtue* is unfortunately grafted, and that always, on Good Nature, and sweetness of Disposition. If a natural sweetness of Disposition be meant here, as it seems to be from the Sentence before; this, I think, should not be said, and



and cannot be true, because the *Gospel* doth indispensably require the *Exercise* of *Charity* from Men of all sorts of *Natural Dispositions* : And so according to this way of speaking, either all Men are Men of a *natural sweetness* of *Disposition*, or there are Men, who cannot justly be blamed for the neglect of this *Duty* ; which it seems cannot be attain'd or possess'd, where there is not what we call a *natural sweetness* of *Disposition*. On the contrary, I cannot but think that the *roughest natural Temper* that ever was call'd upon to practise this *Virtue*, might bring it self to do it, as the *Gospel* requires : And certainly no *Christian* of such a *Temper* will be condemn'd at last, unless it had been possible for *Him* to have practised it, notwithstanding his natural *Temper*. All Men can be beneficent and forgiving (if they will heartily set themselves about the Work of *Religion*) as well as *Temperate* and *Honest* : And we may as well excuse Men from the Practice of *Temperance*, or *Chastity*, or *Honesty*, on account of their *natural Tempers*, as lay down such an account of *Charity* as doth in effect excuse all Men from the practice of it, who have not what You call a *sweetness* of *Temper* ; and this, according to You, in such a degree as hinders them from preserving their Innocence and Integrity. For, to proceed to what I much more blame,

The *Temper* on which *alone* You will permit *Charity* to be founded, is far removed from the *true Good Nature* ; for it is declared by You to be such a *Temper* as hinders us from arming our selves with that stubborn, in complying  
*Virtue,*



*Virtue which is requisite to preserve a Man undefiled and blameless. It makes us easy and yielding, — Ready to comply with a thousand things (of which we are not exactly well satisfied) upon the pure score of Good Nature, &c. [p. 54.] O glorious account of the most excellent of Christian Virtues, which makes it the Daughter of Weakness, and the Companion of a ship-wreck'd Conscience! that Charity should be declared always to be grafted upon a Nature which hinders us from the acquisition of a stubborn uncomplying Virtue! on a Nature that makes us comply with a thousand things which we doubt whether they be lawful or no! and that this should be represented as the true Good Nature, and the desirable sweetness of Disposition! Let all whoever read the Gospel declare, whether this stubborn in complying Virtue be not absolutely commanded, as well as the most extensive Charity; whether the Religion which is from above be not first pure, and then peaceable; whether it be not our Duty, our indispensable Duty, to disclaim all Peace, and not only to allow our selves to be troublesome, as Your Words are, but to make our selves so, if we cannot otherwise preserve our selves innocent; and lastly, whether this Temper, which is here represented as the hindrance to Innocence, and to an unspotted Conscience, and as the guide to Sin, be not so far from being a lovely and desirable Temper, as You declare it to be, [p. 53.] that it is the greatest unhappiness that can befall a Christian, and the greatest Obstacle in his way to Eternal Glory. If this be so, can Christian Charity necessarily imply in it what the Christian Religion first of*

all



all forbids? A true *Christian* scorns such *Compliances* as are made even to the *shadows* of *Vice*: He is the most *stubborn*, the most *inflexible* of Men every thing about the *lawfulness* of which he barely doubts; and how then can the *charitable Christian* be thus represented? Besides, It is the highest want of *Charity*, to *comply*, out of a false *Good Nature*, with any received Customs, or Opinions, or Practices, which are not plainly and visibly honourable and lawful: So far is it from being true that *Charity* is founded *always* upon a Nature that *makes* us do it, and *binds* us from doing the contrary. Nay, You your self, in this very *Sermon*, [p. 61.] say, that the *Rules of Charity* it self *forbid* us to be *silent*, or to *suffer the Doctrine* of some Men concerning *Justification* to be thought an innocent Error. And doth not *Charity* it self therefore, forbid us to be *silent*, or *compliant*, or *yielding*, I will not say in a *thousand things*, but even in *one point*, concerning which our *Consciences* are not *satisfied*? 2. The *Exercise of Charity*, especially where the *Principle of it is strong*, is declared by you *lay us open to several Failings*. For instance, 1. *Charity makes us omit oftentimes the Duties incumbent on us from our Professions and Callings*, [p. 54.] This is a very bad sort of *Charity* indeed, which is inconsistent with the *performance* of those *Duties* which are as indispensable as *Charity* it self: and I fear such a mis-named *Charity* as this will be so far from *covering* our other *Sins*, that it will not be able to *cover* it self. Assuredly, the *Christian Religion* knows nothing of it: nor doth it deserve to be represented to the *People*, as requiring



requiring a *Duty* inconsistent with their other *Duties*. 2. It makes us (with a *perhaps*) neglect to take care of those, whom it is the first point of *Charity* to take care of, our Children, and Families, [ib.] You needed not to have added the *perhaps*; for if the former be true, this follows unavoidably. Now, Sir, Is not this a very strange sort of *Charity* that makes us neglect the very first point of *Charity*? And are these the little Failings You speak of, the neglect of the first Branches of *Charity* it self? And if *Charity* shall cover other Sins, shall it likewise cover the neglect of it self? For God's sake, to what shall we come at last, if we can thus represent the *Christian Religion* in one of the principal points belonging to it? We should remember, I think, that all *Virtues*, as all *Truths*, are perfectly consistent with one another; that whatsoever is inconsistent with our *Duty* in any higher respect, is on that account not our *Duty*; that all the parts of *Charity* are in perfect harmony; and that He who neglects the first points of it, upon pretence of performing others of a lesser account, is not a *charitable Man* in the Gospel-account. 3. *Charity* is declared to warm us, with such a Zeal for doing good, as breaks out sometimes into Acts not reconcileable with the Rules of right Reason, &c. [ib.] And St. Francis's preaching the Gospel to Beasts and Brds, is given as an instance of this, [p. 55.] I confess it goes hard with our Religion, when that *Charity* to which the Promises of God are annexed in the Gospel, is made the Parent of Folly and Enthusiasm, of foolish Undertakings and impracticable Designs, of all the extravagant



*travagant Rants, and Freaks of Devotion, [ib.]*  
 When what is owing to a *distempered Brain*,  
 and an *heated Imagination* is ascribed to this  
*Divine Virtue*; nay, when it is declared by  
 a *Christian Divine* that the *ground and reason*  
 why *Charity* should be so favoured by God  
 as to be invested with the *Power of covering Sins*,  
 is because it is founded upon a *Temper* inconsi-  
 stent with an *undefiled Innocence*; because it is it  
 self inconsistent with it self, and other necessary  
*Duties*; because it is the *Daughter of Weakness*,  
 the *Sister of Sin*, and the *Parent of Folly*:  
 which are in my opinion sufficient reasons  
 why it should be punished, not rewarded,  
 in the *other World*. Again, 4. *The charitable*  
*Man, who loves every thing, doth not fail some-*  
*times to love his own Virtue too; to be so struck*  
*with the Excellence of Charity, as to be too little*  
*concerned for Faith, [p. 56.]* and therefore  
 his *Charity* must be rewarded at last, because  
 it disposeth him, according to this, to over-  
 rate his own *Attainments in Charity*. You  
 might as well have said, *The charitable Man*  
*who loves every thing, doth not fail sometimes to*  
*love even Vice it self*. But what hath *Charity*  
 to do with this? Doth that *Charity* which in  
 its due extent is never separated from *Hum-*  
*ility*, over-rate it self? Nay, doth it not  
 rather teach a Man to prefer the *Acquisitions*  
 of others before his own? *This is truly, as*  
*Your Words are, p. 70, for the sake of Chari-*  
*ty, to forget the true character and essential pro-*  
*properties of it, which are, as St. Paul tells us, not*  
*to vaunt it self, not to be puffed up.* Nay, Do  
 not You your self make it spring from *Di-*  
*vine Love*: and it is possible that a *Charity* of  
 such



such an *original*, and such a *comprehension* should dispose Men to be *less concerned* than they ought about that *Faith* on which it self is founded? Or, is it possible that that *Charity* should be *pleasing* to God, which tends to the *shipwrack* of that *Faith* without which it is impossible to please God? If You mean that some have been known to be so taken up with doing good to the outward Estates of others, that they have little concerned themselves about other things: I answer, this is not in the least owing to their *Charity*, any more than it is owing to the *Honesty* and *Justice* of some that they neglect *Charity* and *Generosity*; or to the *Chastity* and *Temperance* of others, that they over-look other *Duties*; or to the nature of *Faith* that some, as you observe, p. 60. *esteem Good Works* of very little account before God. Besides, it is of such a *Charity* as *covers Sins* that you are treating. If therefore the *Charity* of these Men you speak of, will atone for their *little concern* for *Faith*, they need not, as I see, be much concerned about it: If it will not, then it signifieth nothing to your purpose to alledge this concerning their *Charity*, that God will favour it at last, because it hath disposed them to such a neglect as *Charity* it self cannot atone for. But in one word, Is it not very plain that it can be no reason or ground for the *Favour* annexed by God to *Charity*, that it doth, either in its foundation, or in it self, dispose Men to *many sins*, and to such as God hath reveled his wrath against in the *Gospel*? And is it not as plain that it is very inconsistent in You to argue thus, who quickly  
after



after, [p. 59.] give the contrary Reason for this, in these words, *It is the nature of Charity to be comprehensive of, and abounding in, many Duties : and therefore it is her Reward also to be a Screen for many Failings.* If this be a true and good Reason, how can the other be good likewise, viz. that it peculiarly makes Men liable to many Sins, and therefore must be rewarded with the Honour of being a Screen for many Sins?

To proceed,

3. Another Reason You give for the Pardon of the charitable Man's Sins, is because his Charity hath engaged the united Prayers of Multitudes ; and no wonder if they prevail, [p. 57.] I answer, If his Sins be such as the Gospel condemns, and he hath not forsaken them ; the united Prayers of the whole Creation will avail nothing towards his Pardon, as surely as God is true : and whoever teacheth otherwise alters the Terms of Acceptance settled by God himself. If they be such as You improperly stile Sins, such Imperfections as are consistent with a State of Safety, upon the Terms declared in the Gospel, they stand not in need of such united Prayers. But what is this to the Power of his own Charity to cover his Sins ; when this is here ascribed to the force of the united Prayers of others, not to the Virtue of his Charity ?

4. In the Inferences You draw from what You have before laid down, You observe, p. 62, that God hath a right to all the highest Instances and Degrees of Virtue that it is possible for us to abound in ; that we are strictly obliged to practise them to the utmost ; and yet so far is he

H pleased



pleased to abate of this Right, as to accept the Performance of one great Duty, in lieu of the Omision (you should have said the Performance) of many others. This Act of Grace You magnify, by rightly observing that Reason never did, or could make this known to the Heathen World. I know not how indeed Reason should make known that, which is so highly absurd and unreasonable. You add, that the Gospel hath now reveled it unto us. I desire to know the place where this Revelation is to be found. St. Paul tells us, that in the Gospel the Wrath of God is reveled from Heaven equally against all Unrighteousness of Men ; that the Gospel brings Salvation to us only by teaching us to deny Ungodliness and worldly Lusts, and to live soberly, righteously, and godlily in this present World ; that our Obligations to all Morality are raised higher by the assurance of a Day of Judgment, in which we shall be condemn'd if we do not practise it ; that all the Works of the Flesh, which he frequently enumerates, shall finally exclude Men from the Kingdom of Heaven ; and warns us against those vain Words which would deceive us into contrary Hopes. St. James, as if some such Doctrine as this had been taught in his Days, is so far from teaching that one great Duty should be accepted in lieu of many others, that he declares that the keeping of all the Commandments except one shall not atone for the neglect of that one : but that the Neglector shall be punished as breaking into that whole Law which the Divine Authority hath laid upon him. Numberless Declarations might here be quoted from the



*New Testament* to shew that the whole *tenour* of the *Gospel* is to this purpose. And now for a *Christian Divine* to come and tell the World that *one great Duty* shall be accepted instead of *many others*; that if they *omit many others* they may be safe at last; and that this is plainly reveled in the *Gospel*; what is this but to render Men regardless of those *many other Duties*; and easy and secure under the sense of omitting them? Nay, why should they not *omit* them? or what obligation are they under to perform them? or how is it true that they are *strictly obliged* to this performance, as You say, if, as in the same Breath You teach them, the *Gospel* declares they may be safe without them? At this rate, we have, (as You say, p. 63) no reason to complain of the strictness of our Rule, or the hardships of our *Christian Warfare*. The Rule, as You go on, is *strict indeed*: but then, as there are great Helps and Assistances enabling us to live up to it, so GREAT ABATEMENTS and ALLOWANCES, we see, are made to us at last, if we do not. I know not, indeed, what You see: for my own part, I hope for the sake of *Virtue*, and the honour of the *Gospel*, never to see any thing like it. Nay, Is it not in it self absurd to suppose that *Almighty God* doth in the *Gospel* give us a *strict Rule*; that in the same *Gospel* He offers us such *Assistances*, as that we may live up to it, if we please; and yet that in this same *Gospel* He declares that He will make great *Abatements*, and *Allowances* at last, if we do not; that is, that we shall be happy at last, whether we do, or do not; that if we practise one very agreeable and plea-



*sanct* Virtue, *that* shall atone for our neglect of *many others*? What is this but to suppose *Almighty God* acting a weaker part than we would suppose any earthly *Parent*, or *Legislator* to act? first requiring *Obedience* to a *strict Rule*, and this possible to be performed, and this with the *Threatnings* of *Punishment* against *Offenders*; and at the same time (not reserving the power of *Abatements* in his own *Breast*, but) openly declaring that he will not punish those who do not obey this *strict Rule*, if so be that in *one delightful* point they do not fail? In-vain hath the *Gospel* been preached for the *Reformation* of all vicious and immoral Men; In-vain is the *Wrath* to come proposed in it; In-vain are we called upon from *Heaven* to do the *whole Will* of *God*; if such *Doctrines* as this be admitted, and propagated. You cannot say, that You mean this of *Charity* in the *extent* You sometimes describe it, as comprehending the whole *Evangelical Law*: For whoever practiseth this, comes up to the *strict Rule* laid down; is incapable of the *neglect* of any *Duties* enjoined in the *Gospel*; stands not in need of those *great Abatements* and *Allowances* You speak of. And if You leave him under the *Guilt* of neglecting but *one Duty*, *St. James* expressly condemns Your fond *Assertion*. But indeed the whole strain of this *Passage* is against this *Sense*, and the *Expression* is framed according to the *Wishes* of those who love to think of paying *God* an *Equivalent* for a *Life* of *Virtue* and *Holiness*, as much as themselves could desire. Add to this that You preclude Your self from this *Excuse* by affirming, [p. 66.] that our acquittal as to neglects



neglects in other parts of our Duty, will depend very much upon our being able to give a good Answer concerning that one Branch of Charity which consists in doing good to the outward Estates of others. Here again, it is evident, You teach that our performance of this one Branch of Charity will, in effect, acquit us at the last Day, tho we now continue in the neglects of other Duties required in the Gospel; nay tho we neglect other parts of the Rule of Charity it self, and will not so much as forgive others their Trespases against us. For You may as well say of this, that it will be aton'd for, if we do the Acts of Charity mentioned Matth. 25. as of the neglect of any other Duty of the Evangelical Law. But to say either of these, is to contradict other plain and positive Declarations of Holy Scripture which declare God's Wrath against other Sinners as plainly as this doth against the Unmerciful: And in interpreting such places it becomes us to have a strict regard to all other Declarations of God's Will. On the contrary, I affirm that our acquittal, as to neglects in other parts of our Duty, is so far from depending very much upon our being able to give a good Answer in that one Case; that supposing us able to give never so good an one concerning feeding the Hungry, and the like, Yet if we have not forgiven Men their Trespases against us, our heavenly Father will not forgive Ours against Himself; and, if we have not mortified the Flesh with the Lusts thereof so as to become Chast and Temperate, we are not Christ's, nor shall be owned as his true Disciples. In a word, it may as well be argued that our acquittal, as

to



to other points, shall depend upon Faith, or Hope, or Purity, or Peaceableness, because the Promises of God's Favour, and Blessings have been pronounced upon these. But the Gospel knows no such *Doctrines*; nor of any *Atonement* (no not by the Blood of *Jesus Christ* himself) for any *Sins* condemned in it, but what are forsaken and amended. Upon this condition only doth it propose *Pardon* of Sins, *Salvation*, and *Happiness* to the Sons of Men. And if this be not true; and consequently exactly to be regarded in all the representations of the *Terms* of *Pardon* and *Justification* given by the *Ministers* of *Christ*; then is it not true that the *Grace* of God bringing *Salvation* hath appeared in the Gospel, teaching us to deny *Ungodliness* and *worldly Lusts*; and to live soberly, righteously, and godlily: On the contrary, if Your account of the *Gospel-Terms* be just, St. Paul ought rather to have said that the salutary *Grace* or *Mercy* of God hath appeared in it, teaching us that there is no absolute necessity to deny *ungodliness* and *worldly lusts*; or to live soberly, righteously, and godlily; but that God will accept of one *Duty*, in lieu of many others; that our performance of that shall be our *Justification* notwithstanding our omission of many others. But this is a sort of *Salvation*, in my judgment, unworthy of the *Nature* of *Man* to receive; and unworthy of the *Nature* of *God* to offer.

Let me, therefore, entreat You to review the groundless and pernicious *Doctrine* You have unwarily taught on this *Subject*. Consider, if *Charity* ought to be represented as founded upon a *Temper*, inconsistent with  
*Innocence,*



*Innocence*, and an unspotted *Conscience* ; as *productive* of *Vice*, and *Folly*, and *Madness* ; as leading to the neglect of the principal Branches of it self ? and the like : and whether it becomes a *Christian Divine* to set the several parts of *God's Law* at variance ; and to make the performance of *one* of them an *Atonement* for the neglect of *others*, as indispensibly required ; or, having done this, whether it doth not become *Him* to make reparation for so great an Injury as must arise from hence to the *Gospel*, and to the *Interest* of *Virtue* in the World. It is not my business, nor will the bounds of this Paper permit me, to settle the true and full meaning of Your *Text*. But in obscure Passages we had better deliver no Interpretation ; or be content with what You may call a *dull* and *flat* one, than contend for *one* directly contrary to numberless plain and uncontroverted Passages. And as for *Charity*, I hope there is in the *Gospel* sufficient encouragement to the practice of it, without our needing to strain the Words of this particular Verse to so extravagant a Sense, as no wise Man can believe that we ought, and no good Man would wish that we might, take them in ; as You express Your self, [ p. 66. ] That You your self have put so extravagant a Sense upon Your Text in Your *Explications* and *Enlargements* upon it, I have endeavoured to convince You ; that You may, upon the review, publicly retract it, and joyn in inculcating that most plain, and most important part of the *Gospel*, that the *Amendment* of the lives of *Sinners* is in it indispensibly required ; and particularly that *one Duty* shall not in the least atone



atone for the neglect of many others; that  
 the performance of all Duties exacted of me shall  
 not atone for the neglect of that one. In the  
*Acknowledgment* of which great Truth, without  
 the certainty of which the Interest of *Perse*  
 must fall in the World, I pray God direct  
 you; and again take leave.

**E L N I S.**

... I have endeavored to continue  
 ... the review, and  
 ... and love in indicating that  
 ... most important part of the  
 ... of the lives of  
 ... and  
 ... shall not in the least



THE

*Revolution no Rebellion :*

Or, Serious

# REFLECTIONS

Offered to the Reverend

Mr. BENJAMIN HOADLY,

Occasion'd by his

Considerations *on the* Bishop of Exeter's  
Sermon, *preach'd before Her Majesty,*  
*March the 8th, 1708.*

---

By a CITIZEN of LONDON: *A Lover of the  
present Establishment both in Church and State.*

---

To which is added a *POSTSCRIPT.*

---

LONDON:

Printed and Sold by the Booksellers of  
*London and Westminster. 1709.*



THE

RECOGNITION OF REBELLION

OF

REBELS

OF THE REBELLION

MR. BENJAMIN HOWARD

OF THE REBELLION

Considerations of the Rights of Exiles  
Sermon, preached before the  
March the 3rd 1848.

By a CITIZEN OF LONDON  
presented to the Society of Friends

To which is added a POSTSCRIPT.

LONDON

Printed and Sold by the  
London Association



*S I R,*

**I** Need make no Apology for giving you this trouble, since you have done it for me already, in yours to the Lord Bishop of Exeter, occasion'd by his Sermon preach'd before Her Majesty, on the 8th of March, 1708, and publish'd by Her special Command.

I think the Truths therein of the utmost importance to the Honour of Christianity, and the Security of Human Society: *Letter* p. 4. And I have reason to believe Her Majesty thought so too. I have diligently read over the Sermon, and your Considerations also, and have here sent you some Remarks I made as I went along, which convince me that the Cause have been for some time engag'd in, and which you still prosecute, *Letter*, p. 1. & 2. is not Good, however Old it may be.

You seem to insinuate, as if his Lordship had deliver'd something in this Sermon, inconsistent with a former; I don't find it, but if it had been so, that is not my concern, I am not vindicating my Lord Bishop of Exeter, (tho' I reverence him sincerely) I am only seeking for Truth, and in order to that, I come to your first Consideration, which is, That his Lordship argues, From the Magistrates being called *the Minister of God* by St. Paul, that he hath none above him upon Earth, to question, censure, or punish him, and that he is accountable to none but God. *Letter*, p. 8.

In answer to this, you 1. "Put his Lordship in mind how St. Paul hath guarded his own Expression, viz. That *he is the Minister of God for good*." Sure you think his Lordship hath a very short Memory, to forget part of his Text; no, you may see he does not, for on these last Words he grounds the second General Head of his Discourse; and his second Inference from it is, *That Subjects should be content with their Lot and pay a willing cheerful Obedience*. *Sermon*. p. 23. This is a natural Inference from these Words; the Magistrate being God's Minister, set to govern *in his stead*, it is our Duty to be obedient and God having instituted this for the good of



Mankind, it is our Interest to be obedient; this I think the plain meaning of the Apostle, so that his inculcating God's gracious Design in appointing Government, and Governours, is not a Limitation of his Exhortation to Obedience and Submission, but an Enforcement of it. That this Opinion is not new, I appeal to the Book of *Homilies*, which you did acknowledge, 'Contain'd a godly and wholesome Doctrine, necessary for these Times,' *Article 35.* when you took possession of your Living. In this Book, (to which I think there is no Answer come out) it is affirmed, *That Kings and Princes, as well the evil as the good, do reign by God's Ordinance, and that Subjects are bounden to obey them.* Homily, p. 343. Many places of Scripture are brought to prove it; but two special places in the New Testament, may stand instead of all other; then after quoting at large Rom. 13. and 1 Pet. 2. it thus applies 'em: *By these two places it is most evident, that Kings, Queens, and other Princes, are ordained of God, are to be obeyed and honoured of their Subjects; that such Subjects as are disobedient, or rebellious against their Princes, disobey God and procure their own Damnation.* Father, if Servants must obey bad Masters, as well as good, much more must Subjects submit to evil Princes p. 344. — Goes on, p. 345. to show the Happiness of being governed by good Princes, and the obligation Princes, lie under to imitate God their King. Afterwards it shows the Misery of being under evil Princes, from Eccl. 10. 16. and Prov. 28. 15, and 16. Verses, whence arises this Question, *What shall Subjects do then? Shall they obey good Princes, and condemn, disobey, and rebel against indiscreet and evil Governours? God forbid.* Homily, p. 345. *This is a perilous thing, to make Subjects Judges of their Prince, which Prince is good, and which bad —* And in p. 346. *Is not Rebellion the greatest of Mischiefs? And who are most likely to do the greatest of Mischiefs, but the worst of Men? Rebels are aptest to rebel against the best of Princes, especially if they be young in Age; Women in Sex, or gentle and courteous in Government. Rebellion is worse than the worst Government.*

God placeth as well evil Princes as good ones, p. 347. *Will you procure or continue a good Prince? be obedient; would you be eas'd of the Mischiefs of a bad one? repent and amend.* Si.



St. Paul exhorts Timothy to pray for those in Authority, which was either Caligula, Claudius or Nero.

Were these bare Affirmations, they should not be contradicted by those who have acknowledg'd 'em to be godly and wholesome Doctrines, unless they do not continue to think them so, and then methinks they should relinquish the Advantage they reap by that Acknowledgement. But these are far from bare Affirmations, they are backt with such good Reason, and so many plain Texts of Scripture, that I don't doubt but they may be of good use to convince any impartial Reader, that the supreme Magistrate receives his Commission from God, and is to be obey'd and submitted to as his Vicegerent; and that to leave People at liberty, to disobey or resist, when he acts beyond, or contrary to his Commission, and to leave this to the People's Judgment, is to leave it to their Choice, whether they will obey or no.

2. You put his Lordship in mind, ' That every Person ' in the World, who is the Instrument of Good to us, is ' the Instrument of God to us for good. *Letter*, p. 10. Now,

Though it should be so, it does not follow, but some may be entituled to a greater regard than others, as will further appear, in my *Remarks* on your third Answer. 3. Wherein ' You beg leave to shew, that the Magistrates receiving a Commission for one particular Work, ought not ' to be an Argument, to prove that there is none upon Earth ' that may question, censure or punish him; and that his ' Lordship contends, p. 16. that his Commission is not absolute ' and unlimited.

'Tis true, the Magistrate is limited by God, whose Servant and Vicegerent he is; and therefore, as his Lordship argues, 1. He ought to make God's Honour his main Design; *Sermon*, p. 10, 11. And, 2. He should comply with the Design of his Commission, remembering he must be accountable to God, for to him only he is a Servant; as is plainly proved in these Words, ' 'Twould be absurd to say, that he is their ' Servant over whom he bears rule, because that would be ' be in effect to say, that it is all one to command, and to obey, ' to have power over, and to be subject to. p. 6. This is plain



Reasoning, such as becomes Truth, but Schemes that are built upon Suppositions, need fifty Pages full of Words to obscure 'em.

The Magistrate is appointed for this very thing, *i. e.* to govern, therefore the People must needs be subject: This Argument holds very good, tho' the Magistrate, (as such) has no commission to preach the Gospel, or Minister the Sacraments.

I am heartily sorry his Lordship's Fourth Inference is so very seasonable, *Sermon*, p. 14. to 23. and much more so, to see any of the Clergy cavil at a Discourse, which clearly confutes some of the most important Errors in one of the most pernicious Books this Age hath produced, fruitful as it is of such monstrous Productions: To make the Magistrate's Superiority cease, when he acts beyond his Commission, and to leave the People to judge when he does so, is to set them above him, the Mischiefs and Incongruity of which are largely set forth in the First Part of the *Humble* againk *Rebellion*. The Case of a Mayor, *Letter*, p. 13. *Sermon*, p. 7. (by which you say his Lordship very unfortunately endeavours to illustrate his Position) do's what he brought it for most aptly, *i. e.* it shows that an Officer may have his Nomination from one, and receive his Authority from another; it's true, if he acts beyond his Commission, he is accountable, but it is to his Superior, and so the chief Magistrate is also, and who his Superior is, I need not remember one, that (if he does his Duty) daily acknowledges, in a serious solemn manner, that \* God  
 \* *Daily Prayer for the Queen.* is the only Ruler of Princes.

*Letter*, p. 14. As to your Fourth Answer, That  
 ' St. Paul might intend his Exhortation to have respect to de-  
 ' puted Magistrates, as well as the supreme — p. 15. And that,  
 ' It is observable, (what hath been often quoted by the Patrons  
 ' of *Passive Obedience*) that our Lord told *Pilate*, that his Pow-  
 ' er was from above.

I need only remind you, that inferior, subordinate Magistrates, receive their Power mediately, as the supreme do theirs immediately from God, and are to be obey'd and reverenc'd accordingly, this is, (I think a strong Argument for sub-

sub:



subjection: If *Private's* Power is to be submitted to because it is from Above, much more is *Caesar's*.

5. Your Fifth Answer, at first sight, seems an Agreement, that the Magistrate is not accountable, censurable, or punishable: If you were really of this mind, what need had you to contend at all? But you say, All that is contended for, with any Zeal, is this, That there should be a Right left in the govern'd Society, to preserve it self from Ruin and Destruction, which is a Point his Lordship hath not touch'd upon. p. 15.

The Word Right is of an ambiguous Signification, (the Learned say) if I apprehend your Meaning, it must be here taken for a Power to secure it self, and a Privilege to use that Power. Again, by Right to secure it self from Ruin, you must mean, a Right to resist the Magistrate, when it judgeth necessary so to do, in order to its preservation, or else your contest with the Bishop had been needless: for I believe all agree in these two Things, 1. That all Persons, and Societies, have a Right to secure themselves by all lawful Means. And, 2. That none have a Right to do it by unlawful Means. I look upon the the Thing in dispute to be, Whether resisting the Magistrate be a lawful means, or no?

The Negative his Lordship asserts in the Third Inference from his First General Head, p. 13. and proves it by two Texts of Scripture, p. 14. therefore it lies upon those who dissent from him, to prove that the govern'd Society hath a Power to secure it self, and a Right to use that Power; for unless it hath both, neither of 'em single will be of any use to it. It is very plain, that Right, without a Power to assert it, will do 'em no good, and it is as plain, that a good Man, though he have Power or Strength, yet if he have not Right to authorize him, cannot use it: I say cannot, for he lies under a moral, as the other does under a physical Inability. To illustrate this Matter, the Second Part of the *Homily* against wilful Rebellion, *Homily*, p. 352. furnishes me with a very pat Example out of the First Book of Kings. David being persecuted causelessly by Saul, and having it in his power to secure his own Life, by giving consent only to Saul's Death; 1 Sam. 24. yet, though he knew Saul to be under God's Displeasure, and that he himself was anointed to succeed him, yet, not-



withstanding all this, he was so far from laying violent Hands on him, that he expresses an Abhorrence of so foul a Fact. From which History the *Homily* goes on to answer the most plausible Plea for Rebellion, *Homily*, p. 354. \* From line and proves plainly, \* (I think) that we may 7. to the 15th. not Rebel, tho' the Prince be hated of God, and God's Enemy; hurtful and pernicious to the common wealth; nor tho' he be unmindful of the Service of his faithful Subjects, negligent of the Welfare of them, and their Posterity; nay, though he were their known mortal Enemy that sought their Lives.

*Object.* But notwithstanding this Instance, and the many plain Scriptures are named in the *Homily*, to prove that Subjects may in no case resist their Prince, yet some may think what Mr. *Hooker* contends for, may nevertheless be the just Right of the govern'd Society; for tho' particular Persons may be oblig'd to submit to the supreme Magistrate, in actually obeying what his Laws enjoin and where that can't be comply'd with, in patiently submitting to the Penalty; yet Magistracy being ordain'd for the good of the Society, if the chief Magistrate should so act as to endanger that Society, 'tis his Duty to secure, that then the govern'd Society may secure themselves, and this may be so, notwithstanding these positive general Prohibitions; and there is a Reason urg'd, p. 49. because several general Prohibitions in Scripture, are taken in a limited Sense; so all Separation is not Schism; all Church-Reformation is not Church Destruction; all Killing is not Murder, &c. In answer to this,

*Answer.* I pray consider what will be the consequence of this way of arguing, viz. because some Prohibitions, tho' express'd in a general, are to be taken in a limited Sense, therefore all may be so; thus because all Killing is not Murder, therefore all Adultery is not Sin; and because all Evil speaking is not Slander, therefore all Stealing is not Sin. I think I need say no more to confute this loose way of Reasoning; if it were necessary, I could easily show, that in all the general Prohibitions you have instanc'd, there is in the Scripture either a Command, or an Allowance, which stands as an Exception to the general Rule, take one for Instance, *Thou shalt not kill*, Exod. 20. 13. yet in *Rom.* 13. 4. it is said of the Magistrate, that he beareth



show the Sword in vain: for he is the minister of God,  
benger, to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil: And in  
9. 6. Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood  
be shed, by which it is plain, that notwithstanding the general  
Command, Thou shalt not kill, the Magistrate may, and ought  
to punish Murtherers with Death.

I must observe, That by thus pleading for a Limitation of  
this Prohibition of resisting Governours, you own, that with-  
out a Limitation, the general Prohibition is against it; there-  
fore in order to prove that the govern'd Society have a Right  
to secure themselves, by resisting their Governours, (for  
such a Right you plainly contend for) in order to prove  
this, I conceive you ought to bring plain Texts of Scripture,  
which command, or at least allow this Privilege to all go-  
vern'd Societies, or else I can't see but this general Prohibi-  
tion binds the whole Society, and every individual Member,  
from resisting the Magistrate; moreover, in order to make use  
of this Right, there must be some Judge when is the proper  
time for it. Now whoever are Judges of this, whether the  
whole People, or chosen Representatives, they are in this point  
superior to the supreme Magistrate; which is in effect to say,  
that he is their Subject, over whom he bears Rule. In short, the  
general Commands and Prohibitions of Scripture, you own to be  
at least seeming against the *Resistance* we are treating of, and we  
have no Scriptures brought, that command or allow this *Re-  
sistance* to any Persons or Societies in any case therefore all must  
be concluded under these general Rules. But if this *Resistance*  
were allow'd in some Cases, I can't perceive the advantage of  
it, unless 'twere known where the Right is plac'd, and who must  
judge when it is to be us'd, which neither this, nor any  
Book I have yet seen, gives me any satisfaction in; therefore  
how vain is it to contend with so much Zeal for an ima-  
ginary Right, which we know not where to find, nor when  
to assert?

If there be any such reserv'd Right, surely it must be taken  
notice of in the *Original Contract* you mention, p. 22. and  
therefore it is to be hop'd, in the next Edition of your  
Measures, you oblige the World with what that *Original  
Contract* says on this Head, and if it be back'd with as  
good Reason, and as many and plain Texts of Scripture,



(15)  
as the *Homily* bring to prove that the Magistrate's Power  
from God, and that we, Christians are bound to obey  
as well as good Princes; I don't know but it may do you  
Cause more good, than all the rest of Mr. *Hoath's* Works.

As for your Case of habitual or actual Madness, I think ne-  
ither Divines nor Lawyers so proper to prescribe what is  
to be done in that Case as Physicians: But, (by my Lord  
*H—*'s Rule, *That what has been, may be*) it is possible the  
People may be mad, how shall the Nation be secur'd from ruin  
then? Why, he that stills the raging of the Sea, can cure the  
Madness of the People, and of the Prince too, and will do so  
when he sees fit. This Thought should silence all our Com-  
plaints, when we reflect upon our inability to secure our selves  
from ruin; and make us adore the Wisdom and Goodness of  
that All-wise and Gracious God, who hath plac'd us in this de-  
pendent State——. God, (says the *Homily*) *maketh a wicked*  
*Man reign for the sins of the People*, Job 34. 10. *Homily*, p.  
346. and again, *God giveth a Prince in his anger*, *Hos.* 13. 6.  
meaning an evil One. If this be one of God's ways of  
correcting us for our Faults, and reclaiming us to our Duty,  
it will be better for us, to improve it to that purpose, than  
by contending for a Right to secure our selves from ruin, to  
harden our selves in Sin and Impenitency: for had we both  
Power and Right to secure our selves against this Stroke of  
divine Vengeance, God hath several other ways, no less severe,  
to punish sinful and rebellious Man. Those Sacred Volumes,  
which this licentious witty Age treat with such Derision, in-  
form us of exemplary Punishments inflicted upon daring Sin-  
ners enough to make us tremble at the thought of 'em: Fire  
and Brimstone rain'd down upon *Sodom* and *Gomorrab*, to pu-  
nish the filthy Sins of their impure Inhabitants; and the  
Earth opening and swallowing up *Corah* and his Company, are  
Instances of God's Almighty Power and Justice, amazing in  
themselves, and ought to be very awakening unto us, who  
live in an Age wherein the Sin of the former is acted, and that of  
the latter defend, with an unusual Impudence.

That I proceed not to examine your other Considerations  
distinctly, is not because I think them unanswerable, but I don't  
think it necessary, for in handling this First, I have quoted  
places out of the *Homily* and Scriptures therein mention'd,  
that



(I think) answer the other Three but if you continue of  
her Mind, be pleas'd to read over the *Homilies*, concerning  
*Obedience*, and against *willful Rebellion* impartially,  
if you if you are not thereby satisfied, I may give  
and my self some further trouble, tho' I am not fond

As to your Address to his Lordship, p. 44. wherein you  
insinuate, as if the Doctrines preach'd by him, and which I  
hope I have prov'd to be consonant to Scripture, and the  
Doctrine of the Church of England, as by Law established, were  
consistent with the Revolution.

Permit me to speak a little freely, with all the deference  
to your holy and honourable Employment. You do great  
justice both to the Revolution, and the whole Nation, in that  
fair Insinuation: You cannot but know, that the Accession  
of King William and Queen Mary to the Throne, was founded  
upon the Abdication of King James, and not upon any Deprivation  
of him for Male-Administration, as will evidently appear  
by the Proceedings of the Convention. And as for what you  
affirm, without any proof, That 'those of the highest, as  
well as holiest Rank, and of the best Quality, invited over  
a Prince with armed Men, to awe their legal King, and  
force him into a Compliance; and this they did in their  
private Capacity. Letter, p. 45. These are your own  
Words, which I desire you well to note, for if I should say so,  
I should be called an Enemy of the Revolution, and I think  
justly.

I must observe to you, that you own this Invitation was not  
a National Act, but made in their private Capacity, so that  
your Inference drawn from it, in 47 and 48, that it was more  
a National Act, than the Murther of King Charles I. is not  
well-grounded; tho', I think, there have been some weekly  
Writers labouring to prove it so: But I don't so much wonder  
at them, they must write as their Masters dictate to them.  
But that a Clergyman of the Church of England should so far  
forget the Doctrine of that Church, as to advance Notions con-  
trary to her Liturgy and Homilies, and in their consequence  
destructive not only of Monarchy, but of all settled Govern-  
ment; this puts me in mind of the Words of the Psalmist, *He*  
*that hath eaten my bread, hath lift up his beek against me.*



( 12 )  
I believe those Persons of the *biggest* and the *boldest* Rank who, (as you say) sent to invite over the Prince, did not make you their Confident, tho' you so roundly affirm, *it was to crown their legal King*. Letter. p. 45. I must remind you, this is barely affirmed, therefore were any Consequence to be built upon it, it would be necessary to prove it.

I don't wonder, when you have thus endeavour'd to prove the *Revolution* a *Rebellion*, you proceed in p. 48. to call it so.

What I wonder at, is the Clemency of our Government, that takes no notice of it; for whether it be design'd to run down the *Revolution*, or to make *Rebellion* appear reputable, it must have an ill influence upon our establish'd Government: But the further Prosecution of these momentous Points, is too large a Field to enter upon at the end of a Letter. (already longer than I design'd) were I equal to the Work; but Mr. Attorney-General is better able, therefore to him I leave it; only this I must take notice of, that by your thus making *Revolution* and *Rebellion* stand for the same thing, I am instructed what some Men mean, when they say, they are of *Revolution* Principles.

When all's said, let all judicious Men judge, who act most for the Honour of the Church and Christianity; Letter, p. 51. those, who after the Example of *Christ* and his Apostles recommend *Obedience* and *Patience*, *Meekness* and *Submission*, both by their Preaching and Practice; or those, who contrary to the Design of their Office, and to Doctrines which they themselves have assented to, encourage People to censure and oppose their Superiors by their Writings and Example.

As for the Preachers of this peaceful Doctrine, which you very respectfully call, *The Doctrine of Servitude*, Letter, p. 50, 51. I hope they are not startled at your Threats, when you tell 'em, there will be a Spirit to oppose 'em; they have always found it so, and I fear will, till that cursed Spirit, who first rebell'd himself, and drew Man into the same Sin, be confin'd for ever to that dismal Abode prepar'd for him; but for their comfort, as they have a Spirit to oppose them, so going on in their Duty, they have a Spirit to assist 'em, and greater is he that is with them, than he that is in the World.

SIR



SIR, Tho' I differ from you in Opinion, I have a  
 respect for your Order, and desire to have so for  
 your Person.

May the good God, who directed the Stone from  
 David's Sling, and often effects great things by  
 weak and contemptible Means, so prosper these my  
 weak, though well-meant Endeavour's, that they  
 may penetrate not only into your Head, but into  
 your Heart, that being converted, you may strength-  
 en your Brethren, by putting them in mind to  
 be subject to Principalities and Powers, to obey  
 Magistrates ; to be ready to every good work.

I am

S I R,

Your—

N. B. The Book of *Homilies* I refer to, was printed  
 in *Folio*, 1676.

The *Bishop's Sermon* is the *Octavo* Edition.

Mr. *Hoadly's* is the first Edition, three Sheets and a  
 Quarter.

FINIS.



## POSTSCRIPT

**I**T is objected, you say, That I had not read Mr. Hoadly's *Measures of Submission*, when I wrote my *Reflections on his Considerations*, &c. which I offer'd to him by your Hand. It's true, I had not; and if that be a Fault, I beg his pardon, and I hope I may the more easily obtain it, because if I had read that Book, I must have remark'd upon many Things he offers in answer to the Twenty sixth Objection; \* and in doing this, I conceive, I should have been, in Justice, oblig'd to say some things which would not have been for Mr. Hoadly's Reputation. If it be a Fault not to have read Mr. Hoadly's Book, I believe some of his Friends are guilty of it, or else they would (for his sake) not make this Objection; for I dare leave it to any impartial Reader to judge, whether what I have quoted from the *Homily*, p. 343, 344, 345, and 347. be not directly opposite to Mr. Hoadly's Doctrine, and so, then the *Ditto*, p. 155. 'Homily do's condemn the Resistance he defends, and recommends the Submission he condemns, tho' he hath writ 17 Pages to prove the contrary; and that those who will may the easier judge in this important Affair, I shall briefly set down Mr. Hoadly's Doctrine, and the contrary, that by comparing them with the *Homily*, they may see which agrees with, and which contradicts it.

Mr. Hoadly's Doctrine, which he taught my Lord Mayor, and which he has writ so much in Defence of, is this, viz. That *Ditto*, p. 9. 'St. Paul don't recommend a passive Submission, when a Prince contradicts the Design of his Institution; and that so acting he may be opposed, without the shadow of a Crime; nay, with Honour and Glory. And



Further That Submission is due to Governours, meer-  
ly for the sake of publick Happiness—and must degenerate  
into a Crime, when it forsakes the View of that, and  
betrays it into the Hands of Ambition and Violence.

The contrary Doctrine is as follows, viz. It is our  
Duty to obey our Governours in whatsoever they command,  
that is not contrary to the divine Law——and in case  
the Magistrate does so exceed his Commission, yet there is a  
Duty lying on Subjects, not to oppose or resist, but quietly  
and patiently to suffer the Penalty of those Laws, which  
they can't, without sinning against God, yield an active  
Obedience to. *Bishop's Sermon*. p. 13. 14. This is the Doctrine  
the Bishop of Exeter preach'd, which Mr. Hoadly opposes,  
and which I (in my manner) have bore Testimony to: not be-  
cause his Lordship preach'd it, or because Her Majesty approv'd  
of it, but because I believe it agreeable to Scripture and Reason,  
and the Doctrine of the Church of England, as deliver'd in the  
*Homilies*, and confirm'd by divers Passages in her excellent *Liturgy*.  
This is so evident, that I dare leave it with any impartial Jury,  
which of the Two Doctrines is contrary to the Doctrine of the  
*Homilies*, for, sure I am one of them must needs be so, unless the  
*Homilies*, like Answers from the *Heathen Oracles*, may be taken in  
contrary Senses. I beg no favour of those who will enquire further  
into this Matter, but for the Truth's sake, and for their own sakes,  
I do require this, that they will proceed impartially, and not rely  
on Mr. Hoadly's, or my Word, but read the *Homilies* themselves  
which they will find well worth their while, they teaching us in  
a very plain way, what we are to believe, as well as what we  
are to do, in order to our Soul's Health. I am sorry so few of  
our Churches are furnish'd with this Book; I am upon en-  
quiry what Churches in London have it, and which want it, in  
order to inform the Publick, that good People may know  
where to go to lay in a Stock of useful Knowledge; for tho' we  
have much good Preaching, there are some useful Truths treated  
of in that Book, which are but seldom heard of from some Pul-  
pits. I have another Design all in publishing what Churches  
have not the Book of *Homilies*, viz. That either the Parishes,  
or some good People, may provide some for them.

But



But not to digress any further, I have not done this Justice to my  
 his Friends, think I have not done this Justice to my  
 to the *Heavens*, I will (God willing) go on to comply  
 Remarks on his many Pleas he offers in answer  
 to the Twenty Sixth Objection, \* with all \* *Meas*  
 convenient speed, and communicate them to *of Subm.*  
 him, either privately or publicly, as he and *1722*  
 you agree

**London. May the 23d.**  
**1709.**

that is not contrary to the divine Law  
 the Magistrate does to exact his Commission, yet there is a  
 Duty lying on Subjects, not to oppose or resist, but  
 and patiently to suffer the Penalty of those Laws, which  
 they can't without sinning against God  
 Obedience to. Bishop's Sermon, p. 13. 14. I have  
 the Bishop of Exeter's preface, which Mr. Hoade  
 and which I (in my manner) have bore Testimony to: not be-  
 cause his Lordship's preface is, or because Mr. Hoade's  
 is, but because I believe it agreeable to Scripture and Reason,  
 and the Doctrine of the Church of England, as deliver'd in the  
 Articles, and confirm'd by divers passages in her excellent Liturgy.  
 This is to evident, that I dare leave it with any impartial Jury,  
 which of the Two Doctrines is contrary to the Doctrine of the  
 Church of England, and which needs be so, while the  
 Church, like Antiquity, is the same, and may be taken in  
 contrary Senses. I beg no favour of those who will endu-  
 re this Matter, but for the Truth's sake, and for their own sake,  
 I do require this, that they will proceed impartially, and not rely  
 on Mr. Hoade's Authority, who is a private Person, and himself  
 which they will find in the Church of England, and in the

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A  
PROJECT

FOR THE

Advancement of Religion,

AND THE

*Reformation of Manners.*

---

By a Person of QUALITY.

---

*O quisquis volet impias  
Cædes, & rabiem tollere civicam :  
Si quæret pater urbium  
Subscribi statuis, indomitam audeat  
Refrenare licentiam.*

Hor.

---

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*A Project For the Advancement of Religion, And  
the Reformation of Manners.*

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*To the Countess of Berkeley.*

*Madam,*

**M**Y Intention in prefixing Your Ladyship's Name, is not after the common Form to desire Your Protection of the following Papers; which I take to be a very unreasonable Request; since by being inscribed to Your Ladyship, tho' without Your Knowledge, and from a concealed Hand, You cannot recommend them without some Suspicion of Partiality. My real Design is, I confess, the very same I have often detested in most Dedications; That of Publishing Your Praises to the World. Not upon the Subject of Your noble Birth, for I know others as Noble; or of the Greatness of Your Fortune, for I know others far greater; or of that beautiful Race (the Images of their Parents) which calls You Mother: For even this may perhaps have been equall'd in some other Age or Country. Besides, none of these Advantages do derive any Accomplishments to the Owners, but serve at best only to adorn what they really possess. What I intend, is Your Piety, Truth, Good Sense, and good Nature, Affability, and Charity; wherein I wish Your Ladyship had many Equals, or any Superiors; and I wish I could say I knew them too, for then Your Ladyship might have had a Chance to escape this Address. In the mean time, I think it highly necessary for the Interest of Virtue and Religion that the whole Kingdom should be informed in some Parts of Your Character: For Instance; that the easiest and politest Conversation, join'd with the truest Piety, may be observed in Your Ladyship in as great Perfection as they were ever seen apart in any other Per-



persons. That by Your Prudence and Management under several Disadvantages, You have preserv'd the Lustre of that most Noble Family into which You are grafted, and which the unmeasurable Profusion of Ancestors for many Generations had too much eclypsed. Then, how happily You perform every Office of Life to which Providence hath called You: In the Education of those two incomparable Daughters, whose Conduct is so universally admir'd; in every Duty of a prudent, complying, affectionate Wife; in that Care which descends to the meanest of Your Domesticks; and lastly, in that Endless Bounty to the Poor, and Discretion where to distribute it. I insist on my Opinion, that it is of Importance for the Publick to know this and a great deal more of Your Ladyship; yet whoever goes about to inform them, shall instead of finding Credit, perhaps be censured for a Flatterer. To avoid so usual a Reproach, I declare this to be no Dedication, but properly an Introduction to a proposal for the Advancement of Religion and Morals, by tracing, however imperfectly, some few Lineaments in the Character of a Lady who hath spent all her Life in the Practice and Promotion of both.

**A**Mong all the Schemes offered to the Publick in this projecting Age, I have observed with some Displeasure, that there have never been any for the Improvement of Religion and Morals: Which beside the Piety of the Design from the Consequences of such a Reformation in a future Life, would be the best natural Means for advancing the Publick Felicity of the State, as well as the present Happyness of every Individual. For, as much as Faith and Morality are declined among us, I am altogether confident, they might in short time, and with no very great Trouble be raised to as high a Perfection as Numbers are capable of receiving. Indeed the Method is so easy and obvious and some present Opportunities so good, that in order to have this Project



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reduced to Practice, there seems to want nothing more than to put those in mind who by their Honour, Duty, and Interest are chiefly concerned.

But because it is Idle to propose Remedies before we are assur'd of the Disease, or to be in pain 'till we are convinced of the Danger; I shall first shew in general, that the Nation is extremely corrupted in Religion and Morals; and then I will offer a small Scheme for the Reformation of both.

As to the First; I know it is reckoned but a Form of Speech when Divines complain of the Wickedness of the Age: However, I believe, upon a fair Comparison with other Times and Countries, it would be found an undoubted Truth.

For, First; To deliver nothing but plain Matter of Fact without Exaggeration or Satyr; I suppose it will be granted, that hardly one in a hundred among our People of Quality or Gentry, appears to act by any Principle of Religion; That great Numbers of them do entirely discard it, and are ready to own their Disbelief of all Revelation in ordinary Discourse. Nor is the Case much better among the Vulgar, especially in great Towns where the Profaneness and Ignorance of Handicraftsmen, small Traders, Servants, and the like, are to a Degree very hard to be imagined greater. Then, it is observed abroad, that no Race of Mortals hath so little Sense of Religion as the *English* Soldiers; to confirm which, I have been often told by great Officers in the Army, that in the whole Compass of their Acquaintance, they could not collect three of their Profession, who seemed to regard or believe one Syllable of the Gospel: And the same at least may be affirmed of the Fleet. The Consequences of all which upon the Actions of Men are equally manifest. They never go about as in former Time, to hide or palliate their Vices, but expose them freely to View like any other common Occurrences of Life, without the least Reproach from the World or themselves. Instance; any Man will tell  
you,



you, he intends to be drunk this Evening, or was so last Night, with as little Ceremony or Scruple, as he would tell you the Time of the Day. He will let you know he is going to a Whore, or that he has got a Clap, with as much indifferency as he would a Piece of Publick News. He will swear, curse, or blaspheme without the least Passion or Provocation. And, though all regard for Reputation is not quite laid aside in the other Sex, 'tis however at so low an Ebb, that very few among them seem to think Virtue and conduct of absolute Necessity for preserving it. If this be not so, how comes it to pass, that Women of tainted Reputations find the same Countenance and Reception in all Publick Places, with those of the nicest Virtue, who pay, and receive Visits from them without any manner of Scruple; which Proceeding, as it is not very old among us, so I take it to be of most pernicious Consequence: It looks like a sort of compounding between Virtue and Vice, as if a Woman were allowed to be Vicious, provided she be not profligate; as if there were a certain Point where Gallantry ends, and Infamy begins, or that a hundred Criminals Amour were not as pardonable as half a Score.

Beside those Corruptions already mentioned, it would be Endless to Enumerate such as arise from the Excess of Play, or Gaming: The Cheats, the Quarrels, the Oaths and Blasphemies among the Men: Among the Women, the Neglect of Household Affairs, Unlimited Freedoms, the Undecent Passion; And lastly, the known inlet to all Lewdness, when after an ill Run, the Person must answer the Defects of the *Purse*: The Rule on such Occasions holding true in Play as it does in Law; *Quod non habet in Crumena, luat in Corpore.*

But all these are Trifles in Comparison, if we step into other Scenes, and consider the Fraud and Cousinage of Trading-men and Shopkeepers; that insatiable Gulph of injustice and Oppression, the *Law*. The open Traffick of all Civil and Military Employments, I wish



it rested there) without the least Regard to Merit or Qualifications: The corrupt Management of Men in Office; the many detestable Abuses in chusing those who represent the People, with the Management of Interest and Factions among the Representatives. To which I must be bold to add the Ignorance among some of the Lower Clergy; the mean servile Temper of others; the pert Pragmatical Demeanor of several young Stagers in Divinity. Upon their first producing themselves into the World; with many other Circumstances needless, or rather invidious to mention; which falling in with the Corruptions already related, have, however unjustly, almost render'd the whole Order contemptible.

This is a short View of the general Depravities among us, without entring into particulars, which would be an endless Labour. Now, as universal and deep rooted as these appear to be, I am utterly deceived, if an effectual Remedy might not be applied to most of them: neither am I at present upon a wild speculative Project, but such a one as may be easily put in Execution.

For, While the Prerogative of giving all Employment continues in the Crown, either immediately, or by Subordination; it is in the Power of the *Prince* to make Piety and Virtue become the Fashion of the Age: if at the same time he would make them necessary Qualifications for Favour and Preferment.

It is clear from present Experience, that the bare Example of the best Prince, will not have any mighty Influence where the age is very corrupt. For, when was there ever a better Prince on the Throne than the present Queen? I do not talk of Her Talent for Government: Her Love of the People, or any other Qualities that are purely Regal; but Her Piety, Charity, Temperance, Conjugal Love, and whatever other Virtues do best adorn a private Life; wherein without Question or flattery, She hath no superior: Yet neither will it be Satyr or pceevish Invective to affirm, that Infidelity and Vice



are not much diminished since Her coming to the Crown, nor will, in all Probability, 'till some more effectual Remedies be provided.

Thus human Nature seems to lie under this Disadvantage, that the Example alone of a vicious Prince will in time corrupt an Age, but That of a good one will not be sufficient to reform it, without further Endeavours. Princes must therefore supply this Defect by a vigorous Exercise of that Authority which the Law has left them, by making it every Man's Interest and Honour to cultivate Religion and Virtue, by rendering Vice a Disgrace, and the certain Ruin to Preferment or Pretensions: All which they should first attempt in their own Courts and Families. For instance; Might not the Queen's Domesticks of the middle and lower Sort, be obliged upon Penalty of Suspension or Loss of their Employments, to a constant Weekly Attendance at least, on the Service of the Church; to a decent Behaviour in it; to receive the Sacrament Four Times in the Year; to avoid Swearing and irreligious prophane Discourse; and to the appearance at least, of temperance and Chastity? Might not the Care of all this be committed to the strict Inspection of proper Persons? Might not those of higher Rank and nearer Access to Her Majesty's Person, receive Her own Commands to the same Purpose, and be countenanced or disfavoured according as they obey? Might not the Queen lay Her Injunctions on the Bishops, and other great Persons of undoubted Piety, to make diligent Enquiry, to give Her Notice, if any Person about Her should happen to be of Libertine Principles or Morals? Might not all those who enter upon any Office in Her Majesty's Family, be obliged to take an Oath parallel with That against Simony, which is administred to the Clergy? 'Tis not to be doubted, but that if these or the like Proceedings were duly observed, Morality and Religion would soon become fashionable Court Virtues; and be taken up as the only Methods to get or keep Employments there;



which alone would have mighty Influence upon many of the Nobility, and principal Gentry.

But, If the like Methods were pursued as far as possible with regard to those who are in the great Employments of the State, it is hard to conceive how general a Reformation it might in time produce among us. For, if Piety and Virtue were once reckoned Qualifications necessary for Preferment; every Man thus endowed, when put into great Stations, would readily imitate the Queen's Example in the Distribution of all Offices in his Disposal; especially if any apparent Transgression thro' Favour or Partiality, would be imputed to him for a Misdemeanor, by which he must certainly forfeit his Favour and Station: And there being such great Numbers in Employment, scatter'd through every Town and Country in this Kingdom; if all these were exemplary in the Conduct of their Lives, Things would soon take a new Face, and Religion receive a mighty Encouragement? Nor would the publick Weal be less advanced; since, of Nine Offices in Ten that are ill executed, the Defect is not in Capacity or Understanding, but in common Honesty. I know no Employment for which Piety disqualifies any Man; and if it did, I doubt, the Objection would not be very seasonably offered at present: Because, it is perhaps too just a Reflection, that in the Disposal of Places, the Question whether a Person be *fit* for what he is recommended, is very often the last that is thought on, or regarded.

I have often imagined, that something parallel to the Office of Censors antiently in *Rome*, would be of mighty Use among us, and could be easily limited from running into any Exorbitancies. The *Romans* understood Liberty at least as well as we, were as jealous of it, and upon every Occasion as bold Assertors. Yet I do not remember to have read any great Complaints of the Abuses in that Office among them; but many admirable Effects of it are left upon Record. There are several pernicious Vices frequent and notorious among us, that  
escape



escape or elude the Punishment of any Law we have yet invented, or have had no Law at all against them; such as Atheism, Drunkenness, Fraud, Avarice, and several others, which by this Institution wisely regulated, might be much reformed. Suppose for instance, itinerary Commissioners were appointed to inspect every where throughout the Kingdom, into the Conduct (at least) of Men in Office, with respect to their Morals and Religion as well as their Abilities; To receive the Complaints and Informations that should be offered against them, and make their Report here upon Oath, to the Court or the Ministry, who should reward or punish accordingly. I avoid entering into the Particulars of this or any other Scheme, which coming from a private Hand, might be liable to many Defects, but wou'd soon be digested by the Wisdom of the Nation: And surely, Six thousand Pounds a Year would not be ill laid out among as many Commissioners duly qualified, who in three Divisions should be personally obliged to take their yearly Circuits for that Purpose.

But this is beside my present Design, which was only to shew what Degree of Reformation is in the Power of the Queen, without Interposition of the Legislature, and which Her Majesty is without Question obliged in Conscience to endeavour by Her Authority, as much as She does by Her Practice.

It will be easily granted, that the Example of this great Town hath a mighty Influence over the whole Kingdom; and it is as manifest, that the Town is equally influenced by the Court and the Ministry, and those who by their Employments or their Hopes depend upon them. Now, if under so excellent a Prince as the present Queen, we would suppose a Family strictly regulated as I have above proposed; a Ministry, where every single Person was of distinguish'd Piety; if we would suppose all great Offices of State and Law filled after the same Manner, and with such as were equally diligent in chusing Persons who in their several Subordinations would



would be obliged to follow the Examples of their Superiors, under the Penalty of Loss of Favour and Place; Will not every Body grant that the Empire of Vice, and Irreligion would be soon destroyed in this great Metropolis, and receive a terrible Blow through the whole Island, which hath so great an Intercourse with it, and so much affects to follow it's Fashions.

For, If Religion were once understood to be the necessary Step to Favour and Preferment; can it be imagined that any Man would openly offend against it, who had the least regard for his reputation or his Fortune? There is no Quality so contrary to any Nature, which Men cannot affect and put on upon Occasion, in order to serve an Interest, or gratify a prevailing Passion. The Proudest Man will personate humility, the morosest learn to flatter, the lazyest will be sedulous and active, where he is in pursuit of what he has much at Heart; How ready therefore would most Men be to step into the Paths of Virtue and Piety, if they infallibly led to Favour and Fortune.

If Swearing and Prophaneness, scandalous and avowed Lewdness excessive Gaming and Intemperance were a little discountenanc'd in the Army, I cannot readily see what ill Consequences could be apprehended; if Gentleman of that Profession were at least obliged to some external Decorum in their Conduct; or even if a profligate Life and Character were not a Means of Advancement, and the Appearance of Piety a most infallible Hindrance, it is impossible the Corruptions there should be so universal and exorbitant, I have been assured by several great Officers, that no Troops abroad are so ill disciplined as the *English*, which cannot well be otherwise, while the common Soldiers have perpetually before their Eyes the vicious Example of their Leaders; and it is hardly possible for those to commit any Crime, whereof these are not infinitely more guilty, and with less Temptation.

It is commonly charged upon the Gentlemen of the  
Army,



Army, that the beastly Vice of drinking to Excess, hath been lately from their Example restored among us; which for some Years before was almost dropt in *England*. But, whoever the Introducers were, they have succeeded to a Miracle; many of the young Nobility and Gentry are already become great Proficients, and are under no Manner of Concern to hide their Talent, but are got beyond all Sense of Shame or Fear of Reproach.

This might soon be remedied, if the Queen would think fit to declare, that no young Person of Quality whatsoever, who were notoriously addicted to that or any other Vice, should be capable of Her Favour, or even admitted into Her Presence; with positive Command to Her Ministers and others in great Office, to treat them in the same Manner; after which, all Men who had any regard for their Reputation or any Prospect of Preferment, would avoid their Commerce. This would quickly make Vice so scandalous, that those who could subdue, would at least endeavour to disguise it.

By the like Methods, a Stop might be put to that ruinous Practice of deep Gaming; and the Reason why it prevails so much, is because a Treatment *directly opposite* in every Point is made use of to promote it; by which Means, the Laws made against this Abuse are wholly eluded.

It cannot be denied that the Want of strict Discipline in the Universities, hath been of pernicious Consequence to the Youth of this Nation, who are there almost left entirely to their own Management, especially those among them of better Quality and Fortune; who because they are not under a Necessity of making Learning their Maintenance, are easily allowed to pass their Time and take their Degrees with little or no Improvement: Than which there cannot well be a greater Absurdity. For if no Advancement of Knowledge can be had from those Places, the Time there spent is at best



utterly lost, because every ornamental Part of Education is better taught elsewhere : And as for keeping Youths out of Harms-way, I doubt, where so many of them are got together at full Liberty of doing what they please, it will not answer the End. But, whatever Abuses, Corruptions, or Deviations from Statutes have crept into the Universities, through Neglect, or Length of Time; they might in a great Degree be reformed by strict Injunctions from Court, (upon each Particular) to the Visitors and Heads of Houses; beside the peculiar Authority the Queen may have in several Colledges, whereof Her Predecessors were the Founders. And among other Regulations it would be very convenient to prevent the Excess of Drink, with that scurvy Custom among the Lads, and Parents of the former Vice, the taking of Tobacco, where it is not absolutely necessary in Point of Health.

From the Universities, the young Nobility and others of great Fortunes, are sent for early up to Town, for fear of contracting any Airs of Pedantry by a Colledge Education. Many of the younger Gentry retire to the Inns of Court, where they are wholly left to their own Discretion. And the Consequence of this Remissness in Education appears by observing, that Nine in Ten of those who rise in the Church or the Court, the Law or the Army, are younger Brothers, or new Men, whose narrow Fortunes have forced them upon Industry and Application.

As for the Inns of Court, unless we suppose them to be much degenerated, they must needs be the worst instituted Seminaries in any Christian Country; but whether they may be corrected without Interposition of the Legislature, I have not Skill enough to determine. However, it is certain that all wise Nations have agreed in the necessity of a strict Education, which consisted among other Things in the Observance of Moral Duties, especiall, Justice, Temperance, and Chastity, as well as the Knowledge of Arts and bodily Exercises.



cises : But all these , among us are laughed out of Doors.

Without the least Intention to offend the Clergy, I cannot but think, that through a mistaken Notion and Practice, they prevent themselves from doing much Service, which otherwise might lie in their Power, to Religion and Virtue: I mean, by effecting so much to converse with each other, and caring so little to mingle with the Laity. They have their particular Clubs, and particular Coffee-houses, where they generally appear in Clusters: A single Divine dares hardly shew his person among Numbers of fine Gentlemen; or if he happens to fall into such Company, he is silent, and suspicious, in continual Apprehension, that some pert Man of Pleasure should break an unmanerly Jest, and render him ridiculous. Now, I take this Behaviour of the Clergy to be just as reasonable, as if the Physicians should agree to spend their Time in visiting one anothe, or their severall Apothecaries, and leave their Patients to shift for themselves. In my humble Opinion, the Clergy's Business lies entirely among the Laity; neither is there perhaps a more effectual Way to forward the Salvation of Mens Souls than for spiritual Persons to make themselves as agreeable as they can in the Conversations of the World; for which a learned Education gives them great Advantage, if they would please to improve and apply it. It so happens, that the *Men of Pleasure*, who never, go to Church, nor amuse themselves to read Books of Devotion, form their Idea's the Clergy from a few poor Strolers they often observe in the Streets, or sneaking out of some Person of Quality's House, where they are hired by the Lady at Ten Shillings a Month; while those better Figure and Parts do seldom appear to correct these Notions. And let some Reasoners think what they please, 'tis certain, tha Men must be brought to esteem and love the Clergy before they can be perswaded to be in love with Religion. No Man values the best Medicine if administred by a Physician



Physician whose Person he hates or despises. If the Clergy were as forward to appear in all Companies, as other Gentlemen, and would a little study the Arts of Conversation, to make themselves agreeable, they might be welcome at every Party, where there was the least Regard for Politeness or good Sense; and consequently prevent a thousand vicious or prophane Discourses, as well as Actions; neither would Men of Understanding complain, that a Clergyman was a Constraint upon the Company, because they could not speak Blasphemy or obscene Jest before him. While the People are so jealous of the Clergy's Ambition, as to abhor all Thoughts of the Return of Ecclesiastick Discipline among them, I do not see any other Method left for Men of that Function to take, in order to reform the World, than by using all honest Arts to make themselves acceptable to the Laity. This, no doubt, is Part of that Wisdom of the Serpent, which the Author of Christianity directs, and is the very Method used by *St. Paul*, who *became all Things to all Men, to the Jews a Jew, and a Greek to the Greeks.*

How to remedy these Inconveniencies, may be a Matter of some Difficulty, since the Clergy seem to be of an Opinion, that this Humour of sequestering themselves is a part of their duty; nay, as I remember, they have been told so by some of their Bishops in their pastoral Letters, particularly by *one* among them of great Merit and Distinction, who yet in his own Practice hath all his Life-time taken a Course directly contrary. But I am deceived, if an awkward Shame, and Fear of ill Usage from the Laity, have not a greater Share in this mistaken Conduct, than their own Inclinations: however, if the outward Profession of Religion and Virtue, were once in Practice and Countenance at Court, as well as among all Men in Office, or who have any hopes or Dependance for Preferment; a good Treatment of the Clergy would be the necessary Consequence of such a Reformation; and they would soon be wise enough to see their own Duty and



Interest in qualifying themselves for Lay-Conversation, when once they were out of Fear of being chocqued by Ribaldry or Prophaneness.

There is one further Circumstance upon this Occasion, which I know not whether it will be very Orthodox to mention: The Clergy are the only Set of Men among us who constantly wear a distinct Habit from others: The Consequence of which (not in Reason but in Fact) is this, that as long as any scandalous Persons appear in that dress it will continue in some degree a general Mark of Contempt. Whoever happens to see a *Scoundrel in a Gown*, reeling Home at Midnight (a Sight neither frequent nor miraculous) is apt to encertain an ill Idea of the whole Order, and at the same Time to be extreamly comforted in his own Vices. Some Remedy might be put to this, if those straggling Gentlemen who come up to Town to *seek their Fortunes*, were fairly dismiss'd to the *West-Indies*, where there is Work enough, and where some better Provision should be made for them, than I doubt there is at present. Or, what if no Person were allowed to wear the Habit who had not some Preferment in the Church, or at least some temporal Fortune sufficient to keep him out of Contempt? Though in my Opinion, it were infinitely better, if all the Clergy (except the Bishops) were allowed to appear like other Men of the graver Sort, unless at those Seasons when they are doing the Business of their Function.

There is one Abuse in this Town which wonderfully contributes to the Promotion of Vice; that such Men are often put into the Commission of the Peace, whose Interest it is, that Virtue should be utterly banished from among us; who maintain, or at least enrich themselves by encouraging the grossest Immoralities; to whom all the *Bawds* of the *Ward* pay Contribution for Shelter and Protection from the Laws. Thus these worthy Magistrates, instead of lessening Enormities, are the Occasion of just twice as much Debauchery as there would be without



without them. For those infamous Women are forced upon doubling their Work and Industry, to answer double Charges, of paying the Justice, and supporting themselves. Like Thieves, who escape the Gallows, and are let out to steal in order to discharge the Joylots Fees.

It is not to be questioned, but the Queen ; and Ministry might easily redress this abominable Grievance ; by enlarging the Number of Justices of the Peace, by endeavouring to chuse Men of virtuous Principles, by admitting none who have not considerable Fortunes, perhaps by receiving into the Number some of the most eminent Clergy : Then, by forcing all of them upon severe Penalties, to act when there is Occasion, and not permitting any who are offered, to refuse the Commission ; but in these Two last Cases, which are very material, I doubt there will be need of the Legislature.

The Reformation of the Stage is entirely in the Power of the Queen ; and in the Consequences it hath upon the Minds of younger People, does very well deserve the strictest Care. Beside the undecent and Prophane Passages ; beside the perpetual turning into Ridicule the very function of the Priesthood, with other irregularities in most modern Comedies, which have by others been objected to them ; it is worth observing the distributive Justice of the Authors, which is constantly applied to the Punishment of Virtue, and the Reward of Vice ; directly opposite to the Rules of their best Criticks, as well as to the Practice of dramatick Poets in all other Ages and Countries. For Example, A Country Squire, who is represented with no other Vice but that of being a Clown, and having the Provincial Accent upon his tongue, which is neither a fault nor in his Power to remedy must be condemned to marry a cast Wench, or a crackt Chamber-maid. On the other side, Rakehell of the Town, whose Character is set off with no other Accomplishments but excessive Prodigality, Prophaneity, Intemperance, and Lust ; is rewarded with the Lady  
of



of great Fortune, to repair his own, which his Vices had almost ruined. And as in a Tragedy, the Hero is represented to have obtained many Victories, in order to raise his Character in the Minds of the Spectators, so the Hero of a Comedy is represented to have been victorious in all his Intrigues, for the same Reason. I do not remember that our *English* Poets ever suffer'd a Criminal Amour to succeed upon the Stage, 'till the Reign of King *Charles* the Second. Ever since that Time, the Alderman is made a Cuckold, the deluded Virgin is debauched, and Adultery and Fornication are supposed to be committed behind the Scenes, as Part of the Action. These and many more Corruptions of the Theatre, peculiar to our Age and Nation, need continue no longer than while the Court is content to connive at or neglect them. Surely a Pension would not be ill employ'd on some Man of Wit, Learning, and Virtue, who might have Power to strike out every offensive or unbecoming Passage from Plays already written as well as that may be offered to the Stage for the future. By which and other wise Regulations, the Theatre might become a very innocent and useful Diversion, instead of being the Scandal and Reproach to our Religion and Country.

The Proposals I have hitherto made for the Advancement of Religion and Morality, are such as come within Reach of the Administration; such as pious active Prince, with a steady Resolution might soon bring to effect. Neither am I aware of any Objections to be raised against what I have advanced; unless it should be thought, that the making Religion a necessary Step to Interest and Favour, might increase Hypocrisy among us: And I readily believe it would. But if One in Twenty, should be brought over to true Piety by this or the like Methods, and the other Nineteen be only Hypocrites; the Advantage would still be great. Besides, Hypocrisy is much more eligible than open Infidelity and Vice; it wears the Livery of Religion, it acknowledges her Authority, and is cautious of giving  
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Scandal



Scandal. Nay a long continued Disguise, is too great a Constraint upon human Nature, especially an *English* Disposition; Men would leave off their Vices out of meer Weariness, rather than undergo the Toil and Hazard, and perhaps Expence, of practising them perpetually in private. And I believe it is often with Religion as with Love; which by much dissembling, at last grows real.

All other Projects to this great End have proved hitherto ineffectual. Laws against Immorality have not been executed; and Proclamations occasionally issued out to enforce them, are wholly unregarded as Things of Form. Religious Societies, though begun with excellent Intention, and by Persons of true Piety, have dwindled into factious Clubs; and grown a Trade to enrich little knavish Informers of the meanest Rank, such as common Constables, and broken Shopkeepers.

And, That some effectual Attempt should be made towards such a Reformation, is perhaps more necessary than People commonly apprehend; because the Ruin of a State is generally proceeded by an universal Degeneracy of Manners, and Contempt of Religion; which is entirely our Case at present.

*Diis te minorem, quod geris, imperas.* Hor.

Neither is this a Matter to be deferred till a more convenient Time of Peace and Leisure: Because a Reformation in Mens Faith and Morals, is the best natural as well as religious Means to bring the War to a good Conclusion. For, if Men in Trust performed their Duty for Conscience Sake, Affairs would not suffer through Fraud, Falshood, and Neglect, as they now perpetually do. And if they believed a God and His Providence, and acted accordingly, they might reasonably hope for His divine Assistance in so just a Cause as ours.



Nor could the Majesty of the *English* Crown appear upon any Occasion in a greater Lustre, either to Foreigners or Subjects, than by an Administration, which producing such great Effect, would discover so much Power. And Power being the natural Appetite of Princes, a limited Monarch cannot so well gratify it in any Thing as a strict Execution of the Laws.

Besides ; All Parties would be obliged to close with so good a Work as this, for their own Reputation : Neither is any expedient more likely to unite them. For, the most violent Party-men I have ever observed, are such as in the conduct of their lives have discovered least Sense of Religion or Morality ; and when all such are laid aside, at least those among them as shall be found incorrigible, it will be a Matter perhaps of no great Difficulty to reconcile the rest.

The many Corruptions at present in every Branch of Business, are almost inconceivable. I have heard it computed by skillful Persons, that, of Six Millions raised every Year for the Service of the Publick, one Third at least, is sunk and intercepted through the several Classes and Subordination of artful Men in Office, before the Remainder is applied to the proper Uses. This is an accidental ill Effect of our Freedom. And while such Men are in Trust, who have no Check from within, nor any Views but towards their Interest ; there is no other Fence against them but the Certainty of being hanged upon the first Discovery, by the arbitrary Will of an unlimited Monarch or his *Vizier*. Among us, the only Danger to be apprehended, is the Loss of an Employment ; and that Danger is to be eluded a Thousand Ways. Besides, when Fraud is great, it furnishes Weapons to defend it self : And at worst, if, the Crimes be so flagrant, that a Man is laid aside out of perfect Shame, which rarely happens,) he retires load with the Spoils of the Nation ; *Et fruitur Diis iratis*. I could name a Commission, where several Persons out of a Salary of Five hundred Pounds, without



without other visible Revenues, have always lived at the Rate of Two thousand, and laid out Forty or Fifty thousand upon Purchases of Land or Annuities. An Hundred other Instances of the same Kind might easily be produced. What Remedy therefore can be found against such Grievances in a Constitution like ours, but to bring Religion into Countenance, and encourage those who from the Hope of future Reward, and dread of future Punishment, will be moved to act with Justice and Integrity.

This is not to be accomplished any other way, but by introducing Religion as much as possible to be the Turn and Fashion of the Age, which only lies in the Power of the Administration, the Prince with utmost strictness regulating the Court the Ministry, and other Persons in great Employment; and these by their Example and Authority, reforming all who have Dependence on them.

It is certain that a Reformation successfully carried on in this great Town, would in Time spread it self over the whole Kingdom; since most of the considerable Youth pass here that Season of their Lives wherein strongest Impressions are made, in order to improve their Education or advance their Fortune; and those among them who return into their several Countries, are sure to be followed and imitated as the greatest Patterns of Wit and good Breeding.

And if Things were once in this Train; that is if Virtue and Religion were established as the necessary Titles to Reputation and Preferment, and if Vice and Infidelity were not only loaded with Infamy, but made the infallible Ruin of all Mens Pretensions; our Duty by becoming our Interest would take Root in our Natures, and mix with the very Genius of our People, so that it would not be easy for the Example of one wicked Prince to bring us back to our former Corruptions.



I Have confined my self (as it is before observed) to those Methods for the Advancement of Piety which are in the Power of a Prince limited like ours, by a strict Execution of the Laws already in force, And this is enough for a Project that comes without any Name or Recommendation; I doubt, a great deal more than will suddenly be reduced into Practice. Though, if any Disposition should appear towards so good a Work, it is certain, that the Assistance of the Legislative Power would be necessary to make it more compleat. I will instance only a few Particulars.

In order to reform the Vices of this Town, which as we have said, hath so mighty an Influence on the whole Kingdom; it would be very instrumental, to have a Law made that all Taverns or Ale-houses should be obliged to dismiss their Company by Twelve at Night, and shut up their Doors; and that no Woman should be suffered to enter any Tavern or Ale-house upon any Pretence whatsoever. It is easy to conceive what a Number of ill Consequences such a Law would prevent; the Mischiefs of Quarrels, and Lewdness, and Thefts, and Midnight Brawls, the Diseases of Intemperance and Venery, and a thousand other Evils needless to mention. Nor would it be amiss if the Masters of those Publick-houses were obliged upon the severest Penalties to give only a proportioned Quantity of Drink to every Company, and when he found his Guests Disordered with Excess, to refuse them any more.

I Believe there is hardly a Nation in Christendom where all kind of Fraud is practiced in so unmeasurable a Degree as with us. The Lawyer, the Tradesman, the Mechanick have found so many Arts to deceive in their several Callings, that they far out grow the common Prudence of Mankind, which is not able to fence against them. Neither could the Legislature in any thing more consult the Publick Good, than by providing some effectual Remedy against this Evil, which in several Cases deserves greater Punishment than many Crimes



Crimes that are capital among us. The Vintner who by mixing Poison with his Wines, destroys more Lives than any one Disease in the Bill of Mortality; the Lawyer who perswades you to a Purchase which he knows is mortgaged for more than the Worth to the Ruin of you and your Family; the Goldsmith or Scrivener who takes all your Fortune to dispose of, when he has before hand resolved to break the following Day; do surely deserve the Gallows much better than the Wretch who is carried there for stealing a Horse.

It cannot easily be answered to God or Man, why a Law is not made for limiting the Press; at least so far as to prevent the publishing of such pernicious Books, as under Pretence of *free Thinking*, endeavour to overthrow those Tenets in Religion, which have been held inviolable almost in all Ages by every Sect that pretend to be Christian, and cannot therefore with any Colour of Reason be called *Points in Controversy*, or *Matters of Speculation*, as some would pretend. The Doctrine of the *Trinity*, the *Divinity of Christ*, the *Immortality of the Soul*, and even the Truth of all Revelations, are daily exploded, and denied in Books openly printed; though it is to be supposed, neither Party will avow such Principles, or own the supporting of them to be any way necessary to their Service.

It would be endless to set down every Corruption or Defect which requires a Remedy from the Legislative Power. Senates are like to have little Regard for any Proposals that come from without Doors; though under a due Sense of my own Inabilities, I am fully convinced that the unbiased Thoughts of an honest and wise Man employed on the Good of his Country, may be better digested than the Results of a Multitude where Faction and Interest too often prevail; as a single Guide may direct the Way, better than Five hundred who *have contrary Views*, or *look askint*, or *shut their Eyes*.

I Shall therefore mention but one more Particular which I think the Parliament ought to take under Consideration; whether it be not a Shame to our Country, and a Scandal to Christianity, that in many Towns where there is a prodigious Encrease in the Number of Houses and Inhabitants, so little Care should be taken for the building of Churches, that Five Parts in Six of the People are absolutely hindered from hearing divine Service: Particularly here in *London*, where a single Minister with One or two sorry Curats, hath the Care sometime of above Twenty Thousand Souls incumbent on him. A Neglect of Religion, so ignominious in my Opinion, that it can hardly be equalled in any civilized Age or Country.

But, To leave these airy Imaginations of introducing new Laws for the Amendment of Mankind: What I principally insist on is a due Execution of the old; which lies wholly in the Crown, and in the Authority derived from thence. I therefore return to my former Assertion; that, if Stations of Power, Trust, Profit, and Honour were constantly made the Rewards of Virtue and Piety, such an Administration must needs have a mighty Influence on the Faith and Morals of the whole Kingdom: And Men of great Abilities would *then* endeavour to excell in the Duties of a religious Life, in order to qualify themselves for publick Service. Per-



haps I may be wrong in some of the Means I prescribe toward this End; but that is no material Objection against the Design it self. Let those who are at the Helm, contrive it better, which perhaps they may easily do. Every Body will agree that the Disease is manifest, as well as dangerous, that, some Remedy is necessary, and that none yet applied hath been effectually, which is a sufficient Excuse for any Man who wishes well to his Country to offer his thoughts, when he can have no other End in View but the Publick Good. The present Queen is a Prince of as many and great Virtues as ever filled a Throne: How would it brighten Her Character to the present and after Ages, if She would exert Her utmost Authority to Instil some Share of those Virtues into Her People, which they are to degenerate to learn only from Her Example. And, be it spoke with all the Veneration possible for so excellent a Sovereign, Her best Endeavours in this weighty Affair are a most important Part of Her Duty as well as Her Interest, and Her Honour.

But, It must be confest, that as Things are now, every Man thinks he has laid in a sufficient Stock of Merit, and may pretend to any Employment, provided he has been loud and frequent in declaring himself hearty for the Government. 'Tis true, he is a *Man of Pleasure*, and a *Free Thinker*, that is, in other Words, he is profligate in his Morals, and and a Despiser of Religion; but in Point of Party, he is one to be *confided* in; he is an Asserter of Liberty and Property; he rattles it out against *Popery* and *Arbitrary Power*, and *Priest-craft*, and *High-Church*. 'Tis enough: He is a Person fully qualified for any Employment in the Court or the Navy, the Law, or the Revenue; where he will be sure to leave no Arts untried of Bribery, Fraud, Injustice Oppression, that he can practice with any hope of impunity. No wonder such Men are true to a Government, where Liberty runs high, where Property however attained, is so well secured, and where the Administration is at least



least to gentle: 'Tis impossible they could chuse any other Constitution without changing to their Loss.

Fidelity to a present Establishment is indeed the principal Means to defend it from a foreign Enemy, but without other Qualifications will not prevent Corruptions from within; and States are oftner ruined by these than the other.

To conclude. Whether the Proposals I have offered towards a Reformation, be such as are most prudent and convenient, may probably be a Question; but it is none at all, whether some Reformation be absolutely necessary; because the Nature of things is such, that if Abuses be not remedied, they will certainly encrease, nor ever stop till they end in the Subversion of a Commonwealth. As there must always of necessity be some Corruptions, so in a wellinstituted State, the executive Power will be always contending against them, by *reducing Things (as Machiavel speak) to their first Principles*, never letting Abuses grow inveterate, or multiply so far that it will be hard to find Remedies, and perhaps impossible to apply them. As he that would keep his House in Repair, must attend every little breach or Flaw, and supply it immediately; else Time alone will bring all to ruin, how much more the common Accidents of Storms and Rain: He must live in perpetual Danger of his House falling about his Ears; and will find it cheaper to throw it quite down, and build it again from the Ground; perhaps upon a new Foundation, or at least in a new Form, which may neither be so safe nor so convenient as the old.

F I N I S.



# A LETTER

TO THE

Reverend Doctor MOSS,

In Behalf of

The RIGHTS of the Christian  
Church.

Together with

A POETICK RHAPSODY.

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By an Oxford-Scholar.

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L O N D O N:

Printed and Sold by the Booksellers of  
London, and Westminster. 1709.



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Reverend Doctor *Moss*,

In Behalf of

*The RIGHTS of the Christian Church.*

April 30. 1709.

*Reverend Sir,*

**H**AVING lately taken the first Degree in Arts at *Oxford*, I have now given my self the Pleasure, which I had long desir'd, of seeing *London*. 'Twas not for the sake of the Play-Houses and Opera's, but to view the Stateliness and Opulency of the City, the Magnificence of the publick Buildings, and the Grandeur of the Court: nor was I without hopes of gratifying a strong Inclination of hearing the *London Divines* ( for whose Character I had a great esteem ) preach to so wise and worthy a People as I take the Citizens to be. And 'twas my good fortune to hear you ( whose good Name I had learnt from publick Fame ) preach your Lecture at *St. Lawrence*, when you took an opportunity to shew no small dislike of a Book call'd *the Rights of the Christian Church*, &c. This Book I would have read before I came from my Chamber in *Oxford*, but could not get it: whether it



was so slighted there, that it was not worth the Book-seller's while to send it thither, as some said; or whether they were bought up in private with great eagerness, as others affirm'd, I know not: but being now arm'd by the Resentment you shew'd against it, I resolv'd to venture upon reading it, notwithstanding all the Heterodoxys it might contain. As soon as I had read over the Preface, I made a stand for Recollection; and hop'd that all I had read had been very bad indeed: being willing to have found out twenty Mysterys of Iniquity in it, or at least that the Author had been a mere Shatt (as some have said) and had wrote nothing to any purpose. But you cannot imagine how much I was surpriz'd to find upon review, that all his Design was to support the Religion by Law establish'd, against all Religions which have no such Establishment. Then thought I, either Dr. *Moss* is of the Religion by Law establish'd, or of a Religion not by Law establish'd: if he be of the Religion by Law establish'd, he is of the same Religion defended in the Preface to the *Rights*, &c. but if he be of a Religion by no Law establish'd, what Religion is he of then? For my part I think 'tis fit for every body to receive the Religion of his Country, if it be (as ours is) a good Religion: and this I learnt at School from the beginning of *Pythagoras's* Golden Verses, viz.

Ἀθανάτους μὲν πρῶτα θεὸς νόμον ὧς διδάσκειται

*τίμα. i. e. Worship the Immortal Gods in that manner which is by Law establish'd.*

And my Father (who is an honest Country Gentleman, and now call'd a *High-Churchman*, because he differs from the Whigs in some *State-Principles*) laid his Commands on me always to adhere to the present Church by Law establish'd. But if this Church grows out of fashion in *London*, I do not know how it should

be



be kept up in the Country, which is apt to follow the Mode of the City : and therefore, Doctor, I think 'tis not well for a *London* Divine to set himself against the Rights and legal Establishments of the Christian Church of *England*, which were enacted by Law at our Reformation from Popery. 'Tis too late to think of trimming back towards Popery. I do not see why our Clergy should compliment the Church of *Rome* so far, as to own to have receiv'd their Holy Orders from thence. I should not doubt to profess before our Worthy and Learned Professor of Theology, if he were in his Chair, that our Parliamentary Religion is better than all their Popish Superstitions. If you will lay aside the legal Establishment, why may not a Popish Priest read Mass at *London*, as well as you read Common-Prayer ? All our Church-Authority and Jurisdiction is by Law establish'd, and so are all our chief Church-Officers : for instance, why is that Noble and Worthy Prelate Dr. *Campton* Bishop of *London*, and not of *Oxford*, as once he was formerly ? 'tis only because he was legally translated from one Diocese to the other. He has no Divine Right to the Bishoprick of *London* now, nor had he any such Right to *Oxford* before. Suppose you had a mind to a Bishoprick or a Deanery, would you not have it by Law ? What, would you steal it, or take it by force ? *The Rights of the Christian Church* shews that it was declar'd in 37 Hen. 8. cap. 17. *That Ecclesiastical Persons have no manner of Jurisdiction, but by and under the King's Majesty.* And I do not doubt, but that you, or any worthy Clergyman, would be willing to accept an Episcopal Jurisdiction by and under the Queen, without claiming an Independency from, or a Co-ordination with the Supreme Civil Power : And that which makes me think thus of you, is because I have read that excellent Sermon which you preach'd on the 30th of *January* to the Honourable House of Commons ; where-



in you shew your Abhorrence of the execrable Tragedy of that Day, which was grounded only upon the Notion of a Power independent of, or at least co-ordinate with the Supreme Civil Power, which was vested in the King: so that you are the last Man who can be suspected of promoting either the old Popish, or old *Scotish* Doctrine, of a Power co-ordinate with the King's Sovereignty. I remember I read a Play call'd *the Tempest*, where two People being cast away at Sea, swim to an Island of which Duke *Stephano* claim'd the Sovereignty, which was agreed to by Duke *Trincalo*, only with this Proviso, that he would be Vice-Roy above him. I remember in that Island there was no living Creature but *Sycorax* a Monster, who was a fit Subject for such a Government: Two Independent Powers in one Political, or even Oeconomical Society, will produce a monstrous ( I cannot say Government, but ) Confusion. And this is what *the Rights of the Church* endeavours to contravene.

Truly, Doctor, I lik'd the Preface and the Book so well, that I inquir'd if the Author of it had written any thing else; and hearing that *An Essay concerning the Power of the Magistrate and the Rights of Mankind in Matters of Religion*, was adjudg'd to the same Author, I could not forbear to read that Book likewise with great satisfaction; wherein is prov'd, that since no Man can shew a Commission from Heaven for his being a Magistrate upon Earth, therefore all Magistracy must arise from the Consent of Men, who in all Nations have shap'd their respective Governments sutable to their own Conveniences and Inclinations: as appears by the Experience of all Ages, of which we have any account in Story. Now from hence it may appear, that the Magistrate's Power, tho extended to all such Dutys which Men owe to one another, in order to the Welfare of the Society, yet does not reach so far



to impose Articles of Faith or Forms of Divine Worship, because these Matters concern only a Man's own Soul with relation to God alone: So that if Sincerity in the Worship of God be a Duty, to force Conscience in that point must be a Sin; and if God requires every Man to judge for himself in those Matters, 'tis plain that he has not requir'd nor empower'd the Magistrate to judg for them. For what can be more absurd, than that in judging of those Matters wherein we chiefly differ from Brutes, we should be subject to brutal Force? Let Force take the place of Judgment, and all Religions will be alike, and no more distinguishable than Colours in the dark.

I cannot but think that the Writer of these two Books is a Doctor of Divinity, as you are; and I am always sorry to find that great Doctors do not agree with one another: but more especially when one does not approve of the good Works which another performs. Now 'twas becoming an honest *Christian* Divine, to shew first that the Civil Magistrate ought not to lay any force upon a *Christian* Man's Conscience, to compel him to any Religion which he dislikes. And then, secondly, it became a good Protestant Divine to shew, that when the Civil Magistrate had establish'd the Profession of the Christian Religion by good Laws, and provided a good Order for the Administration of all Christian Ordinances, as has been done in the Church of *England*; the Ministers of this Church should be contented with this Protestant Establishment, and not seek to derive any thing of their Ministerial Power or Character from the Church of *Rome*. But tho this Author in his *Essay upon the Power of the Civil Magistrate* has written very strongly against Persecution, yet he has not carry'd his Argument so far upon that Head, as Mr. *Bayle* in his *Philosophical Commentary* on these words of the Gospel, *Compel them to come in, that*



my House may be full; which is lately translated out of the *French*. This Writer, who is also the Author of the *Great Critical and Historical Dictionary*, has exhausted the the Topick of Persecution, and with great Exactness or Judgment answer'd all the Arguments which the Wits of *France* have found out, to support the present *Louisian* Persecution; and particularly has baffled poor St. *Austin*, who was for compelling the *Donatists* to come into the Church, and whose Authority the *Jesuits* in *France* made use of for expelling the *Hugonots*: Nay, he has gone so far as to prove, that Hereticks have as much Right to persecute the Orthodox as the Orthodox them. But he who reads only our *English* Author, will be fully satisfy'd as to be butting and bounding of the Civil Magistrate's Authority; and will see the monstrous Absurdity of an Independent Clergy, to the utter Confusion of all *Italian* or *English* Popery: so that 'tis a wonder that any *English* Protestant Divine should be displeas'd with this Author's Books. Surely such Persons forget the Toleration is by Law establish'd, whereby Men have liberty to see with their own Eyes, as well as to hear with their own Ears: by virtue whereof I took the liberty to read the *Rights of the Church*, and the several *Defences* written in behalf of that Book, against which I heard you preach. Truly I think a Man may as well preach against the Statute-Book, and particularly against all those Acts of Parliament made to reform this Nation from Popery, and against the Queen's and Parliament's supreme Legislative Power, as to preach against this Writer's Books. Surely you forget that the Clergy have it not now in their power to restrain the Use of the Press to their own separate Interest, as has been done in the last Age, when ( for some time ) nothing might be publish'd with Allowance, but what was fit to prepare the People for Servitude of Body and Mind: and yet even in those days ( as I have learnt by the



the Writings of that time ) Sir Roger himself declar'd outwardly in behalf of the Religion by Law establish'd : and 'tis strange that the present time will not bear with the same Establishment, which if it be set forth from the Authority of the Statute-Book, it must be reflected on from the Pulpit, as if the present Danger of the Church of *England* were, that it is by Law establish'd, and that the Queen is in all Causes, and over all Persons, Ecclesiastical and Civil, in these her Dominions, Supreme Moderator and Governor upon Earth ; as the Clergy are oblig'd to acknowledge in their publick Devotions, tho the Canon which obliges hereunto begins ( as some have observ'd ) to wear out of use.

'Tis too late, Doctor, for the Clergy to set up for an Independent Power, and to bring the Laity into a blind Submission to their Dictates ; since the Patriarch of Independency, Archbishop *Laud*, and his Party, who were very numerous, and had gain'd the King ( as then was ) into their measures, fail'd in that Design to the Subversion of both Church and State, and since all the Transactions of that Attempt, which were collected by Mr. *Rushworth*, and digested into eight large Volumes ( too long for Men either of Business or Pleasure to read ) are now faithfully abridg'd and publish'd, and this Abridgment has been lately read, together with my Lord *Clarendon's* History, whereby the whole and perfect Account of that Affair appears in a full Light. And since no Man now thinks himself in danger by reading Col. *Algernon Sidney's* and Mr. *Lock's Discourses of Government*, with his *Letters of Tolleration* ; and since the Work of the Reverend Mr. *Samuel Johnson*, and eminent Confessor for the Church of *England*, in opposition to Tyranny and Popery, are now printing all together, what hopes remain of enslaving the Laity either to a Spi-  
ritual



ritual or Temporal Tyranny ? 'Twere this Author's judicious Writings which prepar'd the way for *England's* Jubilee and happy Release : he dissolv'd and scatter'd away all the Mists of Passive-Obedience, and a *de facto* Title, which were rais'd by *spiritual Wickednesses in High Places*, against the Rights of the People, and the rightful Title of the Sovereign Prince. In short, this Great Man's Writings, and those others which I have now mention'd, have put the People of *Great Britain* in possession of Themselves, both with respect to their Religious and Civil Liberties ; and all the Doctors of *London* and *Oxford*, with both the Proctors, will not in this Age be able to bring a Writ of Ejection against 'em : the common People at present will not be made Property to the Clergy, upon any pretence of Church-Communion whatever.

So long as the Press is open, it is in vain to attempt to bring the People of *Britain* into Spiritual Slavery. The Press was the *Hercules*, who subdu'd the *Hydra* of Popery, the Downfal of that Tyranny being the first-Fruits of Printing : which was soon observ'd by the Papists, who could only then play an After-Game, by endeavouring to put a stop to the reading of Protestant Books by an *Index Expurgatorius*, wherein it was declar'd, that no good Catholick should read such Books as were nam'd in that Catalogue ; but the effect hereof was, that any one who would allow himself the Liberty to consult about the great Concern of his Soul in Matters of Religion, would look into the *Index*, where he might be sure to find out those Books wherein those Principles were debated, into which he had been blindly led by his Education, as some Preachers Sermons point out what Books are most disagreeable to the Designs of a particular Party. And considering that of late a strong

Gotick



Gotick Wind has blown from the Quarter of Liberty; 'tis not now a fit time for Clergymen to *culminate in the Zenith*: but a reasonable Doctor had better be contented with a good Church establish'd upon good Laws, and a good Queen to encourage it by her Bounty, and adorn it with her Example. But if what I have written shall be found insufficient to lay those Vapours which the *Rights of the Christian Church*, &c. have lately rais'd, be pleas'd to cool the Heat of your Imagination, by reading the ensuing Specimen of a Poem, in the nature of the la *Philosophical Rhapsody*.

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# POETICK RHAPSODY.

**W**hen I pass thro the Fields, and see the Sheep  
Feeding upon the tender verdant Grass,  
'And hear 'em calling to their wanton Lambs;  
I cannot chuse but envy them a Life,  
So free from anxious Cares and fretting Pain.

They range and sport at large in Flow'ry Meads,  
Near to some Chrystal Stream or Mountain high,  
Whilst chearful Shepherds on their tuneful Pipes  
Set for the Praise of *Amarillis* fair,  
And watchful Dogs lie scouting on the Plain,  
To give the Alarm, and chase away fly Wolves.  
After I've let my Envy fix it self  
A while upon this innocent Surprize,  
A warbling Melody from neighbouring Groves  
Diverts my Thoughts to new delightful Scenes  
Of Melancholy. I lament my Fate,  
Because I was not made a Nightingal,  
A Thrush, a Lark, or one o'th' feather'd Choir,  
Who with their chearful Notes salute the Morn,  
And sing all Day the Praises of the Sun;  
Fountain of Warmth and Life, which vests the Earth  
With bright Attire, and decks the Trees with Leaves,  
Filling the World with Ebbs and Flows of Light.  
From Bough to Bough, from Tree to Tree they fly,  
And chirp, rejoicing in the Beams that dart,  
And gently glide among the moving Shades  
Of Branches softly rock'd by breezing Winds:  
They form no Plots, nor Politick Designs



To cheat and undermine; but pass their time,  
Secure in Innocence and harmless Joy.

Sometimes I think the Reptils of the Earth,  
In Stations low, more happy far than I;  
They creep in Hollow Trees and Clefts of Rocks,  
To hunt for Food and for Divertisement;  
They spend their Days at Ease, without being rackt  
By supernumerary Cares and Fears.  
Or if some ruder Foot of Man or Beast,  
By luckless Chance, should trample them to Death,  
Or more malicious Hand with Weapon fell,  
Shall wilfully bereave them of their Lives,  
The sudden Blow prevents all Sense of Pain:  
Whereas my Life's a constant Martyrdom,  
A Series of Cares, and Fears, and Griefs.  
'Tis not the Pain of Body I lament,  
But 'tis the fretting Anguish of my Mind  
That forces Sighs and Exclamations loud,  
That I were disembarra's'd from the World,  
Where Gins and Snares encompass me around.  
By mere good Nature sometimes I'm betray'd;  
The kindness which I've sow'd, springs up in Blades  
Of Perfidy and base Ingratitude,  
Of Henbane, Aconite, and stinking Weeds,  
Instead of pleasant Flow'rs and wholesom Fruit.  
Besides, infernal Fiends do set their Feet  
On all my Labours: interloping Sprights  
Are tortur'd at supported Innocence,  
And envy good Designs when near their Ends.  
Wherefore they steal behind us in our Ways;  
And when they spy us weave a virtuous Web,  
They secretly unravel, or deform  
Our Work with intermixing Threads of Vice.  
This makes me wish that I had never bin,  
Or that my Soul were drench'd in *Lethe's* Lake:  
Then would my Anguish finally conclude,

And



And I no more should rowl upon the Wheel  
Of Chance, whose Motion is perpetual.

Man's but a fetid Vapour, first exhal'd  
From Earth, and then condens'd into a Cloud,  
That so his Filthiness may be conceal'd  
Under the Covert of a painted Skin :

T' engender fiery Meteors, Passions, Lusts,  
Concupiscences, and bewilder'd Thoughts,  
Which bursting forth give Trouble to the World,  
And soon conclude in Blasts of empty Smoke,  
Hail, Rain, or Wind extinct as soon as form'd.

Devouring Fire, when all its Fuel's spent,  
Decays and dies; Earth, Air, and Water, all  
Are subject to Corruption, whence we rise,  
And to our Elements return again.

The very Air, which does prolong our Lives,  
Give equal Shortness; every Breath we draw  
Takes something from us on its balmy Wing.

Our finer Parts thus vanish into Air,  
The gross Remains scum off in Excrement :  
And if some solid Substance should be left,  
Death soon reduces it to Dirt and Worms ;  
And in th' Abyss of Matter we are lost,  
Until at last the All-commanding Word  
Shall reproduce each Soul to solid Life.

Mean while, altho from Thought to Thought I rowl  
In Discontent, yet one Idea strikes  
My Mind with Pleasure : 'tis that Sympathy  
Which first united both our Souls together.  
We saw each other, and were strait inspir'd  
With Inclinations to each other's Weal :  
No sooner did I fix my Eyes on yours,  
But thro that Perspective I soon discern'd  
The virtuous Inclinations of your Mind ;  
Which rais'd high Veneration in my Breast,  
And grew up gaining a more lasting Strength;  
Integrity, and constant Faithfulness.



Our Joys and Griefs have ever been the same;  
The Product of our Country's Weal or Woe;  
But adverse Fortune ne'er could change our Minds;  
Or warp us to Contempt or Flattery.

But with an even Mind we still sustain'd  
The various Accidents of Humane Life,  
And prop'd each other up by mutual Love.

Surely there is no kind of Beasts, or Birds,  
Of Insects, Reptils, or the watry Fry,  
Whose Nature is not plainly seen in Men.  
How like are some Mens Tempers to the Fox?  
Others are perfect Bears in Human Shape.  
Here you may meet a Crocodile, who seeks  
With feigned Tears of Love to work your Woe;  
There a sly Serpent winds into your Heart,  
Where being warm'd he bites and stings to Death,  
With Pains acute, the Patron of his Life.  
Thus Tygers, Lions, Leopards, Panthers, Wolves,  
And all the monstrous kinds of *Africk's* Breed,  
Are masquerading in the Forms of Men:

Yet secret Characters in every Face,  
Discover Nature to th' observing Mind,  
Which perches thro' the borrow'd Vizard Mask,  
And kens the various Complexions  
Of Vice and Virtue, immensely distant each,  
Tho' one does seem to have o'erspread the Whole:

Let Space be left among the Fields and Woods,  
For me to make my Court to Trees and Flowers,  
To languish on the Banks of Chrystal Streams,  
And pine away for and old mossy Rock.

Sometimes the Oak with sacred Passion sways  
My Soul; when I her venerable Bulk  
Behold, I could turn *Druid* for her sake,  
And take my Residence for ever up  
Within her hollow Trunk, where airy Forms  
Shall visit, and instruct me in the Paths  
Of Nature's Mysterys always August,

And



And full of Wisdom immarcessible:  
 Compar'd wherewith the choicest Orient Pearls  
 Their Lustre lose, but Wisdom always shines,  
 Pure Emanation of Eternal Light,  
 The spotless Mirrar wherein God beholds  
 His own Divinity transcending Thought;  
 Whilst glittering Croud of Angels are eclips'd  
 By an Excess of penetrating Light,

O *Ariel*, Chief of the Celestial Choirs,  
 Who tun'st the Spheres to thy eternal Lays,  
 Send down, from Heav'n, some azur'd Messenger,  
 Or purpl'd Post from *Eden*, to inspire  
 My longing Soul with Harmony Divine,  
 And endless Raptures; while I penetrate  
 Into the vast Expanse and wide Abyfs  
 Of Wisdom, which inlightens endless Space!  
 I heard the Eastern Winds records its Praise  
 On Flutes, with soft melodious Harmony:  
 Whilst in sweet Confort gentle Zephirs blew,  
 To which South-Winds the Counter-Tenor bare,  
 Whilst *Boreas* join'd them with his deep-long'd Base;  
 And all the younger Sons of *Eolus*  
 Fill'd up the Choir with Musick loud and shrill.  
 The Trees, and all the vegetable Race  
 Struck up in Confort with the tuneful Winds;  
 To which the Birds put in their chearful Notes:  
 The Streams and Rivers murmur'd grateful Airs,  
 The Sea rais'd up her Billows to the Clouds,  
 Whilst jovial Tritons sound their Trumps Marine,  
 Answer'd by rumbling Timbrels from the Sky;  
 Nature disclos'd and Universal Rant.

F I N I S.



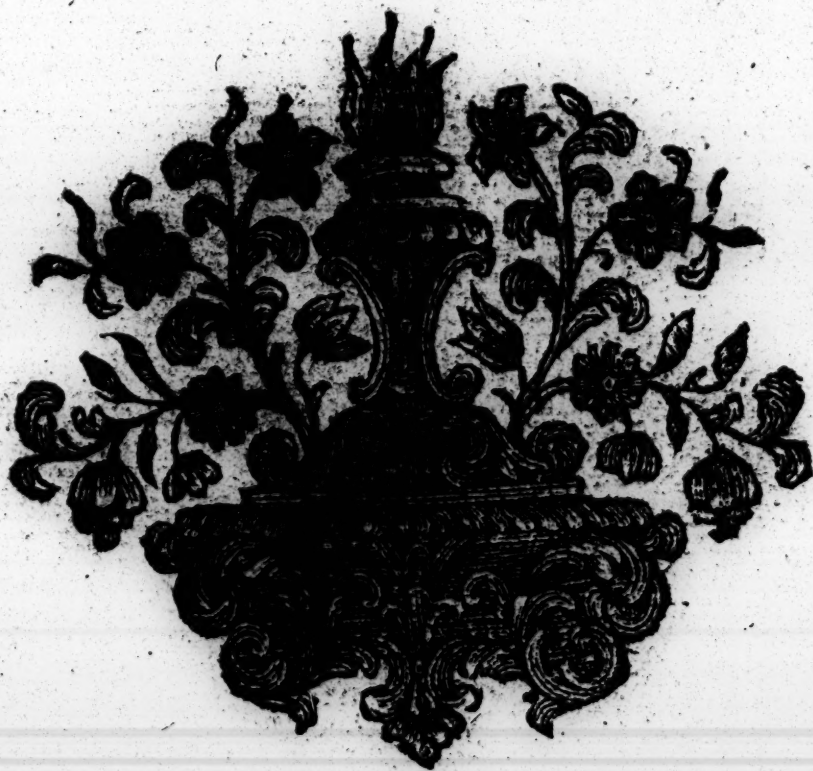
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SOME  
REFLECTIONS  
ON  
*Mr.* BENNET'S  
DISCOURSE  
OF  
*JOINT-PRAYER:*

---

*In a Letter to a Friend, from a Presbyter of  
the Church of England.*

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L O N D O N,

Printed for Jonathan Robinson at the Golden-Lyon  
in St. Paul's Church-yard, 1709.







S O M E  
 REFLECTIONS  
 O N  
 Mr. *BENNET*'s  
 DISCOURSE  
 O F  
*JOINT-PRAYER.*

*Dear Sir,*

**I** Have at length taken some Time to read over, and consider Mr. *Bennet*'s Discourse of *Joint-Prayer*, which you put into my Hands; and now I shall, according to your Desire, give you my Thoughts about that, which is the main Argument or Subject thereof.

It is the Unhappiness of some Men, that they are apt, upon some Occasions, to run into Extreams, and when they have espous'd a Notion or Opinion with some Zeal and Warmth, they think they can never drive it far enough, for the Promoting of the End design'd by them. This seems to have been Mr. *Bennet*'s Case here. Out  
 A 2 of



of that Respect which he hath for Forms of Prayer, and particularly for the Liturgy establish'd among us, he is not only content to establish the Usefulness and Excellency thereof, and to vindicate the same from some Exceptions that are made against it, in all which I shall very readily join with him ; and not only to reflect upon divers Imperfections, with respect both to the Matter and Expressions, which do sometimes attend *Joint* extempore Prayer, which is a very good Argument for that great Caution and Care that should be taken in the Use of such Prayer ; but he also asserts farther, That it is *impossible* for a Congregation to join in every Part of Prayer conceiv'd *ex-tempore*, and that the Affections of a Congregation cannot possibly accompany it, and that the Joint-use of such Prayer hinders Devotion and displeaseth God, and therefore is to be abhor'd. And he is not only content to assert this concerning *ex-tempore* Prayer, but concerning a pre-conceiv'd Set-form also ; that is, tho' it be never so well compos'd both for Matter and Expression, if it be such as *the Congregation is not thoroughly acquainted with before-hand, or hath not been accustomed to.* And hence he condemns, not only all the Pulpit-Prayers of Ministers, whether *ex-tempore* or pre-conceiv'd, that the Congregation hath not been thoroughly acquainted with, but even the Use of those Forms of Prayer that are put out by Authority upon some Occasions, for Days of Fasts and Thanksgiving, that the Congregation is not before-hand well acquainted with. For his Discourse militates against all alike, not only against *ex-tempore* Prayer, but against the Use of *Joint-Prayer*, by all such pre-conceiv'd Forms ; and consequently the Use of these must also hinder Devotion, and

be



be displeasing to God, and must be abhorred by us. This is the Substance of Mr. Bennet's Doctrine, which he hath repeated over and over in a very verbose Manner, as any one may perceive that will take the Pains to read his Book. See pag. 39, &c. and pag. 128, 129, &c.

I shall now consider the Reason of what Mr. Bennet asserts, which is taken from the Nature of Prayer, as he describes it; which is, *A speaking to God*: So that there must be a Speech or Speaking to God, or else there can be no Prayer; no more than a Man can walk whose Feet do not move, or see when his Eyes are shut, or hear without Ears: For the very Essence of Prayer, he says, *consists in speaking to God*. And unless we do actually speak to God, either vocally or mentally, we cannot possibly be said to pray: See cap. 1. And a Joint-Prayer is a *Joint-speaking to God* the same Form of Prayer; and consequently, whosoever is present when a Prayer is offer'd up to God, if he doth not at the same Time with the rest, actually and in his own Person speak to God, either vocally or mentally, that very Form, which the Person that officiates does at that time offer up to God in the Name of the Congregation, that Man cannot possibly be said to join in that Prayer: Nay, and he must speak the very same Words, and in the very same Order, repeating all mentally or vocally just as the Minister speaks, or else it is not perfectly a Joint-Prayer. If a Minister indeed should say, *O Lord, grant these our Requests*, and one in the Congregation should say, *O God, grant us these Requests*; this small Variation, he saith, may happen without any great prejudice; but he implieth there will be some; and therefore we ought to keep as close to the Words



Words or Form as we can. These and such like Things, he so often repeats, as if he could never have done with them, for fear the Dulness of his Reader should not enough comprehend his Meaning. See *cap. 2, and 3.* And he says moreover, That if Persons have attentively heard, and heartily approv'd what the Minister speaks in Prayer, and in the Conclusion therefore do fervently say *Amen*, and thereby do declare they make the foregoing Set-form of Prayer their own, by acknowledging, desiring, and returning Thanks for all the several Particulars therein contained ; yet they have not thereby thoroughly discharg'd the great Duty of *Joint-Prayer*, because they do not actually speak the very Words that the Minister speaks, by an express Repetition of them, at least in their Mind, *p. 27.* Persons indeed in this Sense, he saith, *may make a Prayer their own* ; that is, *they may assent to it, and be greatly affected, mov'd, and warm'd thereby ; nay, they may actually desire the same Things which he that officiates does desire, and be actually wounded for those Sins which he confesseth, and actually have a grateful Sense of the Mercies he returns Thanks for :* All this may be, he saith, and yet 'tis very possible *that they may not pray all this while ;* unless they do actually speak the Words, and direct their Souls to God, and tell him ; that is, in so many Words, at least in their Minds, by a Repetition thereof, that they do assent to all ; for he would have us distinguish between our *Assenting to a Prayer*, and our *personal declaring of that Assent to God*, *p. 45, 46.* and 'tis not an Assent all along, and *Amen* at the End will serve the turn. Now after all this Discourse varied and turn'd over and over, he comes at last to finish his Argument, *p. 48.* by saying, that a Congregation cannot possibly do



do this ; that is, speak what the Person who officiates doth speak, and together with him express their own personal Desires, whilst they are attending to the Prayer that is conceived *ex-tempore*. And 'tis the same for any pre-conceiv'd Form, that the Congregation is not thoroughly acquainted with : Because *the Soul, as quick as it is in its Operation, cannot attend to Man and speak to God the very same things which it is attending to ; but the Mind will be distracted between two such different Operations*, unless the Conceiver of such Prayer make a long Pause at the End of every Clause or Sentence, to give Time to the Congregation to speak to God in their own Person what the Conceiver speaks, and so to keep pace with him, which is not commonly to be supposed, p. 52. For he saith, they cannot speak to God any Part of the Prayer, whether more or less, till the Conceiver hath done speaking it ; and then when they begin to repeat it, they can't do it in less time than in the Space of a *moderately deliberate Pronunciation* ; therefore they must lose at least half the Prayer : For whilst they are speaking of one Part or Clause, they must of necessity lose the next, p. 56. This is the Substance also of his Reasoning, which he hath so variously repeated, and dress'd up in several Forms, to make the Reader believe as if he had Abundance to say about it, when two or three Leaves would have contain'd the Sum of his whole Discourse upon this Matter.

Now all this Reasoning of his is founded upon that which is the Basis of his Discourse, That all Prayer is *a Speaking to God*, and Joint-Prayer is a Joint-speaking to God every Word, with as little Alteration or Omission as is possible, with him that officiates. So that he must actually  
speak



Speak every Word, or very near every Word, with the Minister, or else he doth not join in Prayer with him; which because it cannot be done, unless it be in a Form that *the Congregation is well acquainted with*, therefore that cannot possibly be any Joint-Prayer without such a Form. So that here are two Things that he asserts,

I. *That this is necessary to be done, that every Word or Sentence at least, or Clause, be actually repeated by the Congregation, or else they don't pray.*

II. *That this cannot be done in the Use of ex-tempore, or even of any pre-composed Form of Prayer, that the Congregation is not before-hand well acquainted with.*

I. *That this is necessary to be done*; which I must confess I don't see the absolute Necessity of; that is, that every Word, nor yet that every Clause be actually repeated by the Congregation, in order to the making it their Prayer. But it seems to me, that it is abundantly sufficient to assent to what is pray'd, as *their own* Prayer, tho' express'd in Words by him alone, whom they consent to, to be their Mouth in speaking to God; and especially if they add their *Amen* to the several Clauses, or some such Expression between, as is tantamount to it. As, *be it so, Lord grant it, Lord hear*; though the particular Words be not actually repeated. For tho' another Man speaks the Words, yet if one assents to those Words, as soon as he hears them spoke, as if they were spoken by himself, and were his own Words, and as containing his own Thoughts and Desires in them; Why should we not think, but that God, who knows the *Meaning of the Spirit*, will interpret all as done in all respects by himself? A Man indeed may assent to another's Prayer, and yet not pray; that is, when he assents



to another's Prayer, as containing in it his own Sense and his own Prayer and Desire also, that such a thing may be done; I cannot see but that such an Assent makes it his Prayer, tho' he doth not speak the Words that express that Assent; because it is plainly his Meaning, and is the real Desire of his Heart, and is fully known to him who is the Searcher of Hearts. Mr. Bennet's Comparison therefore, p. 47. is not home to the Business. He saith, a Man may be present when a Beggar tells a rich Man a dismal Story, and may be greatly affected thereby, and may wish that the rich Man would relieve that Beggar, altho' that Man doth not personally speak one Word to the rich Man in the Beggar's Behalf. So a Man, he saith, may be present at Prayer, and wish that the Prayer may be heard by God, altho' he doth not speak himself to God, either vocally or mentally, one single Syllable of that Prayer; and in such a Case a Man cannot possibly be said to join in Prayer. Well, but now if that Person who hears the Beggar tell that dismal Story to the rich Man, and begs an Alms of him, did affectionately join with the Beggar, and make it as much his own *Request* as the Beggar doth in his Behalf, tho' he doth not speak the same Words as the Beggar doth; and if the rich Man *knew* what was in his Heart, and that it was his very Meaning and Desire also which the Beggar represents in his own Words, Would not that be the rich Man's Prayer in the Behalf of the Beggar, as much as his own? The Difference only lieth in this; The rich Man doth not *know* the other's Meaning, because he doth not know his Heart, as he doth know the Beggar's Prayer by his own Words. But God who knoweth the *Meaning of the Spirits* of them that pray to him,

B knowing



knowing that he that concurs or joins in the same Meaning or Desire, that another doth in Prayer, tho' the other only speaks the Words by which that Prayer or Desire is express'd, *knoweth* that it is his Prayer also. For what is Prayer, but a Representation of our Desires to God? And if this our Desire be represented and set out in Form by another's Words, yet if we concur in the same Desire represented by these Words, as we may do without speaking the Words our selves, there is the same Representation of our Desires to God, who knoweth the Meaning of the Heart, as much if we spake or repeated the very same Words. To think otherwise, is to think as if God did not know our Meaning or Desire, unless we speak just so many Words. A Man indeed may be put to it, to know another's Desire or Meaning, without his setting it out in so many Words; tho' a sagacious Man sometimes may be able also to guess at it, without his much speaking. *Et tacitus vocem, verbaq; vultus habet.* But God is never put to it for this. Such may be the Fulness of the Heart and the Desire in Man, that there may be *Groaning which cannot be uttered*, Rom. 8. 26. For sometimes the Heart may be so full, that a Man cannot speak out all that he would have; but God knoweth all, as much as if it were put into the amplest Form that Words can express.

This Author owns, p. 31. that in the holy Scripture, and in common Discourse, a whole Multitude is said to speak a Thing which was personally spoken by him only, whom they make the common Mouth; in those Cases, wherein the whole Multitude cannot conveniently speak every Man in his own Person. For it is impossible in the Nature of the Thing, he saith, for one Man to converse with a whole Company at one and the same



same time ; and therefore when a Man converseth with a Multitude by their common Mouth, 'tis usual with our selves, and also in the Scripture Phrase, to represent what is said by the common Mouth as spoken by them all. But God can attend to all speaking together. 'Tis true, He can so. But suppose they do not do this, as this Author saith, it cannot be done in *ex-tempore* Prayer, or in such Forms as the Congregation is not thoroughly acquainted with ; yet if a Congregation represent its Desires to him by his Words that officiates, as a Multitude may speak a Thing by their common Mouth ; then that Representation that is concurr'd in, and is agreed to by them, is all one as if it were made personally by all of them together speaking the very same Words. God *can* indeed hear all speaking together, if they could speak together, which in such Prayers this Author saith, they cannot. But God can understand too the Meaning of all, and all their Concurrence in the same Desires, as if they did all speak together ; and therefore that must be the same thing to God, tho' it is not so to Men who cannot do this. And thus a Body of Men may address a Prince, by appointing a certain Man to offer their Address, and thereby making it their Joint-Act and Deed. But this Author's Nicety makes a very great Difference between *Addressing* and *Speaking* ; but every Body else, as weak and simple as he makes them, I believe would think all amounts to the same Purpose ; and it would be interpreted, that they that concur in the Address, do to all Intents speak to the Prince, as he doth that is their Mouth to speak for them. And so in this Case, tho' all the Words of the Speaker are not, or cannot be repeated by the Hearers that join with him ; yet if,



as soon as they hear, they do likewise understand the Words and the Sense contain'd in them, as this Author alloweth they may, if the Matter discours'd of be level to their Understanding, and clearly and distinctly express'd, and so may assent to it, and be capable of desiring what is mention'd, as fast as the Ear can hear and receive it; What should hinder, but that at the same time they may represent this as their Desire to God, and the true Meaning and just Intent of their Hearts? These are not two such different Operations, but if the former be done, as this Author alloweth it may, the latter may follow easily and in an Instant, the Sense and Matter being remembred that is contain'd in those Words, tho' the Words themselves be not repeated which would require more Time; for Thoughts and Desires in the Heart do run faster than Words utter'd by the Tongue; and if the Meaning of the Heart be thus represented, tho' the same be not express'd in distinct Terms, either vocally or mentally, then the same Prayer is perform'd, as if it were distinctly spoke or utter'd. For 'tis the Meaning or Desire thus represented, which is contain'd in the Words, that is the Prayer it self more than the Words. And thus therefore the Church hath allowed, that other Prayers may be used at the Visitation of the Sick, besides those that are contain'd in the Liturgy, which must be upon this Supposition, that such Prayers may be jointly perform'd by the Sick, tho' in Forms that they are not before-hand acquainted with, contrary to this Author's Sentiments. See Dr. Stearn *de visitatione infirmorum*, who in his Epistle Dedicatory to the Bp. of Meath in Ireland, vindicates this Practice: And p. 6. of his Book, adviseth Ministers to prepare such Forms of Prayer as may be 'specially accommodated to the Sick-man's



man's Case, to be added to the Use of those in the Book of Common-Prayer; two general ones at least, one for those that are apt to presume upon God's Mercy without Ground, to be fill'd with the Scripture Threatnings against Sin; and another for those that despair, to set forth the infinite Mercy of God in the very Words of the Scripture. Nor was it ever question'd till now by this Author, but that the Generality of a Congregation might join in those Prayers that are sent out by Authority upon Fasts and Thanksgiving Days, tho' they are not generally acquainted with them. And so consequently they may in the *ex-tempore* Prayers or Forms of others making, that they are not beforehand acquainted with. And to this End many Forms of Prayer have been printed for Families by many worthy Men, to be used by the Master, or some other Person of the Family, as the Mouth of the rest; which can be of no Use according to this Author's Notions, unless all can read and have Books, or have Memories to retain the same. And how else shall they that cannot read, and have not Memories to retain the publick Prayers in their Heads, join in the very Common-Prayer it self; for they cannot do it before they hear the Words spoken; and if they cannot have Time to repeat the Words afterwards, as this Author saith, they have not; and yet their joint-Desires and Assent, or *Amen*, shall not be taken for Prayer, then all such poor Creatures cannot join in Prayer at all in any Congregation. But this which our Author insists upon so much, we do not find hath been given as a Rule or Direction by the Church, that every where all the Words must be spoken, except in the general Confession, and the Use of the Lord's Prayer in it's proper Place; but it is supposed, that the other Prayers may be perform'd without such Repetition.



Repetition made of the Words, either vocally or mentally, only by giving our Assent to them in our Prayers, and closing them with an audible *Amen* at last, to shew our Concurrence with the Congregation in all. Nor is there any where given a Direction for a mental Repetition, at least of the very Words where they are not vocally express'd, which must be a great Defect in the Church's Care for the due Celebration of Prayer. If this be so absolutely necessary to the very Essence of Joint-Prayer, that it cannot possibly be perform'd without it. So that this is plainly a very novel Notion of our Author's as much as he thinks fit to insist upon it, and as essential as he thinks it to the very being of Joint-Prayer. Nay, and in the Liturgy, it is the Minister alone that is directed to speak one Part, and it is the Peoples Part only to add their *Lord have Mercy upon us, and we beseech thee to hear us.* And so it is in all the Responses which only belong to them to express; and yet is not the Minister's Part, to be taken also as their Prayer by their Assent to it?

Now as to the Moving of the Affections at Prayer in a Congregation; this Author saith, that Prayers conceiv'd *ex-tempore*, do more powerfully raise the Affections, than pre-conceiv'd Set-Forms which the Congregation is accustomed to, p. 76. But then he distinguisheth between the Affections being moved by the Minister's Prayer, and their being moved in their own Prayer, together with the Minister. And he grants the great Conveniency of Prayers conceiv'd *ex-tempore* for the former, but denieth it in the latter Case: Whereas if they be moved by the Minister's Prayer, and if the Minister's Prayer by their Concurrence and Consent become their own Prayer, then they are moved also in their own Prayer, in the same degree



see that they are moved by the Minister's Prayer; because the Minister's Prayers being theirs by Consent and so presented to Almighty God, is both his and their Prayer together; and then *ex-tempore* Prayer must have the Preference for the moving of the Affections, before a Form of Prayer that they are before well acquainted with. And the Truth of the Matter indeed seems to be this, between a fore-known Form of Prayer, and an *ex-tempore* or new composed Prayer, which the Congregation is not acquainted with, with respect to the Affections: If a Man bring holy and lively Affections with him to the Use of a well known Form, he may continue the Life and Vigor of the same, and may offer up his Prayers with an holy Flame in the Use thereof; which I doubt not is the Case of abundance of holy and good Men of the first Form, in the Use of the Liturgy. But if a Man hath his Affections to raise, they being before dull and languid, which is the Case of the Generality of the common Sort of Christians, he may perhaps be more like to have his Affections raised and roused up by a new Prayer, whether *ex-tempore* or pre-conceived, when it is expressed and managed with Affection, than by a Form that he is before well acquainted with, because of the surprizing Novelty thereof, which is of its self apt to move upon human Nature. And this Motion made by the Minister's Prayer in him that joins with him, when that Prayer of the Minister's becomes his own by Concurrence and Consent, as I have shewn, then that becomes a Motion also in his own Prayer. Yet it doth not follow from hence but that Forms of Prayer upon other Accounts may be, and are of very great Use, and so have been found to be in the Church of God. And it is the Happiness of our Church, that we have so useful



useful and excellent a Form, which yet is not to exclude Ministers own Prayers which have their use also, as shall be discours'd after.

I have discours'd hitherto upon Supposition, that that cannot be done, which this Author insists upon, about the repeating of all the Words in a Joint-Prayer, to shew that this is not necessary or essential to Joint-Prayer; and then whether it can be done or no, is no great Matter. Let us now consider a little however, whether this also may not be done.

2. This Author affirms, That it cannot be done; but that a Man must necessarily lose half the Prayer or more. And if a Minister indeed in Praying *ex-tempore*, or by a pre-conceiv'd Form of his own, delivers his Prayer with Precipitation and Haste, it may not be possible for the Congregation to follow him, and so to attend to what he saith, as to offer it up as their own. And it is not much better, if a Man reads a well known Form in such a precipitant Manner. For I believe it will be found, that the Spirits of but a few will be able to go along with him in a true Prayer-like manner. And if a Minister pronounceth a Prayer *ex-tempore*, or any new Form, in a moderate, deliberate Way of Pronunciation, I cannot see but that an Auditor may go along with him, and repeat all the same Words, which he doth, if it be needful. For it doth not seem necessary, that the Auditor must needs stay to the End of every Clause before he begins to pronounce: But he may begin to pronounce soon after the Minister begins, and make it all his own as he goeth along, tho' he cannot finish his Consent till the Minister hath ended such a Clause. And if the Minister delivers any thing that he cannot at last fully consent to, and make his own Prayer in such a Clause,



Clause, then he may suspend or withdraw his Consent from such a Clause or Part, in the full finishing of it, and go on to what he that officiates doth farther proceed upon. So that this Author, I must confess, seems to me to be wholly out in both the Parts of his Argument, that relate to this Matter, and to be over-nice herein. And I cannot but think, that his laborious Performance is a meer Force upon Things, and is contrary to the general Sense of Men. And therefore I have thought a very few Words a sufficient Answer to it.

But yet there is one Thing besides, which this Author doth briefly insist upon, which I shall also take some Notice of. His former Argument was detected against the Use of all Forms *whatsoever* in Joint-Prayer, which the Congregation is not thoroughly acquainted with; and it was taken from the Impossibility of the Peoples Praying with the Minister in the Use of such Forms, according to the Principles which he hath lay'd down, and which I have briefly examined. And it is Argument indeed enough in all Reason, if it could be made good, and supercedes all others. For to go about the doing of a Thing that is impossible to be done, is foolish and ridiculous enough. But now he farther addeth in his Zeal against all Pulpit Prayers, that are either form'd *ex-tempore* or pre-conceiv'd by the Ministers, that they are unlawful to be used; that is, supposing otherwise they might or could be used, p. 130. *Because they are flatly inconsistent with the Letter of that Subscription, which the Clergy are required to make by the 30th Canon; he meaneth the 36th Canon. For in subscribing the second of these Articles there specified, they promise not only to use the Form there prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer, in publick Prayer and Administration of Sacraments, but also to use none other; and saith, they are also flatly inconsistent with the Letter of the Act for Uniformity, 1mo. Elizab.*



as forbidding the Use of any *other open Prayers than is mentioned and set forth in the said Book.*

This Author loveth to force and stretch Things beyond all due Bounds and Measure. For he cannot but know, that this Sense which he here puts upon the Words, which he mentioneth, both in the Act and the Clergys Subscription, was never urg'd, declared, or insisted upon by our Governours in Church or State, by any publick Act or Judgment whatsoever, against the Use of other Pulpit-Prayers, which have generally obtained and been in Use, from the Beginning of the Reformation to this Day. So that it is plain, there hath all along been a practical Declaration of the Sense of the Clergy to the contrary, which hath never been censur'd, either by the ruling Part of the Clergy themselves, or by the Civil Power. The Design of those Words in the *Act* and in the *Subscription*, being only this, to prevent the bringing in of other Liturgies, exclusive of this, or in Opposition to it, and not to debar Ministers from the Use of Pulpit-Prayers, where this Liturgy is used. For thus the Explication of this Matter is set down in the Preface to the Liturgy; That *whereas there hath been heretofore a great Diversity in Saying and Singing in Churches within this Realm, some following Salisbury Use, some Hereford Use, some the Use of Bangor, some of York, some of Lincoln, now from henceforth, all the whole Realm shall have but one Use; which is the same with using no other.* It is I say, to prevent any surreptitious Bringing in of the Mass-Book or other Liturgy or Directory; and that Uncertainty in the several Offices of Religion, as they had observed the Inconvenience of in other Churches, and in this Church in former Times. The Design was to secure the Use of this Book, and Form alone, and to prevent any others being brought in Competition with it, or being preferred before it. This Use only was to be



be observed (as the old Phrase was) or this used or no other. But as to other Prayers, where this Use only was constantly observed, or this Liturgy and no other used, it saith nothing. For they all along actually used other Prayers before Sermon, Ejaculations in their Sermons, and Petitions after Sermon.

And if this were not the Sense of *no other* in the Act and in the Subscription, but that it was intended to exclude all Prayers whatsoever in publick Ministrations, except what are contained in, or prescribed by the Liturgy; then all the Prayers of the Clergy, in their Pulpit Performances, from the first of *Elizabeth* to this Time, must have been a continual Transgression of the Law, tho' there hath never been any notice taken thereof; but on the contrary, there hath been an universal practical Consent of our Governors themselves, both in Church and State, who may be supposed best to understand the Law, to the Use of other Pulpit-Prayers; and yet, Who, it cannot be reasonably supposed, should ever consent to, or so much as connive at, such a continual Transgression, if they thought it to be such; especially when the *using no other Form* (as it is meant in the Act and Subscription) has no less Penalty annex'd by the express Words of the same Act, than, upon a Conviction of any Man by the *notorious Evidence of the Fact, the Loss of all the Profits of his spiritual Promotions and Benefices for one Year, for the first Offence; and if he offends again, a Deprivation ipso facto of all his spiritual Promotions.* Had Mr. Bennet's Notion been known and receiv'd, What continual Deprivations must we have heard of for these 100 Years past? And if it were now believ'd, What Confusions would follow in the Church? when there has been, and is scarce a Sermon preach'd, but the Preacher before, in, and after it, has, and does forfeit all his spiritual Promotions. But if no



one Suspension or Deprivation has ever been for Pulpit-Prayers, where the Liturgy has been faithfully us'd, tho' there has been *a notorious Evidence of the Fact* in almost every Pulpit, then it is the bringing in another Liturgy (called in the Act, *The Service of the Church*) instead of this we have, that the Act and Subscription guard against; and there is not so much Shadow of Truth in Mr. Bennet's Notion, as to give Occasion for the most malicious Informer in the hottest Times, to ground one single Accusation upon.

How the Act and the Subscription are understood, appears therefore by the Practice of all our Archbishops and Bishops, since the Reformation, with the rest of the Clergy, even of that very Convocation in which the Canon was made, and all that have most pleaded for Subscription to the Articles contained therein, and all others perhaps to a Man; particularly his own Diocesan, whom he takes upon him to censure with the rest of the Clergy his Fathers and Brethren. And many of these Prayers have been printed, as that of Archbishop Tillotson's of late, which he us'd before his Sermons: And so of those of other Divines, as that of the Reverend Dr. *Whitchcot* not long ago; and Bp. *Wilkins's Gift of Prayer* was designed to assist the Clergy in the Performance hereof. And in the Universities themselves, they do commonly pray for the Church, the Queen, and Council, for the Chancellor, Vice-chancellor, Heads of Houses, &c. before Sermon, in other Forms or Words than what are prescribed in the Liturgy; which yet could not be done, if this our Author's rigid Sense of *no other* were to be admitted: Nor could Ministers in the Conclusion of their Sermons, after some Mercy or Blessing last mentioned, so much as say, *which God of his infinite Mercy grant*, which yet is observ'd to be a very common Practice. For in doing this, they do as truly use *other Prayer*, as if they



they had more copiously enlarged upon those or other Things which we are to pray for. Nor could we use the Prayers put out by the Queen for Days of Fasts and Thanksgiving which are certainly *other* besides this Form.

Nay, this Sense of our Author, of *no other*, for the excluding of Pulpit-Prayer, is directly contrary to the 55th Canon, which requireth the Minister to move the People to join with him in such Pulpit-Prayer; and that not precisely in the Form there mention'd, but giveth him a Liberty to do it in Words *to this Effect*; without stinting him to any particular Form. And if he must move the People to join with him in Prayer there, then there must be Prayer there; for they cannot join with him in that that is not, or if there be no Prayer there. And yet if he may do it in Words *to this Effect*, without being ty'd to any particular Form, then that may be other than the Liturgy, only it is required at the End of the Canon, that he *always conclude with the Lord's-Prayer*; which yet supposeth that there must be *other* Prayer before the Lord's-Prayer, which must be concluded with it.

It may be said perhaps, that those Words in the Canon *to this Effect*, do respect his *bidding* or *moving* them in this Form, or to this Effect to pray. But this is contrary to the plain Construction of the Words. It is not said, He must *move the People in this Form*, or to this Effect, to join with him in Prayer; as if those Words did respect his Way or Form of moving them. But he must move the People to join with him in *Prayer* in this Form, or this Effect. So that these Words respect the Prayer, that they must join with him in, and not his Form of moving them. It is the Prayer it self that must be in this Form, or to this Effect. And yet, if those Words should be understood to respect his Form of moving them to pray, yet however, there must be Prayer that they must join with him in; so that both he and they must pray together: Whereas his Exhortation or Form of moving them to pray, is not Prayer on his Part, however they in the Hearing of it may turn it into Prayer; so that the Prayer then is only on their Part, and they do not join with him in Prayer; for then he doth not pray at all, but only exhort them to pray. So that from these Things considered, I cannot but conclude, that we are only obliged by these Words, *no other*, not to bring in other Liturgies to the Exclusion of, or in Opposition to *this*; and not that Ministers are bound not to have other Prayers together



gether with this in their Pulpit Ministrations; but rather on the contrary, that by the Canon, they are allowed to have other. And yet this Canon cannot be supposed to contradict the 36th Canon before mentioned in the same Book; nor was ever thought to contradict the Act.

Dr. Wells of late, in Answer to Mr. Dowley's Letter, p. 32, saith, *I need not reply any thing to what you mention of some of our Communion practising ex-tempore Prayer, (I suppose you mean) before Sermons; because our Church giveth them Liberty to do so, if they think fit, after they have read the Common-Prayer; and therefore such their Practice is suitable to the Allowances made by our Church, and not contrary, or in opposition to her Rules, as your Practice is; and therefore Mr. Bennet falls foul upon this 55th Canon, p. 134. as manifestly obsolete (tho' just before, he own'd the Practice of this Pulpit Prayer to be an inveterate Custom, and how then is the Rule Obsolete.)* He tells us, *That had not the Practice of those days explain'd it, the Expressions in the Title, and in the body of the Canon would be contradictory; and insinuates, that the Canon does not speak consistently with the design of it.* Thus bold does this Gentleman, who sometimes pretends a Zeal for the Church, make with the Canons as well as constant Practice of the Church, to establish a darling Notion of his own.

But this Author saith moreover, *That these Pulpit Prayers have done a great deal of mischief, by teaching giddy People to despise the Common-Prayer.* What may be the Consequence hereof to Giddy People I know not; For Giddy People may have Giddy Notions. But doth not this Author think, that there are abundance of very worthy Men that have a great respect for Pulpit Prayers, and yet have also a very great respect for the Common Prayer too? So that it doth not make all despise the Common-Prayer; and therefore it is not a natural effect thereof. But he saith, *He never could understand that they did any good; tho' at the same time he seems to allow that they bring some People to Church.* And I believe indeed, 'tis true, that they do so, and do partly know it, that where there have been and are other Prayers in the Pulpit besides the Common-Prayer, that some good and moderate People of the dissenting Way, have been the more induc'd thereby to come to our Church Assemblies; and they have generally lik'd and valued those Ministers that have us'd Prayers in the Pulpit of their own Composing, more than they have done others that have used little or none; and hereupon they



they have often come to Church, and join'd in our Liturgy too. And one would think, that this should be thought a Good which is not to be over-look'd; because hereby Peace and Union is so much the more promoted, and instead of increasing, it lessens the Separation, and is far from being the Support of it. Well, but he saith, *the Reason* why it brings such People to Church is, *because they think it makes the Church resemble the Meetings*. But I don't think this Author represents the Matter right. But the true Reason is, because they think and feel themselves to be more moved, and their Affections stirr'd by these Prayers, as this Author before acknowledgeth it may be; and therefore they love the Meetings themselves where these Prayers are used, because they are so used there; and so they love to frequent those Churches and Ministers where the same are used, for the same Reason; so that they do not love or frequent the Church, because this makes the Church resemble the Meetings, but because in such Churches and Meetings both, there are such Prayers used which they think they find so much Good by; and if the same thing were done in all Churches as much as it is in the Meetings, the Churches by degrees wou'd go nigh to swallow up the Meetings; it being often acknowledged by them, that in the Churches there is as good Preaching, but that there is not such Praying as there is in the Meetings; tho', as I observ'd before, there is always some. So that the Practice and Use of such Prayers, together with the Use of the Liturgy, would seem one of the most probable Means to put a Stop to the Separation, and to unite the Meetings to the Churches.

But saith this Author, *Did these Prayers ever make one single Person a true Church-man? Did they ever reconcile any Body to the Use of settled Forms?* Yes, very many, by coming to those Churches where these Prayers are used, for the sake thereof, have been brought to a Communion in the Use of the Liturgy it self, and by the Use of it have been brought to a liking of it, and so they have become good Churchmen, if that be to be a good Churchman, to be reconciled to the Use of settled Forms, and to frequent the Prayers; tho' at the same time they could not but continue a very kind Respect to the Pulpit Prayers also, which they often feel much Warming by. But *did these Prayers, saith our Author, ever bring them off from their beloved Vice of hearing Prayers instead of Praying?* They don't think they are guilty of that, which he calls a Vice, of hearing Prayers instead of Praying; but when they hear those Prayers they join in them, and with them, and make them their own Prayers. And he only speaks according to his own Principles in this Matter, which have been consider'd before, and which they renounce. 'Tis true, if Men come to Church



to be tickled with what the Minister speaks to God, and not jointly to offer up the same Prayers to God, as his Words are, they come indeed to little or no purpose; where this Author by a profane Scoff imputes that to many good and sober Men, which they utterly abhor. They do not come to be tickled with what the Minister speaks to God, but to have holy Affections excited in them in their Addresses to God, by the Means of his Expressions, which by their Consent to, they make their own, and so express their own Prayer and Desires by them, and so they hope it will be taken by God as the very Meaning of their own Souls also, as if they actually repeated every Word.

But he saith, *the true way to make them good Churchmen, and consequently good Christians, is not to cherish that accursed Notion which roots out true Piety, and is the Support of the present Separation.* Soft Words and hard Arguments are always best. I should be sorry to plead for an accursed Notion that roots out true Piety, &c. But I hope I have made it appear, tho' in few Words, that that which he lets fly so furiously at, is not of that terrible Nature as he represents it; but that that may be Prayer and good Prayer too, and acceptable to God, which he saith is impossible, and to be abhor'd, and is accurs'd, and is such an hindrance to Devotion, and a rooting out of Piety. For if it may tend to raise up holy Affections in the Heart, it will be so far from rooting out Piety, that it will tend to make it take root the deeper. And if it brings People to Church where it is practis'd, How should it be the Support of the present Separation? It is the Banishing it out of the Churches which this Author so contends for, and the confining it to the Meetings alone, is that which would most support and encrease the Separation, and do disservice to the Church, which this Author sheweth such a warm Zeal for; when others of his Brethren think that he over-shoots the Mark, and doth more harm than good by his Labour herein: And so it will be, unless this Author could persuade those of the Separation, to renounce that Notion which he gives such an hard Name to; which I dare say, he will never be able to do, but will only have his Labour for his Pains in the Attempt; the other Notion which he so warmly espouseth, being so contrary to the general Sense, not only of Dissenters, but of all that I can meet with, that have been acquainted with it, and which seems to be a shock upon the Reason of Mankind, after all his laborious Niceness to bring it off. Thus Sir, I have given you my Thoughts concerning this Author's Performance and Discourse of this matter, which I leave you to make what use of you think fit, and ever rest,

Your most Affectionate

A N D

Faithful Friend and Servant.



THE  
CHURCH of England's  
COMPLAINT

Against the

Irregularities

Of some of its

CLERGY.

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By a Presbyter of the Church of England.

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*Aude aliquid brevibus Gyris & carcere dignum,  
Si vis esse aliquis: Probitas laudatur & alget. Juv.*

Preach the Word, be instant in season, out of season;  
Reprove, rebuke, exhort, with all Long-suffering, and  
Doctrine; for the time will come, when they will not  
endure sound Doctrine. ————— 2 Tim. Ch. 4. 2, 3.

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# The Church of England's Complaint, &c.

May it please your Grace,

**W**HEN I reflect on (and consider) the Vast and almost Infinite Distance betwixt your Grace and me; I am almost afraid that my presuming to address your Grace, will meet with hard Consequences from a Churlish and an Ill-natur'd Age: But, my Lord, an Ant may see that which escapes the Eagle's View: For 'tis not only possible and probable, but 'tis also most certain, that the Inferiour Clergy are more sensible of some Irregularities in some of their Brethren, than your Grace can be: For your Grace is so taken up with the Great Affairs both of Church and State, that 'tis not possible that small Matters should find Admission.

*Non vocat exiguis rebus adesse Jovi.*

I don't doubt in the least, my Lord, but that 'tis the Duty of every Churchman to put his helping hand towards the Reforming some Abuses crept into the best of Churches, (as all the Foreign Reform'd do think our Mother to be:) But, without Offence, I hope, to my Superiours, I may have leave to make some just Reflection on True and Real Irregularities, committed by some of my Brethren. The Welfare of our Church I shall only regard, and the Persons of the Offenders I shall be tender of: But their Irregularities shall not pass by without a just Censure. 'Twill be a great piece of service to our Church, if I set things right; and if those Irregularities be remov'd, a mighty Stumbling-block will be taken away, and our Dissenting Brethren will be mightily pleas'd, and in pleasing them I shall obtain your Grace's Favour: And who knows, but when they are in the Humour, they may become hearty and sincere Members of our Church, the Glory of the World. God send — I have the Prayers and good Wishes of all the Orthodox Clergy, that God would be pleas'd to bless my honest and well-meaning Understanding, and by it am in hopes that I shall merit your Grace's Favour: For would it not be a Heaven upon Earth, to have our Clergy without Spot or Wrinkle, and to be in such a State, that the worst, and most bitter of our Enemies should not have any just Grounds or Occasions to object against us. I do not pretend (for I cannot) to alledge any thing against the Morals of that Body; for the World is convinc'd, that they are a sober and most the Learned Clergy in the Catholick Church. A Foreigner long ago, did stile our Clergy, *Stupor Mundi*, and it is as true still; and your Grace, and many others, are flaming, and eminent Instances of it.

The following Remarks strike at *Irregularities* of several sorts: As,  
1. Such as swerve from the strict Observation of the Rubrick of our Church:  
2dly, Such as violate the Canons of it.  
3dly, I shall make my Remarks on some mixt Cases, yet *Irregularities*; All which in their Order.

The First sort of *Irregularities* are such as swerve from the strict Observation of the Rubrick of our Church.

'Tis agreed amongst the Clergy, that the Funeral Office ought to be us'd only in Consecrated Ground, and the \* Rubrick supposes it. And upon this depends a famous Story of the Wife of one of your Grace's Order; who was buried, say some, in *Bunhill-Fields*, among the Ranters, Fifth-Monarchy-Men, Presbyterians, Antipædobaptists, Independants, and French Prophets; A

\* See the Rubrick before the Burial Office.



(3)  
Crew, to rise with at the Resurrection of the Just: Others say, that  
his Lady was buried at *Bethlehem*-Ground; the Place makes no great dif-  
ference; only, say some, but I know not upon what Proof, that the latter  
ground was consecrated: Indeed, if this was true, I confess, it takes off a  
great deal of the Scandal.

To this Honourable Funeral were invited Clergymen of great Figure;  
amongst which were the learned M——; the Silver-tongu'd H——, with  
Mr. C——, and others, that held up the Pall; and the Person officiating,  
as Mr. B——, who, I believe, upon second Thoughts, would have acted  
otherwise.

Now, Gentlemen, and Brethren, if this Funeral Pomp was solemnized at  
the former Place, what a great Scandal have you brought on the Gown!  
How can you answer it to God and the Church, to grace the *Cimiterium* of  
scismatics and worse, with your Presence upon such a solemn Occasion?

And you, Mr. B——, if the Story be true, as I hope in God it is not, how  
can you answer your Behaviour to God, the Church, and my Lord the Bi-  
shop. I shall not censure you, but shall leave that to your Reverend Diocesan.

But, say others, This mighty Noise is about Nothing, for that the Fu-  
neral was at *Bethlehem* Ground; and the Case is alter'd; for that Ground  
was solemnly consecrated by a Bishop. I am glad to hear it with all my  
Heart: and to save their Credits, I wish it were true. But the Difficulty  
is in the Proof. But, Gentlemen, were it true 'twas more than you knew,  
when you undertook that Business, and so 'twas only by mere Chance, you  
were in the right. And to mollifie every thing, 'tis said, that it was the de-  
sire of the Deceased to lie by her first Husband, be the Place where it will;  
and 'tis a barbarous thing not to fulfil the Will of the Dead. In such a case,  
with submission, I think otherwise; for Honour and my Lord's Character,  
would be more than enough to appoint a Place of Burial. This Case ought  
to be left to his Lordship's Discretion; and, if I may presume to offer my  
Thoughts, a Cathedral, or Church would have been more Honourable for  
his Lady's Interment. But what shall I say? It may be, his Lordship had  
some Relations already in that Place, which procur'd more easily his Lord-  
ship's Concurrence. But, your Grace, that descended from the sequestered,  
and Orthodox Divines of our Church, I am sure, will think otherwise;  
and so I shall take leave of this Point, and submit it to your Grace's Judg-  
ment and Censures.

Methinks I see a By-stander, thus addressing himself to your Grace; My  
Lord, there have been loud Clamours, much Noise, and some Reflexions  
upon several Persons of Learning and Piety, concerning their Presence at  
a certain Funeral. Be it so, that the Place of Burial was not consecrated  
by a Bishop: What then? Is it reasonable, that some shall be censur'd, and  
others go scot-free for the self-same Act? I think, in such a case All ought  
to be censur'd, or else acquitted. But, to come to the point: What was  
done but once at *Bunhill*, or *Bethlehem*, is weekly, and sometimes oftner,  
done at *Poplar*-Ground, and yet no Din and Noise is raised against that Re-  
verend Doctor; 'tis rather by some chosen, because not consecrated.  
Thus he——

What the Gentleman has alledged, is Fact, and its Truth is as clear  
as the Meridian Sun: My Lord of *London* knows it, and I am told,  
has often proffer'd to consecrate it upon an Endowment, tho' small. His  
Lordship is clear, and the Matter sticks somewhere else. And, to take  
away



(4)  
away all scandal for the time to come, I could wish, that your Grace would send out your Injunctions to that Doctor to stop all Funerals in that Ground and Baptisms in that Chappel, till both are consecrated.

2dly, There are some Clergymen, that have, as St. Peter says, *forsook the right way, and have gone astray, following the way of Balaam the Son of Beor, who loved the ways of unrighteousness.* In plain English, my Lord, I mean some Clergy, when they visit the Sick, have the Hardiness (to call it no worse) to take Money for it; and this I take for a scandalous Irregularity and on which I next intend to Remark. I have too much reason, my Lord, not to doubt of the Frequency of this very ill Practice, among some of the Clergy in and about London. I am told, that 'tis arriv'd to such a Height and Esteem, that 'tis stiled a *Pretty Perquisite.* O Tempora! O Mores! Men of Figure some, and D. D. Divines, and other of inferiour Degrees, make too too much practice of it. No Man has a more fervent Desire to maintain the Dignity of the Sacerdotal Office, than my self: and were it possible to stifle this sordid Practice, none would be more willing: But the Contagion is spread, and there is a grand Necessity of applying a Remedy, and curing its Malignity; and to whom shall I apply, but to your Grace, to discourage this foul and enormous Practice. The Honour of the Clergy lies at stake; and to suffer such vile Doings to go on unpunisht, will sink their Credit to such a Degree, that we shall become the Off-scouring and Ridicule of the Deists and Atheists. To visit the Sick, is the most charitable Office in the World, & has been so accounted in all Ages of the Christian Church. And with shall we do nothing but the prospect of sordid Gain? 'Tis recorded of our Blessed Lord, that he went about doing good: But we do not read that he received Bribes for his extended Charity to the Souls of Men. And dare we, who are his Ministers, presume to do otherwise? Dare we, who are appointed to attend dying Souls lying on the Beds of Languishing, expect the Gains of Ungodliness? Good God! How are some of us fallen from the practice of the Golden Ages of the Church! We blame, and that justly, the practice of the Priests of the Church of Rome, in strowling about, and selling Indulgences to the Cheating the Souls of poor deluded Christians; and this Villainous practice was the first Motive of Martin Luther's Revolt from that Corrupted Church; & how near do those of our Church, who make a gain of their visiting the Sick, come to them, I need not tell your Grace. But it may be said that 'tis a scandal thrown upon us by our Enemies, whose delight is to tarnish the Reputation of our Clergy. Would to God, this was the Case; But this I can assure your Grace, that there is too much truth in the Allegation; and within the little Circle of my own Knowledge. I can, (and am sorry to say it) prove it, even to a Demonstration; for to instance in some particulars; there was a poor Woman that desired a Reverend Doctor to visit her own Husband; and after his Exhortations and long Puritanical Prayers, she was willing to gratify him; she had but two Shillings and Sixpence in the whole World, and the Doctor had the Conscience (shall I call it) to leave her only the poor Size. The self-same Person (of whom I could multiply Instances, for I believe, 'tis his constant Practice) visited another Person (whom I well know) and who indeed was in good Circumstances) and from her took ten Shillings, and three for the Coach, though within one Mile from his own House. I do not know, but that this villainous Way of Proceeding has been the main Occasion of many Souls going unprepared to the other World; for in my Walks I have seen too much of it; many times, and almost innumerable, I have my self been tempted to accept



money; but I thank God (who enabled me with Courage) that I always refused it. I should be glad to know the Reason of such a general Inclination in all sorts of People to proffer a Gratuity upon such solemn Occasions, if too many Persons were not as ready to receive it. The Church requires (and good Men pray for) the Reformation of Manners of these Men; and lies at your Grace's Door to remove this Stumbling-Block.

Were I to search for the Original of this foul Practice, I believe I should find it amongst the Dissenting Teachers; and if it be so, is it not a burning shame for some of our Clergy to tread in their steps? I hope I have said enough (some Men may think too much) to move your Grace to Censure such Irregular Members that are guilty of this foul Practice, that tends to the dishonour of God, the discredit of the Church, and the hazard of their own immortal Souls.

Another great Irregularity amongst some of the Clergy, is the manner of Administration of \* Private Baptism; the Church has ordered a Form for it; and I would ask the Question, How often is that Form us'd with Charge to the Parents, as it directs, to bring the Infant to Church to be received into the Congregation? But instead of that, the Publick Form is generally used; How Inconsistent? How incongruous? How Unaccountable is this way? In times of Yore 'twas otherwise, and it lies in your Grace's Power to bring it to its pristine Use. Besides, as 'tis now practised, it makes meer Laquies of the Clergy, and they are oblig'd to dance after every one's Pipe *for filthy Lucres sake*, as the Apostle styles it. This renders the Clergy vile and sordid in the Eyes of the Laity, and sinks the Sacerdotal Office to the lowest degree. In a little time a set Discourse about House-Baptism may see the Light: upon which account it will be needless to trouble your Grace any farther with it.

The Solemnization of \* Marriages in some Places is very Irregular, and your Grace ought to be acquainted with it, being highly Scandalous in several Respects; I mean, some Clergymen daring to Marry without Banns or License. The Rubrick directs, That upon Festivals, they shall, where the Parties dwell, be publickly ask'd in the publick Congregation. But this good old way is notoriously abused and perverted by some, whose Names I could bring to Light, but I spare them. There are several thousands Married (and many of them undone) in the Fleet-Prison, Lamb's-Chappel and other Places, and yet the Offenders go unpunished; and this, with submission to your Grace, is a burning Shame, and a Practice intolerable. I have often thought it highly Reasonable to lay it before the High-Court of Parliament; but since the Offenders are Ecclesiasticks, it more reasonably falls under your Grace's Cognizance; I shall not presume to offer Reasons to stop this foul Practice, but shall leave it to your Grace, whose high Station in the Church, and whose vast knowledge, can easily find Ways and Means to put a stop to this abominable Practice, which very probably has been the Ruine of the Sons and Daughters of the Nobility and Gentry of this Kingdom. It has been a wonder to me, that their Complaints have not reached your Grace's Ears, and it is high time to apply a Remedy, and God grant the time was come that *there be no mere complaining in our Streets*. It is supposed by the Rubrick, that all Persons should be present at the publick Service, to offer up their Petitions to the Almighty; But a vile Practice has for some Years obtained that some of the Clergy spend their time (whilst the Congregation is employed in the Sacrifices of Prayers and Praises) I know not how, in the Vestries. This



ought not to be done, it carries with it a loud Scandal, and puts a Stumbling Block in the way of the People. I cannot imagine what such Clergymen can say in their own Defence, and how they can maintain this sordid Practice; their way is not defensible, and ought to be Censured. I was once told of a Conference betwixt a Layman and a Doctor of Figure and Consummate Learning, on this Point. *Sir*, says the Layman, What thoughts have you of our solemn way of Worship of our Church? To which the Doctor reply'd, That he thought it was the most Rational Piece of Service that was ever used in the Christian Church. Pardon me, *Sir*, I think, says the Layman, that your thoughts are otherwise; why so, says the Doctor? because replied he, you do not act otherwise; for why should I mind your Words when your Deeds run Counter to them. Your meaning, quoth the Doctor. Well, *Sir*, replied the Layman, it cannot be, that your Sentiments are real, when you spend that time (that should be employed in the Congregation of the Saints) in the Vestry. At which the Doctor was Non-plussed, and so the Conference ended.

And now I cannot forbear to let your Grace know an odd Circumstance of a Lazy Clergyman, and how he spent his time in the Vestry during Divine Service, I was an Eye-Witness to the Matter of Fact; this Reverend Person I found stretched out at length on Chairs without Wigg, and Head tied up in Linnen, consulting his F——'s Notes, This very odd sight strangely amazed me; and had I not been a Spectator, its Narration would have been incredible. At first Blush I took it for a Corps laid out, in order for Interment; but Motion soon rectified my Sentiments. Your Grace's Order will alter this Irregularity, which would tend to the Glory of God, and real Satisfaction of all true Christians. And I lately understand that the Industrious and Learned Mr. Bennet in one of his Tracts, has lashed this Irregularity, though I have not seen it; I do not doubt, but that he has done it to the purpose, and I hope to full purpose, as it will be superfluous in me to add more Words.

The next Irregularity I shall mention, is the time and season of publick Prayers of the Church. In some Churches of the Country, the Form of Prayers is only used on the Lords-Day, and in others only on *Wednesday, Friday, and Sunday*. This was not the prime Intention of the Church, as is apparent from the Rubrick and Calendar. First for the Rubrick, 'And the Curate that Ministreth in every Parish-Church, or Chapel, being at Home, or not being otherwise reasonably hindered, shall say the same in the Parish-Church or Chapel, where he Ministreth, and cause a Bell to be Tolloed thereunto a convenient time before he begin, that the People may come to hear God's Word, and to pray with him.

But this \* Rubrick, and others, must be accounted amongst the Cobwebs of Dr. *Pain*, or the Lumber of Dr. *Isham*; which odious Comparisons may be found in the Answer to Mr. *Long's Vox Cleri*, and in the *Vision* Sermon of the latter, printed not long since by *Walter Kettilby*. What the first Doctor did, in comparing Queen *Elizabeth* to a nasty Slut, that left Cobwebs in every Corner, was not strange, if you compare that with his other Actions; but the other amazed me, considering whose Chaplain he had been of a long standing, and considering what Reputation he had amongst the Learned and Orthodox Clergy; but the Dr. grew old and forgot himself; and this, my Lord, shews the Truth of that saying, *Humanum est errare*; and I must have the Charity for that excellent Person, as to say, that this was the only Blemish of his Writings; but they are both gone to their place, and it is not Human to insult the Ashes of the Dead, always bearing in mind that of *Loyal Cowley*, viz.

\* See the Rubrick concerning the Service of the Church.



( 7 )  
*'Tis wicked, with insulting Feet to tread  
Upon the Monuments of the Dead.*

But Secondly, as to the Calender, which has provided Lessons for all Days in the Year. Now I would fain know what was the Intention of our Holy Mother the Church, in appointing a Calendar, if the Clergy were not daily to officiate. The case is so plain, that I shall not expatiate, but shall leave it to my Brethren to reflect on.

The Non-Administration of the Lord's Supper, is another Irregularity, and shall next be spoken to. The Rubrick not only supposes, but is also express, that when the Communion-Service is appointed to be used, that Service ought to conclude with the Administration of the Lord's Supper. One Rubrick runs thus: *So many as intend to be Partakers of the Holy Communion,* and See the Office soon. Another begins thus: *The Table at the Communion-time, having a fair Linnen Cloth upon it*—— I would fain know, why are these Directions, if the Sacrament is not to be administered at the same time? Now the Church has appointed this solemn Service to be used on all *Sundays* and *Holidays*; and therefore on all those Days the Lord's Supper is to be administered: Yet some are so unaccountably Irregular, tho' the Sacrament is not always on those Days administered, yet, I know not how it comes to pass, the *Prayer for the Church militant*, with others, and the Blessing in some Churches, is wholly omitted, and the Minister concludes in the Pulpit. This odd Practice (my Lord) I cannot account for. In the proper Prefaces for the Communion-Service, those Collects after *Christmas*, *Easter*, and *Ascension-day*, are to be used seven days after, and upon *Whitsunday*, six. The Church suppos'd the Sacrament on all those Days to be given, or why else are the Collects order'd to be read? These were the *Octaves* of the *Ancient Church*; and so many Days, as *Holidays*, were set apart for the Greater Solemnization of those Festivals, and the same Communion-Office was read on all those Days; and not only so, but I believe 'twill appear from another Rubrick, that our Church commanded a daily Communion, or else, I confess, I do not understand it. It runs thus, as your Grace may see in the Order, how the rest of the H. Scripture is appointed to be read. 'Note also, that the Collect, Epistle, and Gospel, appointed for the *Sunday*, shall serve all the Week after, where 'tis not in this Book otherwise order'd. Now what can be said to this Rubrick, if the Collect, Epistle and Gospel be enjoyn'd to be read every day, then must the Communion-Service be likewise read: If so, than the Holy Sacrament of the Body and Blood of the Lord, is to be daily given, *quod erat demonstrandum*. I am afraid by some this Rubrick is to be thrown away with the Cobwebs and Lumber of the two Reverend Doctors. But there is no manner of Doubt, but that your Grace thinks otherwise; and so with your Grace's leave, I'll pass to some other Matter.

And the next Irregularity I shall speak to, relates to the Non-Observation of the Vigils, Feasts and Fasts which our Church has commanded. There are several Reasons assign'd by Learned Men for the Institution of Vigils, which comes from the Latin *Vigila*, Watchings; but none comes nearer the Truth, than those who impute the Rise of these Night-Watches, to the necessity Christians were under of meeting in the Night, and before Day, for the Exercise of their Devotions in common, by reason of the Malice and Persecution of their Enemies, who endeavoured their Destruction, when they discover'd them to be Christians. God be thank'd there is not yet the same reason for those of the Church to observe the Vigils: But God only knows, how soon (for our Sins) it may be our case: For it is sad to consider, and a melancholick Theme to insist on, when we see the Church and Priesthood insulted with Deists, *Sacra-*



all sorts of Dissenters, and no check put to it by the Higher Powers. 'Tis stranger to consider the Boldness of our Enemies, when the Person upon whom the Throne is a strict Observer of the Doctrine of our Church.

But, 'tis to be hop'd the Reign of our rampant Enemies is but short. God send——

But another Reason which still holds good, for the Observation of Vigils, is this; \* *It was the Custom of the Primitive Christians to pass great part of the Night that precedeth certain Holidays, in Devotion and Religious Exercises: and this even in those Places which they set apart for the publick Worship of God. But when these Night-Meetings came to be so far abused, that no Care could prevent several Disorders and Irregularities, the Church thought fit to abolish them, and these Night-Watches were converted into Fasts, still keeping the former Name of Vigils.* Our Church

still commands the Observation of them, as is apparent from the Table of Vigils, before the Nativity of our Lord, and several other Festivals. And the Rubrick after the Nicene Creed enjoins the Curate to declare what Fasting Days in the Week following are to be observ'd. And what the Days of Fasting or Abstinence are, may be learnt from the Rubrick; as the 40 Days of Lent, &c. See the Rubrick. The next is Festivals, or Days kept in Commemoration of our

Saviour and his Apostles; and we are informed by the abovesaid pious and Religious Person (whose admirable Book, I think, ought to be in all Hands, as I dare say, 'tis in your Grace's) how they ought to be employ'd: But first, we ought to know, how the Primitive Christians observ'd these Days of Joyfulness, which was thus: \* *They were wont once a*

*Year to meet at the Graves of the Martyrs, there solemnly to recite their Sufferings and Triumphs, to praise their Vertues, to bless God for their pious Examples, for their holy Lives, and happy Deaths. Besides, they celebrated these Days with great Expressions of Love and Charity to the Poor, and mutual Rejoycings with one another.*—— The next Enquiry is, how these Days ought now to be observ'd. We should (says the aforesaid Great Person)

*constantly attend the Publick Worship, and partake of the Bless'd Sacrament, if it be administred. In private, we should enlarge our Devotions, and suffer the Affairs of the World to interrupt us as little as may be.—— If we do but commemorate any Mystery of our Redemption, or Article of our Faith, we ought to confirm our Belief of it, by considering all those Reasons upon which it is built, that we may be able to give a good account of the Hope that is in us. We should from our Hearts offer to God the Sacrifice of Thanksgiving, and resolve to perform all those Duties, which result from the Belief of such an Article. If we commemorate any Saint, we should consider the Vertues for which he was eminent, and by what Steps he arriv'd at so great Perfection; and then examine our selves how far we are defective in our Duty, and earnestly beg God's Pardon for our past Failings, and his Grace to enable us to conform our Lives for the time to come, to those admirable Examples that are set before us.* Thus far that excellent Author.

That Festivals ought to be kept in our Church, is plain from the Table of Feasts: And that the Clergy ought to give such Notice to the People on the Lord's Day, is as plain from the Rubrick after the Nicene Creed. Now it would be richly worth your Grace's while to order an *Inquirendum* thro' your Province in this, as well as in other Matters: But I dare not presume to dictate.——

The next Irregularity I shall mention, is this: Some of our Brethren have got a lazy way of repeating other Mens Sermons. Now, I think, this is against the Rubrick; for that after the Nicene Creed it thus directs; *Then shall follow the Sermon, or one of the Homilies*——

Now



Now 'tis suppos'd, that if a Person (as 'twas the case of many at the Dawning of the Reformation) be so ignorant, as not able to compose a Sermon, then the Church orders him to read one of the Homilies. But if he be of Ability, then to use one of his own composing. But the case is alter'd; for I've often heard (and blushing for them I speak it) other Mens Works eccho'd from the Pulpit; and I do not in the least doubt, but that others have so too. I could name the Persons, but shall not at present; I do not know what I shall do hereafter. What a shame it is to hear the Works of the Profound *Barrow*, the Great *Tillotson*, and many others of Fame, odly managed, and uncouthly spoken from the Pulpit. I think, with submission, this ought to be rectify'd. Nay, more than that, there's a greater Insolence behind. I could name to your Grace those Men who had the Forehead, not only to deliver other Mens Work, but also to print them, tho' printed before. What shall I call this? One of this sort of Men was Camp Chaplain to Gracious K. *William* of not-to-be-forgotten Memory by your Grace.

The next Remark shall be upon the Irregularity of the Burial of the Dead. The Rubrick runs in these Words: *The Office ensuing is not to be used for any that dye un-baptized, or excommunicate, or have laid violent Hands upon themselves.* See the Rubrick. I have reason to think, that some of the Clergy do often violate the two last Clauses. To begin with the last, concerning Suicide: If a Person (as I could instance in many) of a great Estate, makes away with himself, his Relations shall have the Credit of the Attendance of the Clergy, and the Office (Oh shame to speak it) of Burial shall be read. This, my Lord, ought not to be done; for where's the Hope that a Self-Murderer sleeps in Jesus; and that Office is only to be used for such that dye in the Lord. As for Excommunicates, 'tis plain and express, that they are excluded, and have no manner of right to that Solemn Office; yet how often, is it used for all Sorts of Schismatics. The Ancient, nay, our Church, in one of the Canons, censures them as *ipso facto* Excommunicates. And, my Lord, 'tis a Jest to say, they are not Schismatics, because the Civil Government has exempted them from certain Penalties, laid on them by several Acts of Parliament, which are only *pro tempore* suspended. Now I think, with submission to my Superiours, If they were Schismatics (as no doubt they were) before the Act of Toleration, they continue still so, and so by consequence, as Excommunicates, they have no shadow of Right to have that Office used at their Funeral; and your Clergy hope that your Grace will redress that intolerable Grievance: for how can we use these Expressions concerning Schismatics (who dye in their Schism) *In sure and certain hope* — as our hope is this our Brother doth. This is a hardship upon the Clergy, and I cannot account for it. We must not mangle the Service, and if we use the whole, it is to the highest degree absurd and unaccountable. What must we do in this Extremity? Your Grace, only with the Assistance of an *Honest Convocation*, can relieve us. Would to God that time was come. I dare say, that those Pious Compilers of our *Common-Prayer* (who sealed it with their dearest Blood, thought as I do, viz. that Schismatics had not right to that Office. For the Sin of Schism is of that hainous Hue, that some of the Ancient Fathers thought, that Atonement for it could not be attained, tho' by Martyrdom it self. And I apt to think, that our Pious Reformers had some such Thoughts of it. For Schism, as the Words import, is Division, or a cutting off from the Catholick Church: And if so, and if it be the case of Hood-winkt Dissenters, I am sure they have no right to that Office.

I shall only mention one more Irregularity, or a breaking in upon the Rubrick



brick by some of the Clergy, and that is Churching at Home. The Rubrick directs the Woman, at the usual time after her Delivery to come into the Church — Then the Priest shall say to her, but the present practice in some places is quite reverst. It must be done in the Chamber, or not at all. Now could we perswade those Persons to bring their tender Children to the Church to be enroll'd Members of the Catholick Church; I hope their tender Mothers would oblige the Congregation with their Company; for what place so proper, as the Altar, to return God thanks for those wonderful Mercies they lately received. And yet no Arguments will prevail; in defence of this Practice, many Pretences, (and they are nothing but Pretences) are used; as catching of Cold, Modesty, and what not. But the true reason is at the bottom; and that is, Pride. The Clergy must dance after them, and they will be attended. Tho' the practice is Servile, yet in the Clergy, I hope, 'tis not sinful, at least not more sinful, than Baptizing (without any necessity) at Home; I have done with my Remarks on the Violators of our Rubrick; and leave them now to the Censure of your Grace.

2. I shall proceed (with your Grace's leave) in the second place to consider the Violators of the Canons of our Church, as they are Clergy-Men; I beg your Grace's Pardon and Attention, whilst I run thro' the whole Body of the Canons and Constitutions of the Church; which are confirmed by Act of Parliament; I shall only (at present) make some Remarks; How many are violated by some of the Clergy.

See the Can. and  
Constitut. of K.  
James.

The first Canon commands all Ecclesiasticks from the Archbishop to the Priest, to maintain the King's Supremacy; and in the Body of the Canon is this Clause; *Furthermore, all Ecclesiastical Persons having cure of Souls, and all other Preachers, and Readers of Divinity Lectures, shall to the utmost of their Wit, Knowledge and Learning, purely and sincerely, and (without any Colour and Dissimulation) Teach, Manifest, Open, and Declare four times every year (at least) in their Sermons, and other Collations and Lectures, that all Usurped and Sovereign Power is fully taken away* — Is this Canon strictly observed by the Clergy? Do all Preachers and Lecturers comply with the Letter of it? Upon a *Melius Inquiredum*, I am afraid, your Grace will find it, almost, if not wholly laid aside. I am sure the Toleration Act does not affect it; therefore it continues in Force; and obliges the Clergy to a due Observation; and I know not, how they can Answer the Non-observance of it; I wish, I could find out a Method to excuse them.

The fourteenth Canon relates to the Form of Divine Service, which is to be used on *Sundays* and *Holidays*; and in the Body of that Canon is this Clause; *All Ministers likewise shall observe the Orders, Rites and Ceremonies prescrib'd in the Book of Common-Prayer, as well in reading the Holy Scriptures and saying of Prayers, as in Administration of the Sacraments, without either diminishing in regard of Preaching, or in any other respect; or adding in the Matter or Form thereof.* Is this Canon in all and every part strictly observ'd by all the Clergy? Is there no Curtailing, Mangling, or adding to the Prayers? It is worth an Enquiry.

The fifteenth Canon orders the Litany to be read by the Clergy on *Wednesdays* and *Fridays*; I would fain know, whether this Canon is strictly observed by the Parochial Clergy in the Country; I am afraid upon search 'twill be found otherwise.

The twenty seventh Canon orders, that Schismatics should not be admitted to the Communion- *No Minister, when he Celebrates the Communion, shall willingly Administer the same to those that refuse to kneel, upon*

Can. 27.

the



the pain of Suspension, nor to any depravers of the Common-Prayer, &c. Upon this Canon I shall presume to make two Remarks; as first, do any of the Clergy comply with the request of superstitious People, as to give the Holy Sacrament to them, sitting in their Seats? I know, that has been done formerly; I wish it is not now by some of the moderate Clergy. The next Remark shall be upon a great difficulty, lying upon some of the Clergy, the case is this; suppose a notorious Schismatick, qualifying himself for a Place of profit upon that Scandalous Practice of Occasional Communion. This Person offers himself to the Minister, tho' he never designs to be there again, except it be upon the same Occasion. If the Minister admits the Schismatick to Communion; he violates the Canon; if he refuses him; the Schismatick brings his Action against him in one of the Courts of *Westminster*; which may prove the actual Ruin of the Clergy-man. Now, my Lord, what's to be done in this case? I wish your Grace will oblige the World with your Sentiments on it. But were it my own case, I would observe the Canon, and leave the event to God; I should rather commit my Conscience and Family to his disposal; be the consequence what it will. If I admit him, I am liable to three years Suspension, which may be my Ruin, as to my temporal Affairs; if I refuse him; I can be but undone with the Violence of my Conscience, and Disobedience to the Canon and my Diocesan. But all Men think not as I do.

The 28th Canon, Orders that Strangers should not be admitted to the Communion; and in the Body of it, the Church-wardens are to take notice, whether any Strangers come often and commonly from other Parishes to their Church, and shall shew their Minister of them, lest perhaps they be admitted to the Lord's Table amongst others, which they shall forbid, and remit such home to their own Parish Churches and Ministers, there to receive the Communion with the rest of their Neighbours. Do the Churchwardens and Ministers act, as the Canon enjoins, for in the Canon both are comprehended? do they order such to return to their own Churches, there to receive? I am afraid, nay, I am sure, that some of the Clergy are in this case tardy. Right Reason is the Foundation of this Canon; and I can never enough admire the Wisdom of our Ancestors in their providing so well for the welfare of the Church, as they have done in this Excellent Canon. For were that minded, as it ought to be; that would prevent a further mischief, that often happens, which is, the admitting of Excommunicates and other Notorious Sinners to that sacred Ordinance. For suppose an Excommunicate, or any notorious ill Liver is repuls'd, as they ought to be, from the Lord's Table, they could never be admitted elsewhere; for an Excommunicate, whilst so, is shut out of the whole Catholick Church; and this was the practice of the Primitive Christians, and ought to be so, not only in our Church, but where ever the Church of Christ is dispers'd. Besides, this allowance of People strowling from their Parochial Ministers, often produces another ill Effect, viz. a slight to their own Pastors, and an admiration for Strangers, which, I think, ought to be prevented; and a due Observation of this Canon, with your Grace's Injunction, would put a stop to this unhappy Practice.

The 33d Canon relates to Titles of such, as are to be made Ministers; 'Tis too long to Transcribe, I shall only cull out, what are true Titles, and Qualifications for Orders. A Presentation to some Living, or a true and undoubted Certificate, that a Person is provided of some Church within the said Diocess. Or a Vacancy in the Cathedral Church of that Diocess; or in some Collegiate Church therein; or Fellow of a College, or Conduct in either University, or Master of Art of five years standing, living at his own Expence in either



either University, or accept of the Bishop himself, that doth ordain him Minister——These are all the Titles and Qualifications that I find in this Canon for Holy Orders, and how strangely is it perverted! My Lord of *Sarum* in his admirable Pastoral Care insists Strongly and Strenuously upon the Looseness of Certificates, and rightly observes, what vast Mischiefs such easy Certificates do bring to the Church; and it would be a great Blessing to the Church, if all Clergymen would follow his admirable Directions; we should not then have so many indigent Clergy, complaining in our Streets. The Order would be then more rever'd, and greater respect would be shew'd them; for a poor and scandalous Clergyman, I am sure, is the strangest sight in the World; And I wish, I could say, that there were none belonging to our Church. But it can't be expected, that this Grievance should be removed, except greater care were taken about Recommendations to my Lords, the Bishops. They, God knows, are not to be blamed. But 'tis the easy Clergyman with his fulsome Characters, that imposes upon their Lordships. *Hinc illa lacrima*——I could give many Instances of this vile Practice to your Grace, but one only at present shall suffice, and that is more than enough to set this horrid Method in a true Light. There's a certain Clergyman (whose Name I shall conceal for many Reasons) that has a Place of no more value than eight Pound *per Annum*, that has given four Titles, that I know of, to four several Persons, that have been ordain'd upon that very Title: The first Person that was Ordain'd, did not read Prayers at the place of his Title; He's now, if alive, in a Strowling and Starving Condition, begs from Door to Door for a poor and scandalous Maintenance. The second could not live in *England*, but went to *Virginia* to try his Fortune, and some years after return'd to his own Country; and I hear he's in a low and despicable Condition. The third Person never so much as saw the Face of an University, and yet as soon as Ordain'd set up with *Aesop's* Crow, for a mighty Preacher; But his Temporal Estate may prevent Poverty. The fourth is a Man of Parts, and I wish I could say, Prudence, and would live and scuffle in the World for his Wife and Family; if his Superiours in that place would encourage him; I know him Personally; I am sure, that he has more Learning, than all the other three. But this is a Melancholick Theme to insist on, I shall say no more on this Head, but with all Humility Supplicating your Grace for the sake of the Clergy, and their Mother the Church, to find some Method to put a stop to this vile Practice, that only produces Beggars for the Sacred Order.

The forty first Canon, treats of Licenses for Pluralities of Benefices  
 Can. 1. Limited, and Residence enjoyn'd. In the Body of it is this remarkable Clause, on which I shall Remark, provided always, that he be by a good caution, *sufficiens cautione obstrictus*, bound to make his Personal Residence in each of his said Benefices for some reasonable time of the year, *per bonam anni cujusque partem*, as 'tis in the Latin. Now the Question is, what and how long is meant by reasonable time, *bonam cuius anni partem*. That must be Answer'd by your Grace. What then shall I say of those that seldom or never make any Personal Residence; of those that have no License from their Diocesans. There's no doubt to be made, but that such Pastors, or rather Wolves, have a heavy account to give to God and their Flocks for that scandalous Practice of Non-Residence. That case your Grace knows, and what ill Effect Non-Residence has upon the Church; but I shall say no more at present; it being largely treated on in two Pamphlets, viz. † *The Case of Non-Residence*; and *the Reasonableness of bringing in a Bill, to oblige the Clergy to Residence*, which I presume your Grace has seen; and which have never

See the Case of  
 Non-Residence  
 and Reasonable-  
 &c.



never been Answered nor never will. In a late Case, Bishop Compton's Charge of Non-Residence will see the Light, being a Supplement to the Case of Non-Residence, to which other Testimonies against that scandalous Practice will be added.

The fifty fifth Canon contains the Form of Prayer to be used by Preachers before their Sermons; I am afraid some of the Clergy Transgress this Canon for the Words, as briefly as they conveniently may, I am sure, exclude long-Winded, incoherent stuff, too much affected by some Preachers. 'Tis certain, that our publick Form of Worship is very extensive, and comprehends all Cases; and I find no occasion for a long Harangue before Sermons. I am confident, that those that use them, design a Slur upon the publick Form, and bring a Contempt on it. Some Lecturers, can't be excused; for they spend their time, I know not how, in the Vestries, during the time of Divine Service; and then they mount the Pulpit with their Amusements. 'Twould be a vast Advantage to our Church; if a strict, and unvariable Form was prescrib'd for all Preachers, and a Mulct proposed to be inflicted on the Violators. It would prevent gadding and stragling from their own Pastors; it would promote Unanimity amongst Christians, Peace, and Concord between Pastor and People; a Blessing, I am afraid too great to be expected in this Debauch'd and Atheistical Age. A Convocation, if encouraged by your Grace, might procure such a Blessing, which God grant.

Preachers and Lecturers by the 56th. Canon are obliged to read Divine Service twice a year, which if not done, to be Suspended. That it is not done is a flagrant Truth, and your Grace, I suppose, is not insensible of it. The Desk of late is by some had in so great Contempt, that a Scarfe by no manner of means look well in it. But these Gentlemen ought to consider, that the Duty of offering the Sacrifice of Prayers and Praise is of more weight and value than Preaching; but I shall meet with those mighty Don's in another Place, when I come to treat about mixt Cases: I shall therefore proceed to some fresh matter.

The fifty sixth Canon obliges the Clergy to Catechise every Sunday and Holy-day, and in the body of it they are censur'd for that Omission; *If any Minister neglect his Duty therein, let him be sharply reprov'd upon the first Complaint. If after the submitting himself to the Bishop, he shall willingly Offend herein, let him be Suspended. If so the third time — then Excommunicate, and so remain, until he be Reformed.* This Pious Canon, I believe, was strictly observed, till those unhappy Civil Wars of Forty One, which caused the Sequestration of your Grace's Father, and the Murder of an Innocent King, with the Ruine of the Church and State. Then Canting and Hypocrisy kick'd out Catechising, which could never be restored; People love to have their Ears tickled, though their Understandings are not Edified, which Catechising would do. † All sorts of People are prodigiously Ignorant in the Fundamentals of the Christian Religion, and Catechising would retrieve that Ignorance to the Glory of the Church, and the great Edification of the Souls of Multitudes.

† See the Decay of Christian Piety, 402, 403.

The sixty second Canon relates to the times of Marriage, which Can. 62. must be Solemniz'd betwixt the Hours of eight and twelve in the Morning, and in time of Divine Service, *Tempore precum publicarum*, as the Latin Canon has it; and I would feign know the Sense and Reason of that Expression; I am told by a Learned \* Man, a Sufferer with your Grace's Father, that Morning Prayer on Sundays and Holy-days began at Eight in the Morning; when ended, Marriages were solemniz'd in the face of the Congregation; Doubts and Cases of Conscience

\* Heylin Hist. of the Reformation



were then Answer'd by the Clergy, &c. At ten the Communion Service began, then followed the Sermon, and the Celebration of the Lord's Supper. This I take to be the meaning of *Tempore precum publicarum*; if it is not, I earnestly desire a better Account from your Grace, or any other Learned Man. The Infringers of this Canon are to be suspended *per triennium*, as is apparent from the beginning of the Canon. No Minister upon Pain of Suspension *per triennium ipso facto*, &c. The Violators of this Canon have done an incredible deal of Mischief; for how many have lost their Children to the utter undoing of them; which shews the necessity of obliging the Clergy to a strict Observance of it. But I have spoke of the Case of Marriage before, and I need not repeat.

Can. 69. The 69th Canon relates to Ministers Baptizing Children in case of Danger; and if the Minister refuse to go upon a real Account, he's to be Suspended for three Months. This is so charitable an Office, as a Man would think, that a Heart of Stone only would refuse it. Yet some won't move, except they be paid for the Journey. Our Catechism tells us, that *we are by Nature born in Sin, and the Children of Wrath*; and shall some of the Clergy by their Supineness and Covetousness, be the occasion that they should not by Baptism be made the *Children of Grace*? This ought not to be done. 'Tis a sad Cruelty to the Souls of those poor Infants; for Baptism makes them *Members of Christ, Children of God, and Inheritors of the Kingdom of Heaven*. Here I stop, and shall not at present proceed any further in the Canons. I shall only mention one or two mixt Cases, which would not properly fall in with the Rubrick and Canons, and so put an end to this Discourse.

First then, that Lecturers in the modern Sense of the Word are oblig'd upon a Penalty to read Divine Service once a Month. Our Church and State, by God's Blessing being recovered out of the confusion of the late times of Usurpation, which was mainly promoted and carried on by canting, Hypocritical, and sniveling Lecturers; our Senate, in the 14th of K. Charles II. of glorious Memory, took this Case into consideration, and wisely provided for the Welfare of Church and State, by the prudent Act of Uniformity; and, I dare say, were it put into strict Execution, it would exclude that Generation of Vipers, whose Fathers eat out the Bowels of their Mother the Church. The Lord Clarendon, in his immortal History of the Civil Wars, wisely observes, that the St. *Antoline's* Lecturers were the first Trumpeters that sounded from the Pulpit Rebellion against their Sovereign K. *Charles the Martyr*. And for the future, to prevent if possible, Rebellion in the State, and Schism in the Church, the Act of Uniformity, that sticks so much in the Stomachs of Schismatics, was composed. That which relates to Lecturers, follows in these Words: *And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, that*

**Act of Uniform.** *no Person shall be received as a Lecturer, or permitted, suffered or allowed to preach as a Lecturer in any Church, Chappel, or other Place of publick Worship within the Realm of England, Dominion of Wales, and Town of Berwick upon Tweed, unless he be first approved, and thereunto Licensed by the Archbishop of the Province, or Bishop of the Diocese, or (in case the See be vacant) by the Guardian of the Spiritualities under his Seal; and shall in the Presence of the Archbishop, or Bishop, or Guardian, read the nine and thirty Articles of Religion, mentioned in the Statute of the thirteenth of the late Queen Elizabeth, which Declaration of his unfeigned Assent to the same; and that every Person and Persons, who now is, or hereafter shall be Licensed, Appointed, or Received as Lecturer, to Preach upon any day of the Week in any Church or Chappel, place of Publick Worship within this Realm of England, or places aforesaid, the first time he Preacheth (before his Sermon) shall Openly, Publickly, and Solemnly read the Common-Prayers and Service in and by the said Book appointed to be read for that time of the Day, and then and there publickly and openly declare his Assent unto and Approbation of the said Book, and to the use of all the Prayers, Rites and Ceremonies, Forms and Orders therein contained and prescribed according to the Form before appointed in this Act; And also shall upon the first Lecture-day of every Month afterwards, so long as he continues Lecturer and Preacher there, at the place appointed for his said Lecture or Sermon, before the said Lecture or Sermon, openly, publickly and solemnly read the Common-Prayers in and by the said Book appointed to be Read for that time of the Day, at which the said Lecture or Sermon is to*



preached; And after such Reading thereof, shall openly and publicly before the Congregation there Assembled, Declare his unfeigned Assent, and Consent unto, and Approbation of the said Book, and to the use of all the Prayers, Rites and Ceremonies, Forms and Orders therein contained and prescribed, according to the Form aforesaid; And that all and every such Person or Persons, who shall neglect or refuse to do the same, shall from thenceforth be disabled to Preach the said, or any Lecture or Sermon in the said or any other Church. — I do not hear as yet, and God grant I never may, That that Clause is repealed, yet I am confident, that 'tis willingly and knowingly omitted to be put in Practice; 'tis a vast affront to Authority, and shews a Contempt to the Church and its pious Offices: In short, this general neglect of Lecturers in this Point makes the World believe, that they despise their Superiors, and their Censures and the very Authority of the Church and Queen.

Secondly, and lastly, The next thing that I shall speak of, is the fulsome Method of Pulpit Commendations; 'Tis not known, what a prodigious deal of Mischief, such Characters do to common Christianity; it would make ones Hair stand an-end, to hear a Common Debauchee commended for his Virtues, and Women guilty of Adultery, praised for their Chastity, and Men that deny the common Articles of Faith, applauded for Christianity; 'twas my hap once to hear a piece of a Sermon, Preached at the Funeral of an overthrown rich Commoner; and to my Amazement the Preacher was placing him in Paradise, without the necessity of believing several Articles of Faith; indeed I my self, as well as others were afraid, that all the Articles were a-going at once, and that dry Morality alone was security enough to place a Man in Bliss and Happiness. *Auri sacra Fames* has a mighty influence on some Preachers, and a present Recompence prevails more, than the Recompence of Reward in the other World. Another Person I heard extolling one to the Skies for a Virtuous, good Wife, of whom 'twas credibly reported, that she was not Married, but had lived several Years in the Sin of Adultery.

The whole Town has rung of that infamous Sermon of that Scandalous Doctor, that was Preach'd at the Funeral of the late D---of D--- His Character and Life is too well known to be insisted on; and *Dunton* in his Book; viz. *Hazard of a Death-Bed Repentance*, has reckoned with that Doctor; I wish, it had been done by an abler and more solid Hand, I have not time to enlarge, but shall only give some Manly Strokes of an Honest Gentleman in his excellent Sermon at *Oxford*. He was treating of the Mischief of such fulsome Pulpit Characters in these Words; † But as the Difference of Persons may alter the Degrees of Guilt; some according to the Stations, in which they are plac'd, are more unpardonable in putting Good for Evil, and Evil for Good, than others: And those in whom it would be most intolerable, are Persons of a Sacred Character. If they, whose Judgment and Authority are and ought to be, of so much Weight, whose proper business it is to interpret the Scriptures, and truly represent the Mind of God; if they out of Fear, or Hope, or any sinister Design, should deliver that for Virtue, which they know and believe to be Vice; or any way Prevaricate, and handle the word of God deceitfully; of how sore a Punishment would these be thought Worthy, who would mis-lead the Souls committed to their Charge, Prostitute their High

† Trap before the Judges.



High and Holy Office to such vile purposes, and bring a disgrace  
that Profession, which they ought to Adorn. Our Blessed Lord  
that whosoever shall break the least of his Commandments and teach Men  
shall be called the least in the Kingdom of Heaven. Should any then of the  
Sacred Order make Panegyrics upon the worst of Men, only because they are  
great Men; smooth over some of their Vices, and praise them for others;  
Flatter the Dead, to make their Court to the Living, and all at the Ex-  
pense of their Integrity, by venting false Doctrine, as well as false Ora-  
ry, in order to advance their Fortunes, and serve their wretched Interests  
in this World. What a Mass of Guilt would they heap upon themselves  
they would imitate the Example of Judas in betraying their Lord's Religion  
for Money, as the other Traitor did his Person; and without the  
severest and timely Repentance, would by the worst sort of Simony pay their  
Souls for the Purchase of their Preferments.

I shall present your Grace with one Instance more of fullsome Pulpit  
Commendation, and then I have done. One of our Grace's Predecessors,  
Arch-Bishop T----- in a Sermon before the King: He having  
extolled the French King to the Skies for his Art of War and what  
not, at last applies this Scripture, Behold a greater than he is here, to  
King William: For which among other things, he, I mean the Arch-  
Bishop, was Sainted by the Holbourn Doctor in his Prayer before the  
Sons of the Clergy in Chesham. I shall now Conclude all with  
humble Prayers for the Clergy of our Church, and the most  
Incomparable Letany. 'That it would please God to illuminate  
( your Grace and ) all Bishops, Priests and Deacons, with true  
Knowledge and Understanding of his Word, and that both by their  
Preaching and Living, they may set it forth, and shew it accordingly.

And Grant this, O Lord, for the Honour of our Advocate and Me-  
diator, Jesus Christ, to whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost, three  
Persons and one God, be ascribed all Power, Might, Majesty and Domi-  
nion, World without End. Amen.

LAUS DEO SOLI.



# THE MODERN FANATICK.

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## PART II.

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CONTAINING

What is Necessary to Clear all the  
Matters of Fact in the *First Part*;

AND TO

Confute what has been Printed

IN THE

PRETENDED Vindication of

Dr. *Sacheverell*, relating to my self.

Being the First Book that ever was Answer'd  
before it was made.

With a *Postscript* on that Account.

---

— *Non defensoribus istis  
Tempus eget.* Virg.

*Parturiunt montes nascetur Ridiculus Mus.* Hor.

---

By WILLIAM BISSET, Eldest Brother  
of the Collegiate-Church of St. Katherine,  
and Rector of *Whiston* in Northamptonshire.

---

L O N D O N :

Printed ; And Sold by *A. Baldwin*, near the *Oxford-Arms* in  
*Warwick-Lane* ; And *T. Harrison*, at the West-Corner of  
the *Royal Exchange* in *Cornhill*. 1710. Price 4 d.

---







T O

Mr. Henry Clements, Bookseller.

S I R,

**F**INDING your Name, and no other, to a very scurrilous Libel, which contains several foul Slanders, and (as the Sequel will abundantly make appear) notorious Falshoods in Fact, highly reflecting on me, about which, with a very little enquiry, you might have been better informed; I know not whom else to apply my self to; for 'tis plain, the Libel is Patch-work, from the variety of Stile, especially that piece of Fustian with Mrs. Herst's Name to it, which at first Blush discovers its Author.

I had two Papers sent me by an Officious Person before Christmas, Printed for Abel Roper; one with some wretched Rhimes, foul and abusive to the last Degree; it being that obsolete piece of Wit, call'd an Acrostick, with the Name of a great Peer, who very lately represented Her Majesties Person in a very high Station, in Capital Letters; an Insolence never known or heard of in a News-paper before. I the rather mention this, because the same Lord is insulted at much the same rate in this Book of yours; of which the Clergymans Letter to Dr. Sach---l. p. 32. I pass by this rude and insolent Treatment of a Noble Peer, whose late Honourable Post, might, one would think, have secured him from such impudent and sawcy Reflections. And another with an Advertisement, [That there would be speedily published a FULL Vindication of the Reverend Dr. Sa---verel from the false, scandalous and malicious Aspersions in Mr. Bisset's impudent Pamphlet, called the Modern Fanatick; with the Consent and Approbation of the Dr.] The Libel was sent me; with other Papers into the Countrey, but they never reach'd me: When I came to Town a Fortnight ago, I found to my great surprise, a very different Title; the Full was left out; my Name put thus B---t, which will serve for many Hundreds; and not a word of the Dr's Consent and Approbation; with a strange medley of long Quotations in the Title Page: First, Six Verses of Horace, as the best Authority; and one would think the most Antient, by the Order they are placed in; then



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three of Solomon, and one of Isaiah : So that what was never seen before, the Title Page contains much more than any of the 99. Now I am informed this is foul dealing, for the Advertisement should (as mine did) contain neither more nor less than the Title-page. It seems to me like Pirates hanging out false Colours at a distance, and when ready to engage, putting out the true; or rather to sneak in the way of Trade, as if a Broker should appoint a Sale of TRUE FRENCH Brandy, full proof, neat, an entire Parcel; and at the Time and Place of Sale it should prove no better than a broken Remnant of Coarse Spirits of the lowest Extraction: For I humbly conceive, [Poor, mad, stupid Fool Coxcomb, Blockhead, and what admirably agrees therewith, Villain, Miscreant, Wretch, Viper, Apostate, Rogue, Knave, Devilish Fellow, Knight of the Post, and that Dog B---t;] are no better. But I cannot much wonder at such Treatment, when a Reverend Divine recommended in a most extraordinary manner, by the Commons of Great-Britain to her Majesty, can have no better Title than [that profligate Wretch Ben. H---ly.]

But this is not the worst; as the Clergy-man's Letter to the Dr. observes, there is a manifest design, p. 37. to raise the Mob upon me, not only to break my Windows (which Practice, p. 43. is pleaded for, as a just and gentle reproof to Whiggish Families, tho' every Stone might have struck out an Eye, or killed a Child) but even to murder me. p. 44. He deserves to be ston'd into the other World; the Fellow is not fit to live. And I have reason to suspect, that those Pictures taken from Page the Second, at the bottom, and p. 13. have been dispersed about, especially in my Neighbourhood, with that very design according to that of Horace.

Segnius irritant animos demissa per aures :  
Quam quæ sunt oculis commissa fidelibus.

I am heartily sorry (says that Author, p. 27.) that thro' the whole, he so plainly discovers himself to be a Clergy-man, (meaning the chief Writer); a Divine no one I am sure will ever take him for. Several, both Church-men and Dissenters have complained in my hearing of the extreme, and even horrible Prophaneness: How sadly do such verify, that

Remark



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*Remark, For from the Prophets of Jerusalem, is profaneness gone forth into all* Jeremiah 23. 15. *the Land. Indeed there appears throughout such an Air of Libertinism as would be unpardonable in a Play, and the Lewdest Men of the Town cannot go much further. Besides the Pleas for the Mob and their Outrages; the calling an Assault which cost a Man his Life, an HONEST dry drubbing; and no more than he deserved; as if every one had a right to be his own Judge and Avenger; which Doctrine wonderfully suits with Non-Resistance and Passive-Obedience. Downright Swearing; for p. 37. Faith! is a very great and awful Oath, as an eminent Divine has observed, taking in all the Articles of our most Holy Faith, and among the rest the Glorious Trinity; and what is little better [in the Name of God] [for God's Sake] p. 98. which in such a ludicrous Dialogue is certainly a breach of the third Commandment. Downright Cursing p. 76. Hang him a Dog with a mixture of Hemp. He elsewhere strikes at the very Heart of all Morality, p. 91. [I have now done; for this other Letter is trifling and not worth taking notice of] and p. 92. [They can find nothing but such TRIFLES as these to charge him with.] And what are these Trifles? Twenty Oaths and Curses fresh and fasting before he was up; contriving to leave his Bail in the lurch; wronging several Persons of their just Debts; and not only that, but calling a poor old Woman all to naught, and putting her in fear of her Life, only for serving God according to her Conscience, when by Law she had right so to do. If these are almost allowed peccadillo's, p. 92. And if this Doctrine be once published from the Pulpit as well as the Press, by Persons in Holy Orders, what can we expect but such a Scene as the Prophet sets before us? Judgment is turned away backward; and Justice standeth afar off: for Truth is fallen in the Streets, and Equity cannot enter. There can be no such thing as Commerce amongst Men; and not only Dissenters (which he highly commends in the Welsh Gentlemen) will be debarr'd from Trade, but Churchmen too: For who will ever trust, if to defraud of acknowledg'd Debts be but a Trifle? I am amaz'd, that you who are a Tradesman, will publish*  
*such*



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*such Doctrine with your Name to it; for the Authors were too cunning to set their own. The Convocation is exhort- ed, p. 98. to censure me (as the Mob before to knock my Brains out); but they have more Discretion than to censure what they and all the World know to be Truth. But your Authors have far more Reason to expect their Censure, not on- ly for bantering both Religion and Morality; but also for a- busing, in the most scurrilous Terms, a Learned and Vene- rable Bishop (as the Letter of a Clergyman, p. 32.) which, says he, deserves another Sort of Animadversion than from my Pen. As also for ridiculing very prophanely the HOLY Society for Reformation of Manners; which most of the Bi- shops, and Judges, and the most Eminent Clergy, have publickly own'd and honour'd, as the strongest Mound under God and the Laws, against the Overflowing of Ungod- liness. Nay, the Grand Jury too have abundant Reason to present such a pernicious Book; as fatal to Trade, no less than all Virtue, and favourable to Knavery, as well as Vice and Debauchery. And what must become of this great City, if once such Principles as these obtain? I shall add but the Remark of the forementioned Author, p. 28. Such Le- vities wou'd be unpardonable in any Preacher of the Gospel, except him who declares he hates a Religious Face; to be sure he means not his own; and we have Reason to believe, his own Looking-glass never presents such a Face to his View.*

*With the like Prophaneness he makes himself merry with the Sins of his Youth; which should be the Subject of Shame and Sorrow, as they were to the Psalmist. I fan- cy, if you enquire nicely, and very maliciously, you may find from the day of my Birth till now, that I have not kept my self without Sin. It may be I have robb'd an Orchard, and disobey'd my Master, &c. St. Austin, after his Age, look'd back with another-guise View on the same Transgression; he did not think the Breach of the 8th Commandment a jesting Matter; but gives it a large place in his Confessions, and makes very severe Refle- ctions thereon. This Author seems of the Profane Pope's Mind, That wonder'd God should be so angry with Mankind for an Apple or two.*

*I have*



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*I have not enquir'd at all, much less nicely, after his Character and Conversation; so far from that, I know not where his Lodging or Lecture is, (if he have one); but I have met with Accounts, or rather they have come home to me, of a much fresher Date, and much deeper Dye: But I would expose no Clergyman, except the Doctor, whom I deny to be such, as having professedly ridicul'd the Name Protestant, and espous'd the French and Popish Interest: And therefore I shall only stile this Author, what he seems proud of being thought, a very wild licentious Youth.*

*There is one Point more, that I and most others are at a loss about, viz. when he is in Jest, and when in Earnest; what he would have pass for Romance, and what for Reality; or whether he would have the whole Vindication understood as the Letter to me. There is not the least Appearance of Veracity in that, but an Affectation of impudent Lying; as if a Clergyman was not ty'd to Truth in the least, if he can but make the Societies for Reformation ridiculous. He says, I know a great Man I am related to, has left me in his Will Two of Oliver's Shillings, and a great Silver Calve's Head, &c. Now all this is a mere Fiction without Question, tho' usher'd in with this solemn Asseveration I KNOW. So a little before he affirms, that his Printer has a New Edition of the English Rogue in the Press, which is the Reason he has not printed the Black List of my Rogueries, which would spoil the Sale, being so very like. This agrees well with my other Characters of Madman, Fool, Coxcomb, Blockhead, Stupid, Ignorant Wretch; if this were true, it would have been publish'd, or advertis'd by this time. Yet he seems, or would be thought, serious, when he tells me, that Dr. Sacheverell is very much my Friend; for when he shew'd to him the amazing Accounts of my scandalous Life, which flow'd every Day into the Printer's Shop from Iver, from Whiston, from St. Katharines, and your other Abodes, he would not suffer me to print them.] You know I ask'd you, if you had receiv'd any Letters from Whiston, and you own'd you had seen none; and how should they find their way to the Printer's Shop, (which is usually a Garret) but thro' your Hands: However, that I might be sure, I sent to Whiston, and receiv'd this Certificate.*

*Whiston,*



# P R E F A C E.

Whiston. Feb. 14. 17<sup>th</sup>.

**T**Hese are to satisfy the World as to what H. Clements has published, that he has Letters from Whiston concerning the Reverend Mr. Bisset: All We of the said Town that can write, do utterly deny ever sending any such Letters; and thereto We have set our Hands.

Thomas Colles, senior.  
Robert Law.  
Mary Law.  
John Briarly.  
Thomas Morris, sen.  
Thomas Morris, jun.  
Beatrice Morris.

David Gillitt.  
George Dawkes.  
Robert Dawkes.  
Joyce Dawkes.  
Sarah Thomson.  
Robert Johnson, sen.  
Thomas Briarly.

Robert Johnson, jun.  
William Colles.  
Mary Morris.  
Thomas Colles, jun.  
Sarah Colles.  
Elizabeth Miles.

And if Iver had not been too large a Parish (being 30 Miles about) and too full of Inhabitants, I doubt not to have procur'd the like thence; for after between 6 and 7 Years, I left not one Enemy that I know of, or could suspect, at my coming away. However, since the English Rogue is not yet ready for Publication, you have my free Consent, setting your own and the Author's Names (as I have done mine) to Print 'em as soon as you please. I would farther desire to know of you, Whether such Insinuations are not Knavish (p. 77.) about my Courting my Maid [he barbarously left her after a Courtship of many years, and Promises to ———] Was there ever such a Break us'd by an honest Man? Is it not expected that the Reader should add [to marry her?] Is not this raising a Slander so as to be out of the reach of an Action? Which, however the other of my being Expell'd the University, and my Horses being seiz'd for non-payment, are sufficient grounds for. Is not that too such another Knavish Hint, p. 62. the Horses were seiz'd by the Man that sold them; the Carpenter has his Stable again. Who would not understand this as it was design'd to be taken, for his Money? Whereas he and all the other Workmen were paid, as I can make appear by their Bills and Receipts above three Years before. The last thing I would put to you, which it greatly concerns your Credit to be clear of, is, whether you did not print and publish my pretended Recantation, dated from S. Kath. Jan. 17. 1710-11. whereas I was then, and near a Fortnight after, in Northamptonshire; 'twas drawn up by the same Hands with the Dr.'s Vindication, as I am assur'd by their intimate Acquaintance; and my Publishers Names put in the Title Page, the better to deceive the World. And it did so in great Measure; for several have been since with me, to know if it were mine: And I receiv'd this Night a Letter out of the Country to be satisfy'd of the Truth; for the Writer assures me the Parson of their Parish has told him, I have retracted all, and humbly begg'd the Dr.'s Pardon; and soon after came one to me with a Message from Harwich to the same Effect.

Now this is a downright Forgery, like the Latin Sentence in the Gunpowder Sermon when preach'd at Oxford; and if the Authors go on in this Practice, the Review may in time be even with them, and triumph in his Turn, as the Writer or Writers most barbarously do over him, p. 2. Farewel.

St. Katherine's, Feb. 21.

1710-11.



# *The Modern Fanatick.*

## PART II.

**I**N a small Treatise that I publisht a little above a Year ago, I declar'd that I did not think my self bound to take any Notice of, or bestow the Pains of an Answer upon *Anonymous Libels*: and therefore if any one shall think fit to write against me, let him fairly set his Name in the Front, as I have always done, and then (by the Help of God) he shall have a Reply. For he that writes what he dares not own, seems to be either Knave or Fool, or both. (I always except modest Men, who conceal their own Names that God may have all the Glory.) But for such as enter the Lists in a *Polemical Way*, 'tis fit we should see whom we have to deal with, and not fight in the dark, which must needs make mad Work.\* If they'll kick fair, and not basely come behind to trip up my Heels, I care not if I have a Game or two at Football with them; but if they skulk behind the Scenes, and play least in sight, while I am on the Stage as a Mark for their Malice; I declare once more, I am for no Combats *incognito*. By Vertue of this Declaration, I might fairly enough have been excus'd from this Trouble, since nothing has yet come out against me with a Name to it; and the pretended *Vindication* now before me, is so very slight, and superficial, so far from entring into the Merits of the Cause, that (as several have told me) 'tis really a Vindication of *my Book*, rather than of the *Doctor*; that they knew not well what to think before, but now they see plainly, I had good Grounds for what I advanc'd; for there is scarce a sixth Part of what I produce dispu-

\* Cædimus inque vicem præbemus crura, sagittis;  
Vivitur hoc pacto; sic novimus. *Pers.*



ted ; and nothing at all disprov'd. Indeed who could expect any thing of a serious Defence from one who set out in such a jocular Manner ? whose whole Design is manifestly to banter, and not by Dint of Argument to confute. And who can tell what to believe, when there is such a Mixture of Fable, and palpable Falshoods all the Way ? May not Mrs. *Hearst's* and Sir *John's* Letters (for ought appears to the contrary) be of the same Strain and Stamp with my *Recantation*, and their *Silver Calves Head*, or *Frior Bacon's Brazen Head*, either of which have as much Truth and Wisdom to shew as the Authors. But that he never intended to vindicate the Doctor, that is to wash an *Aethiop*, tho' he declares (p. 98.) *I cannot proceed to the other Part of his Book, having at this time undertaken to stand in Defence of Dr. Sacheverell's Cause only*, is very plain ; since of 99 Pages, he spends 58, and is gone no further than the first of twelve Articles ; and yet can find Room for a most impertinent Excursion (for such all the World confesses it to be) about a *Lady's Shifts on a Lawrel Hedge* ('tis a Sign what his Thoughts run upon), and melting down the Lead of a certain Turret into Standishes and Bullets.

*Dic aliquid de tribus capellis.*

The very Scheme of the Performance (if nothing else) betrays the Design of *Trifling* and *Amusing*, and not coming home and close to the Matter : For who ever went about the Defence of one who was charg'd with high and heinous Crimes, and that in plain Terms, and above-board, by the loose rambling Way of *Dialogue*, which is fitter for a *Droll* than a *Defence* : And he does manage it the most awkwardly that ever was seen ; he makes his *Whig* say the silliest things, and most inconsistent with his Character that can be imagin'd ; he makes him a Convert several times, and then a *Whig* again ; makes him knock under to his potent Arguments, renounce his Cause, *Page 37. resolve to break my Windows*, and *Page 75. he is still but in the Agonies of Conversion*. 'Tis from first to last a true *σχιμαχία*, a Fighting with his own Shadow ; he raises Mud-Walls and Banks of Sand, and then gloriously triumphs in demolishing them ; and makes the poor *Whig* (for he may do what he will with him) applaud his Wit, and trumpet out his Praises ; as, *Page 65. After an Account of their Tavern-Convocation, and the Censures past there on the Moderate Men: Says the Whig, very consistently with his own Principles; I think you give a fair and handsome Account of this Matter; and I am pleased to*

hear



## PART II. *The Modern Fanatick.* 3

hear that the Clergy are so well employed when they meet together. Did ever a conceited vain-glorious Novice compliment himself at this fulsom rate? But is this according to *Horace's Rule*?

*Scribere personæ modo convenientia cuique.*

However, since that *abominable Forgery* of my pretended *Recantation*, and the Menaces of such *Recriminations* as shall make my Eyes sore, and my Ears tingle, render an Answer necessary (tho' many have dissuaded me from it, as altogether needless) I shall only make some short Remarks, (the two Letters to the Doctor from Oxford, and from the Clergyman, having brought this Task within a narrow Compass); shew the Weakness of his Replies to my Charge, and the Falshood of what, without the least Offer of Proof, or so much as the first Letter of his Author's Names, he has cast upon me; tho' I have fresh Matter, and that well attested, enough to take up many Pages, when his Letters from *Iver, Whiston, &c.* shall have led the Way, and given me a just Handle for *Reprisals* upon him and his *Abettors*.

The first thing I shall take Notice of is, *Page 2.* his construing that hard *Latin Sentence Clause by Clause*, like a School-boy: *Non quod amem, not because I love thee; sed quod odio habeam, because I hate thee;* and yet he calls him Neighbour! Here's an excellent Comment for a Minister to make upon that *Royal Law, thou shalt love thy Neighbour as thy self;* and that of *St. John, He that hateth his Brother is a Murderer.* No wonder, his Mind being in a Posture so suited to the Enterprize, as he says a few Lines further, (I have heard of Bodily Postures often, but never of Mental, *i.e.* Invisible Postures before; and I fancy 'twould puzzle even *Posture-Master Clark* to express 'em) he makes that virtuous Resolution, *I'll let it loose, and take my Fill of Roaring at your abominable Clan.* The Doctor, whose Cause he pleads, thought himself call'd to *blow the Trumpet in Zion*, but I know no Warrant a Minister of the Gospel has for *Roaring*, the small still Voice better becomes them; but I suppose this is brought as a Proof, that he is, what he boasts in his Letter to me, a great Tory, for such may truly say, *Isa. 59. 11. We roar all like Bears*, and to make the Simile compleat, are as rude too, and far more ravenous.

*Page 3.* Speaking of that *Miscreant B----t*, I know the Abilities of the Man to be so despicably weak----- This is scarce Sense, for weak Abilities is like full of Emptiness, and he that is most despicably weak has certainly in the same Respect no Abilities at all;



all; but how can he say, *I know 'em to be so*? I never saw the pert Youth that owns and glories in this doughty Performance, that I know of, and am sure never chang'd a Word with him; and be my few Writings that are made publick never so weak, (as every ones Talent does not lie *that Way*) it does not follow but I may have some *small Abilities*, tho' not *weak*, in something else, for any thing a meer Stranger can **KNOW** to the contrary. A few Lines farther he calls the *Impeachment*, drawn up by the *Honourable House of Commons*, declar'd to be made good by a considerable Majority of the *House of Lords*, and by a Majority of the *Bishops*; and had all been present 'tis well known the Majority had been yet greater; and approv'd by the *Queen*, who declar'd it *A necessary Occasion of taking up their Time*, one of the *First-rate Party-Stupidities of the Faction*. I will not call this *bold Stroke* as he does my mention of Resisting the *Mob*, *High-Treason*; but it seems to me to border upon it, and I remember the Time when it would have cost a Man his Liberty and Estate, if not his Life.

Page 4. He says the *Whigs* have neither *Honour*, *Conscience*, nor *Loyalty*; that *Forgery*, *Slander*, and barefac'd *Lying*, are the chief *Weapons* of their *Warfare*; *Have we so long heard you acknowledge the Advantage of throwing Dirt, that some will stick if plentifully bestow'd*? this is like *profest Knaves and Hypocrites*: Was ever Man so senseless as to acknowledge this, and in their Enemies Hearing too, who are to be bespatter'd? But All such *Weapons*, he says, *serve only to give us Mirth, they administer to our Pleasure and not to our Pain*. Here's Language for one in *Holy Orders*! Is not this that worst of Sins call'd *εμψυχενανία*, or *Rejoicing in Iniquity*? *Forgery, Lying, and Slander give them Mirth, and administer to their Pleasure*. Is this like the Royal Prophet? *Revers of Tears run down my Eyes, because Men keep not thy Law*. Or rather like *Solomon's Fool*, that *makes a Mock at Sin*: And 'tis to be fear'd, while he does so, *says in his Heart there is no God*. *Charity rejoiceth not in Iniquity, but rejoiceth in the Truth*.

Page 5. He says, *I have been with Dr. S-----l, and he has furnisht me with such Materials as I think will convince the most implicate Whig that every Story in that Book is a malicious Slander; that there is not the least Grounds for any of them*. Here's a thorough-pac'd *Voucher*! The Doctor has taken care to choose a *Nail that will drive*. Who after all this will venture to believe one Syllable he says? He sticks at nothing, no not the grossest Self-contradiction, to serve his Master, and is just such a *Tool* for the Doctor, as he for the *Jacobites*; but Liars have need



of good Memories : For when he comes to the very first Story of all about the *Uncle*, he says, *Page 24. Truly Old Rump, this Story has some Foundation ; for indeed the Doctor's Presbyterian Uncle did come to see him after his Trial, &c.* Reconcile these if you can ; Every Story in that Book is a malicious Slander, and there is not the least Grounds for any of them, and yet Truly the first has some Foundation, but without the least Grounds : It has not only some Grounds, but as the *Uncle* himself has inform'd the World, 'twas far worse in all Respects than I have represented it. Again, *Page 63.* about what pass'd at the *Mitre-Tavern-Club*. " I my self (says our Historiographer) was in Company " at that Time ; the Doctor did mention his Competitors----- " with some of the little *Sarcasms of Conversation* which give a " Relish to it. Very pretty ; Back-biting and *Sarcasms*, i. e. *Ironia amara*, bitter Jeers, (as any System of Rhetorick will inform him) on absent and deceased Persons, are the *Pickles* and *Anchovies* to give a Relish to their *Tavern-Divinity-Lectures* ; for sometimes (it seems) they preach over their Bottle, and mix a little bitter with their Wine ; and the *Nods* and *Titubations* of *Tillotson*, and *Stillingsfleet* (I may well be content with plain B-----t when those who are so much my Betters are treated at the same slovenly Rate) were pitch'd on for the present Diversion ; and what were these *Titubations*, they stumble not like them with Wine, but *Heterodox Notions*, no less than *Socinianism*, and the Denial of eternal Torments in Hell. Yet after all there is not the least Grounds for this Story ; tho' it comes from another that was at the Conference, whose Account may be more safely depended on than the *Vindicator's*. Again, There is not the least Grounds for the Story of his coming to be ordain'd, and his Behaviour to the Bishop of L---d and Cov---y ; and yet he owns near all, that he defended the *Latin* against the Bishop, and was sent back without Orders, i. e. was refused ; and denies nothing but a farther Examination. This brings to my Mind a Passage of *Dr. South's*, in his Book against *Dr. Sh---ck*, after he had knock'd all the School-men o'th Head, and left 'em for dead ; He is graciously pleas'd to stretch forth his Golden Sceptre of Self-contradiction, and restore them to Life again. I hope the Reader is now convinc'd, that every one of them are not ENTIRELY the Children of that fertile Womb of Forgery and Lyes.

*Page 6.* Speaking of me : His Conversation is Impudent, Reviling, and unhandsonly Reproving : He shoots out his Arrows, even bitter Words— In his Morals he is Lewd, Sensual, Devilish, even to assaulting Women at Noon-Day, and in his Gown :



*Gown*: Now let any Person of common Sense judge if these Characters can be made to agree: For if I were that open, undisguis'd, scandalous Sinner he makes me, durst I be so sharp upon others? Must I not expect, upon every Reproof, to be told my own, and have my Mouth stop'd with my own flagitious Practices? I have indeed reprov'd many Persons for Swearing, Cursing, and other gross Immoralities, but never in my Life, that I can remember, met with any such Reply; or so much as, *Physician, heal thy self*. But if I assault Women at Noon-day, why don't they, or their Relations, bring their *Action of Assault*? I am sufficiently known, and have Enemies, more than enough, to take such an Advantage against me. But if by *assaulting* (which is very improper) he means *Picking up*; I once more declare, before God and the World, that I never committed Fornication, much less Adultery; never offer'd to pick up any Woman in my Life, nor entertain'd a Thought, or Purpose of so doing: If I had, so many spiteful Adversaries as I have would have soon found her out, and brought her to confront me: And indeed, I cannot but admire, and adore the gracious Providence of God, in restraining Human, and Diabolical Malice; when so many good Men have been not only aspers'd, but sworn against, to the loss or danger of their Lives, that no one has been suborn'd to charge me with taking a Purse on the Road; or to lay a Bastard to me; or to affirm that he cur'd me of a Clap; or found me Drunk in a *Saw-pit, all over Mire*; or in a Kennel, and carried me home; but have been so far left to follow their own Inventions, as to charge me with nothing, but what I can, by *authentick Testimonies*, disprove. 'Tis well known in this Neighbourhood, where I am not much befriended, (and who can expect I should, considering whom I live near) that my Wife and Children are in *Northamptonshire*, which I call my Home: And that I have had for these 2 Years, a Widow Gentlewoman, younger than my self (with a Maiden Daughter about 16) Sister to one of the greatest Persons in the Kingdom, living with me in the House; a Person of a very good Family and Estate, and of the clearest Character; who was long, and well acquainted in these Parts, before she came to my House; and could not have mist of my Character were I guilty of such barefac'd Immoralities, *For he that hideth such hideth the Wind, or the Oyntment of his Right Hand, which bewrayeth it self*. And is it likely, she would venture her Person, Daughter, and Reputation, with so lewd a Miscreant, there being no other Woman, besides Servants, in the House,



House, (especially if I were a Madman) and so live in danger of daily Assaults.

Page 7. He charges me with no less than *High Treason*, because I declare, that if the *Mob* had attack'd my House while I was in it, (I don't mean only by breaking my Windows, but as they did the Meeting-houses, to plunder, pull down, and burn, and as they had resolv'd, if they could have found Mr. *Burgess*, to throw him into the Fire;) I think it my Duty, against a *Frenchify'd Rabble*, to have defended my House as long, and sold my Life as dear as I could; and I am still of the same Judgment, and all his Reasons can never convince a Thinking-Man of the contrary. But why is it *High Treason* to resist those whom the *Queen* declar'd *Rebels*? He tells us, Page 10. *He that preaches [the Doctrine of Resistance] and he that practices it, is a Rebel to God and the King.* A Rebel to God and the King; there's special Grammar, like his Tutor's *Perils of False Brethren*: I always thought it had been against: Does any one say, *to rebel to the King*? tho' some may pretend to *rebel for him*. But what *King* is this? We have, God be praised, a *Queen* on the Throne; and the next *Expectant* is a *Princess*. I'm afraid he means the *Person* whom no *Man* dares name; and thinks him a *False Brother* that won't pledge the same.

Page 8. He tells the Reader, *He* (i. e. B----t) swears he would have made strange *Havock*; and yet there is nothing like an Oath; nor will any Mortal, I am certain, lay any such thing to my Charge.

As to that foolish Slander, that the *Dissenters* pull'd down their own *Meeting-Houses*; I reply with the Clergyman, P. 31. *What cannot a Man believe who believes that? He may sure be brought to swallow the Belief of Transubstantiation in Time.* Good Mrs. Hearst says, P. 31. *You was never guilty of a Childish Action.* I cannot say so of your *Vindicator*; for no one but a Child would offer to argue as he does. And as to his base and barbarous Reflections on the Reverend Mr. *Hoadly*, I leave this Beginner to his Masterly Pen, if he shall think him worthy of his Chastisement. But that's a most villainous Attempt to direct the *Mob* to St. Peter's Poor, and tell them, Page 12. *Vengeance should begin there first.* If this be not to play the *Incendiary*, I know not what is. Especially when he adds, Page 11. *That the Rebels were hurried on by their Zeal for a good Cause*; and 'tis plain, he endeavours to kindle the same consuming Zeal again.



*Page 13.* Is taken up in reviling me : *1st.* For boasting of the Greatness of my Family : Whereas I said no more but that my Father was always a *Royalist*, and fought for King Charles the First, from the beginning of the War to *Worcester Fight*, where he was taken Prisoner, being then a Cornet, which is no great Post ; and was ever after forc'd, both abroad and at home, to earn his Bread ; but, God be prais'd, never to beg it : Nor was he beholding to any, but God and his own Industry ; tho' he might have expected, his long Services should be consider'd at the Restoration.

The next Crime he charges me with, is accusing a *Brother Clergyman* ; and *Page 23.* he falls foul on those who sit and speak against their Brethren, and slander their own Mother's Sons : To which the Letter of the Clergy-man replies, *Page 31.* He who can outdo you two that way, is a great Proficient in that noble Science : And let me tell him, that he has wounded, as far as in him lay, the Reputation of some worthy Men, for which he must expect to be call'd to a severe Account, unless he repents, and makes them all the Publick, and Honourable Amends he can. But I did it, he says, without the least proper and necessary Testimony. Do not I refer to his Uncle for my 1st Charge ? to Mr. Eberal, for that Passage, of seeing King William dewitted ; to Dr. Boyse, and Mr. Parker, for his drinking the Pretender's Health many times, by the Name of King James the Third ? to Mr. Ryley, naming his Trade, and Place of Abode in Oxford, for his Prophanenets and Injustice ; (and since, the Head of an House has sent for Mr. Ryley, and examin'd him, and he stood to the Truth of it) to Mr. Anthony Clark ; and to his poor Washer-woman, who is still alive there ? And had I put in the Names of my other Authors at large, might not I justly expect foul Practices might be us'd by the Party, to take them off ? and when it came to a Tryal (as I expected ; and he has his sure Remedy at Law, both Common and Civil) I should perhaps have my Evidence to seek ; for one of the Chief has been tamper'd with, and desir'd to unsay what he had said ; but the Volpone that was with him, met with this mortifying Answer, That he would (if call'd to it) declare, not only that, but much more.

As to the next Charge, that I betray, revile, and ridicule a Church that gives me my Bread ; I never eat any but what God gave me, to whom I pray, and not to the Church, Give me this Day my daily Bread. What I have is owing (under God) to my own honest Labour, in instructing Youth. But who most ridicules the Church and all that is Sacred, I, or the Do-  
ctor



Doctor and his Vindicator, I leave to God, and every serious Christian to judge. There is yet no Answer to that Part of my Book, and I'm sure no one can shew in that, or any else of my Writings, a Word against any *real Part* of our *Constitution*, but only their *Traditional Customs*, and palpable Disorders; and I think 'tis the greatest Faithfulness to the *Church* to point out what is amiss; since a *Convocation* may soon amend it. As to my Profession, that *for the last 21 Years I have done no one the least real Wrong*; I said, *that I know of*; yet I always pray with David, *Lord cleanse me from my secret sins*; there may be some I never perceiv'd, or have forgot: But I hear of none yet that is charg'd upon me; tho' there are Eyes enough upon me, *nicely and maliciously* (as this Author words it) to pry into my Behaviour. And as to the Doctor, I see nothing but one or two Circumstances that do not enter the Merits of the Cause, in which I am wrong. Yet, P. 14. he lays me under *consummate*, i. e. finish'd *Reprobation*; (a Doctrine which he scarce believes) and after all, *prays God* (how heartily let any one judge) *to forgive me*; and puts this prophane Remark into his Whig's Mouth, *You are plaguy Pious* (here's Language for a Minister) *on a sudden, make a Man a Devil, and then pray for him.*

Passing over that fulsom *Harangue* of the *Tories* good Temper, Page 16. *We bore you, we endur'd you, we suffer'd you*; as if one would not have serv'd, to leave more Room for the Doctor's *Vindication*, and yet, Page 17. *It was a Noble Entertainment to see the soporiferous Draughts of Moderation spued up*, (the English Reader will be much the wiser for such cramp Words.) He starts next a Case of Conscience, which was scarce ever met with before, *Whether a good Christian may with Safety to his Conscience kill a Thief that either assaults him in his House or upon the Road?* I never heard of their Title to *Non-Resistance* before; and I believe the Gangs would raise him large Contributions, if he would serve them so far as to convince the World of this Doctrine. His Conscience is wondrous tender of hurting *Tories* and *Banditti*, when Mr. Tutchin's was an honest *Drubbing*; and *I ought to be ston'd*, (which cannot be legally, our Law knowing no such Punishment, and therefore by lawless Violence) *into the other World.* I may truly say, *His Voice is the Voice of Jacob, but the Hands are the Hands of Esau.* Now I am of another Mind, that if all honest Men would stoutly defend their own against such *Sons of Violence*, they would have little Stomach to that Trade, but betake themselves to honest Labour; and perhaps the killing 2 or 3 upon the Spot might save as  
C many



many Hundreds from the Gallows: But if all were of his pretended Judgment, how would any Robbers be taken and brought to condign Punishment; for when beset they are generally desperate, and are seldom seiz'd without Loss of Blood, or Hazard of Life.

As to his Friend Dr. W---n's wife Saying, P. 22. before the *Licentiancy*, the Commons of Great Britain have impeach'd the guiltless, and manag'd against Heaven; his Sentiments about the Revolution, and Hannover Succession, were sufficiently discovered on the last Thirtieth of January, and Time may come when he shall be oblig'd to explain himself. Page 23. He calls me *Apostate*, as if I had ever been *High Church*, or had any other Opinion than now of their *Traditional Customs*.

The Story of the Uncle is confess'd; therefore I shall only observe in the Close of it, Page 26. his wise Calculation of the Dissenters: They are a poor despicable handful of aspiring Schismatics; so inconsiderable in respect to the Number of Church-men, that I think they can never be superiour to us, till our Sins have provok'd, and their Goodness induc'd God to suffer one to chase 1000. If they were as he computes, our Country-men ought not to be so despicable in our Eyes, for he that despiseth his Neighbour sinneth, and why dost thou set at nought thy Brother? But he must certainly be out in his Reckoning of one to 1000. I believe the English Dissenters, and Presbyterians of North Britain, if once we come to tell Noses, will very near match (for ought I know exceed) the Number of Church-men; and if from a Prohibition of all Commerce (which is so highly commend-ed) and the gentle Reproof of throwing Stones into their Houses, a further Rupture should ensue, the Pretender might make his triumphant Entry, and the Church of Rome would soon make both know to their Cost, that she vastly exceeds for Numbers, and can out-poll us all; and then some Men would have their Ends.

He confesses, Page 27. Where there is an Absence of these Vertues (natural Affection to his Kindred, and Gratitude to his Benefactors) the Man is a Monster, and should be treated as such: Yet he had own'd his Churlishness to his Uncle, who is not pretended to have given him any Cause of Offence: and his scurrilous Treatment of the Bishop of Sarum, who help'd his Mother into a College, which is something better than an Hospital; so by his own Principles the Man is a Monster, &c.

As to that Excellent Lady, Page 28. a lofty Title for a Country Apothecary's Widow, and the extraordinary Letter, not to be match'd in the whole Academy of Complements, which that  
Lady



Lady SIGN'D, if all Parts of it are equally true, twill gain very little Belief in the World: for if she never knew him guilty of any *immoral*, nay of any *childish Action*, it will follow that either she knew very little of him, and so is not a competent Witness, or that he was *sanctified like St. John the Baptist from the Womb*, and yet even he I believe might have done some childish Action in his Time: St. Paul confesses that *when he was a Child he spake as a Child, thought as a Child*, but St. Cheverel, (as some stile him) in his very Childhood was above all these. I wish he could say with him in the next Words, *When I became a Man I put away childish things.*

*Hen! quam dissimiles hic vir, & ille puer. Ovid.*

But admitting this Part of the Attestation, and her Account of the Family, which the Uncle has at large confuted in Print, not to weaken the other, as it must with any thinking Person; several have observ'd as well as I, 'tis nothing to the Purpose. My Words were, *He is reported to have turn'd a bitter Enemy to the Family that maintain'd him a poor Orphan at School, and sent him to the University.* I did not say to *all the Family* there might be some (and here is an Account of one) that he carried it fair to: Her Words are, *Page 29. [So far as relates to MY SELF]* she should have said, and my deceased Husband, and the rest of my Relations, if she would have clear'd him. As to the Reflexions on the Doctor's Grandfather, which, if true, border on the Sin of *Cham*; I refer the Reader to his Uncle's printed Account, who assur'd me he is nothing a-kin to the late *High Sheriff of Derby*, and then how can the Doctor be? So that the whole Letter seems all of a Piece, and not at all to the Purpose. Yet the Vindicator sums up the whole Evidence with this *Decisive, P. 33. That this B--t is a Knight of the Post.* (Should I let the World know what he is, a Pulpit would not be thought the fittest Place for him.) Did I make any Oath? or say any more than *He is reported*, and I am sure I had it from good Authority. If I am a *Knight of the Post* for a false Report, which I really thought, and still think to be true, what is he for forging a Paper, as under my Hand, with Date of Time and Place, and publishing it as such?

We come now to the Matter of the *Bishop of Sarum*, and the Service he did the Doctor's Mother; where he wilfully misconstrues my Meaning, as if I reproach'd him with his Mother's Poverty; whereas I expressly say, *Page 15. I would not be so understood*



derstood, as if Poverty were a just Reproach. But withal, I would have the Son of a Pauper demean himself as such, and not as if he were Son to the first Duke in the Kingdom. The insolent Reproaches on that very learned Prelate, Page 34. That he has almost routed the Doctrines of the Church of England, and brought them into Contempt and Disuse; and the very silly Banter about the Pig, Scotch-Cloth, and Brawn, much like the Shifts on the Laurel Hedge, deserve a severe Censure from the Convocation, or his Diocesan; for he has taken the surest way to explode Episcopacy, and bring the Persons and Authority of Bishops into utmost Contempt: And never was that Prophecy more evidently fulfill'd, Isa. 3. 5. The Child shall behave himself proudly against the Antient, and the Base against the Honourable.

But see the Absurdity of this young Writer, he makes the Whig, Page 37. applaud him, and that with an Oath; Why, Faith, I don't know what to say to you; I believe thou'lt make me turn Tory. I shall run, in my Zeal, and break B---t's Windows. That's a wise Stroke: To break Windows is (he confesses) the true Zeal of a Tory. But Page 38. About the Welch Confederates, he plays the Fool yet more egregiously, and makes his Whig (still owning himself such) confess, that if a Story be black enough, we desire no more. Can it be imagin'd, that he would thus betray the Secrets of his Party. As to his Political Discourse, Page 39, and 40. about excluding the Dissenters from all Commerce, by virtue of that Maxim, Keep them poor and they'll be quiet; which he calls a Revolution Principle, like the Doctor's Revolution Party; and we know how well they are affected to it; I leave that to the Parliament, and Commissioners of Trade.

This Youth would have made a fit Tool for some Reigns, when Men were condemn'd for Innuendo's. Page 41. He quotes me thus, High-Church-Tyranny [that is the present Administration] is worse than Nero's and Dioclesian's; If he had been on Col. Sydneys Jury, he would not have gone from the Bar, but upon the first Sight of Nero, in his Closet-Papers, have pronounc'd him guilty; yet he has the Impudence in the next Line to insult the last Parliament; and Page 42. the late Lord High Ch-----r; which is speaking Evil of Dignities in the basest way.

Page 43. We have his Vindication of the Mob, as well as the Doctor, That the Stones which the Mob threw only did the Errand they were sent upon, just reprov'd the Family, for not Illuminating their Windows, they hardly went into the Room: Then they stuck



in the Holes which they made ; for if not, they must either fall in the Room, or fall back into the Street, and either way endanger the Life of some. But was ever such Non-sense as what he has put into the Mouth of his *Whig* ? If you can prove this, (about the Woman in *Fleetstreet*,) then we are Sons of Belial, Rogues, and whatever you'll please to call us. He makes him put the whole Reputation of his Friends on this Issue, whether a Story (which he owns to have been common Town-Talk) were true, or false ; for the same Stones, instead of one, might have kill'd some Hundreds : And then he adds a most prophane Jest ; that *she had a Funeral Sermon in many Meetings ; is look'd upon as a Martyr ; and is call'd Stephen's Sister*. But behold yet a far worse Absurdity. He makes his *Whig* say, *I think the Villain (meaning me) deserves the Death he speaks of, to be ston'd into the other World ; for it is not fit the Fellow should live. That it would be MERITORIOUS in ANY of them to chastise him. If a Whig must be such a false Knave as this, God bless the High-Church, say I. And yet (prodigious Ignorance and Sottishness!) he makes him a stanch Whig again but 2 Leaves farther ; and after he had call'd me, in one short Paragraph, Villain, Fellow, false Knave, and made it meritorious to knock my Brains out. He says, Page 50, Indeed Neighbour you banter too much, Mr. B---t is in the right. And himself had said before, she had a Funeral Sermon in many Meetings, as a Martyr, because she was ston'd to Death ; and yet I am a Villain, not fit to live, for reporting it. If I should be murder'd (as there is no Stone left unturn'd to procure it) my Death will, in a great Measure, lie at young Mr. L---b's Door.*

While I am writing this, the Husband of the Party deceas'd came to my House, I having some Days before desir'd to speak with him ; and declares, that he and his Wife went to bed as well in Health, except a Cough, as ever in their Lives ; that after they had been some time in bed, there came in abundance of Stones at the Window, some reach'd to the Bed ; his Wife was immediatele taken with a Fright and Shivering, and continu'd so about 12 Days, when she died ; and both the Doctor and Apothecary gave their Judgment, that the Fright was the Cause of her Death. The next Morning, as many Stones as fill'd 2 pretty large Boxes, were found in the Rooms and Balcony. Now if the Mob, in obedience to the Doctor and his Vindicator, had dispatch'd me for this Story, I should have had *Naboth's Fate*. As to the Circumstance of her being with Child, (which is not material) I own I was misinform'd :  
And



And I had declared before, that in such a variety of Matter, after the utmost Caution, I might be misinform'd, and that I would readily confess my Mistake.

Page 45. We have a Parallel drawn between King Charles the First, and Mr. Tutchin, who (he says) had an *honest dry Drubbing, just as much as he deserv'd, and no more*; but that's more barbarous yet, to murder his Memory, as if he dy'd of the Pox; when I have been assur'd from good Hands 'tis wholly a Slander. Why does not the Chyrurgion who dissected him attest it, (as this Author says) he will? *Tutchin, he says, was sent out of the World with his Head broke; but the King was sent into the other World without his Head.* This comes very near the *Irishman's Bull*, that St. Patrick swam to *Holyhead* with his Head in his Teeth: Was not King Charles's Head buried in the same Coffin with his Body? And how then was he sent without it, any more than the old Woman of 70 Years (tho' not much above 50) *who died as fairly of a Dropsy as any one in the Bills of Mortality.* We have soon after another Falshood in Fact, that the *Drawer's Nose in Greenwich was slic'd off*: Why then are not the Actors in this Tragedy prosecuted upon the *Coventry Act*?

What horrible Language is that for a Minister? Next Line, *there is a deal of Difference between you Saints and us*: Is not that a *Scripture Term*? and ought it then to be ridicul'd? And if they neither pretend nor affect to be such, how can they be meet to be *Partakers of the Inheritance of the Saints in Light*? Again, What a villanous Reflection is that on the Queen and her late Ministry; Page 46. *That if the Whigs had kill'd a Bishop or a Parson, he doubts whether they would have been hang'd for it a little while ago.*

I had said, that even *Dissenting Ministers* have contributed to Church of England Lecturers. This he tells me is a *Lye*. Is not Mr. *Milburn* a real Church-man in his Account? Yet he, I affirm, has receiv'd such Contributions: And yet this confident Writer will give the Lye to a Fact he knows nothing of. Soon after he says, of 6 worthy Conformists, of otherguise Morals than he and his Doctor, that *they receive their 30 Pieces of Silver upon Judas's Terms, to betray their Saviour*: Who is now the Accuser of the Brethren? I accus'd but one single Man, whom the Representative Body of the Nation had publickly condemn'd, and who could not be defended without a sort of Schism, by disowning the Fathers of the Church, a considerable Majority of whom are against him. He damns them by Half-Dozens for the Disciples of Judas. And P. 47. Fa-



*natick lukewarm Sons of Moderation*; charges 'em with *Heresie* and *Schism*, and says at the Bottom, *I thought I had a fair Opportunity*; and he could not possibly deny himself the *Pleasure of Speaking against*, in such opprobrious Terms, *his own Mother's Sons*.

The two next Pages, 48 and 49. are taken up with a certain Peer, *his Coach-horses, Turret, and his Lady's Shifts*, of which being wholly foreign, enough already. Page 50, 51, 52, and 53, are spent upon that wretched senseless *Sophism* about the *Advocates in Heaven*; this gives him an Opportunity which I suppose he is as glad of as the last, of railing at his Betters, to shew his Skill in *Greek*, and let me know, Page 52, that an *English* Treatise only is level to my Understanding; whereas I could (I thank God) read a *Greek* Author before he was born, at least before he could speak. I met very lately with two Doctors and another eminent Divine of the *Establisht Church*, who all agreed 'twas a *meer Evasion*, like *his Tutor's Speech*; and the last said he was surpriz'd to find any Plea offer'd at, not doubting but the Fault would have been laid on the Printer. He tells us *Ἰπocρισις* is in the Margin render'd *Advocate*: Our Church-Bible of a late *Oxford* Edition has no such Word, nor any Bible I have; and therefore he who blames *Bishop Stillingfleet* for false References, should have told us in what Bible it is to be found: But without Recourse to the learned Languages, every *English* Reader is a competent Judge whether the Text he quotes, *Rom. 8.* does not confute him; *The Spirit helpeth our Infirmities, and maketh Intercession for us with Groanings that cannot be utter'd.* And are there *Infirmities* or *Groanings* in Heaven? Who ever suppos'd any other but that this Intercession is in our Hearts, by enabling us *as the Spirit of Grace and Supplications to intercede or plead for our selves*, and can he possibly be call'd another *Advocate in Heaven*, especially when Jesus Christ is so often stil'd by the *Church of England* our only *Mediator and Advocate*? So that the Charge of *Popery* against the Doctor holds good, notwithstanding this poor silly transparent Shuffle; and few will think the *Vindicator* the better Protestant, for calling Dr. Pearson, Page 52. almost *Infalible Prelate*.

Page 54. We have two notable Pieces of *Profaneness*. If you love a Dissenter for his Scripture Stories you may as well love Dutch Tiles. It had been well for the Doctor if he had met with the Story of *Elisha*, tho' in a Tavern Chimney, since he has not leisure to search the Scriptures, rather than make what an *High Churchman* declar'd it, such an unpardonable Blunder. But I suppose the Doctor and his Champions too (*Ib. l. 31.*)  
hate



hate a religious Face tho' in Tiles and Tapestry; it frights 'em, and makes 'em cry (Page 55.) Thieves, Tories, Moderation: Did ever the two last (indeed one is blotted out after 'twas printed) meet together before? Page 56. He calls the Church as he had done before, *The strong Man's House*, which Christ undeniably uses to signifie (*Mat. 12. 29. and Mar. 3. 27.*) the *Kingdom of Satan*: Here is a special Son of the Church, to make it not only a *Den of Thieves*, but the *Devil's Castle*!

At length, Page 58. we are come to the 2d Article, and he begins it with a Charge upon me, Page 59. *This Fellow B-----t you must know was expelled the University before he had been in it three Years*: This he affirms roundly and boldly, without any such Restriction as I us'd about the Family that brought up the Doctor, *He is reported-----* and about the Drinking-bout in *Oxford-shire*, *The Town rings---* as every one knows it did. In answer to this Calumny I declare I never had the least Reprimand from any Officer of my College, or the University; nor that I can remember, from my Tutor; and here is my *Testimonial* from the College in my 5th Year, (where 'tis plain they declare me at that very time one of the Foundation, as I was two or three Years after) which I will not, like the Doctor, put in *English*, lest it favor of Vain-glory.

**Q**UUM antiqua sit & laudabilis Academiae nostrae consuetudo, ut qui ad bonarum artium & linguarum scientiam pietatis cultum, morumque probitatem adhibuerint, justo eruditionis & pietatis testimonio honestarentur: NOS Vice-Magister, & Socii Seniores Collegii Sanctae & Individuae Trinitatis Cantabrigiae Gulielmum Bissett in Artibus Baccalaureum, primi anni & unum ex Alumnis ejusdem Collegii nostris hisce literis commendatum multis nominibus omnibus easdem inspecturis esse cupimus, eò quod apud nos per proximum triennium probe & pie se gesserit, bonis artibus diligenter operam navaverit, & ex ante acta etiam vita spem nobis praeberit futurum eum Reipublicae & Ecclesiae non inutilem. In cujus rei Testimonium Literis hisce unusquisque nostrum propria manu libens subscripsit. Dat' in Collegio nostro praedicto vicesimo septimo die mensis Maii, Anno Domini 1691. Sub Sigillo nostro quo in similibus utimur:

Ro. Scott, Vice-magister, Deput.

Guil. Lynnet.

Jo. Hawkins. Guil. Corker.

Tho. Bainbrigg.

Dan. Brattell. Joan. Ekins,

Hen. Lane.

Now



Now to shew that himself has made a much longer stay and greater Improvement in the Place of *Polite Learning*, he adds presently after, *Therefore* ('tis a Wonder it was not *Ergo*) *B—but it is a Block-head and a Coxcomb.*

As to the Charge of taking the Degree of Doctor of Divinity, I never heard it computed at less than 100 *l.* at least, without uncommon Frugality, or even Parsimony: But if the Doctor (as he publishes) has dedicated 100 *l. per annum* to his Relations, I still affirm, He ought to maintain his Mother entirely, that some other Minister's Widow that needs it (of whom there are, alas! but too many) may come in her stead, according to that *Apostolical Injunction*, 1 Tim. 5. 4. and 16.

As to the Charge upon me about my *Leather Convenience* (for the *Searcher of Hearts* knows I kept it no otherwise) being over-perswaded after much Importunity and many Refusals, to preach at a Chappel above 2 Miles from me, thrice a Week; and in my Turns here, being to read Prayers and Preach (as I constantly did) thrice a Day, and let any one judge if I was able to walk so far and back again, after such hard Work; and to have hir'd constantly would have cost me more than keeping a Coach, for I had two Horses to carry me and my Wife into the Country, before; which my Chariot would do more compleatly.

What an Heap of Falshoods has this shameless Writer cram'd into one Page? viz. 62. 1st, He says with the utmost Assurance (as if it had pass'd through his Hands) *The Fellow's Income at the most is not 120 l. per Annum*; whereas my *Rectory* alone is considerably more; and sure my *Brotherhood* here is worth something, as his *intimate Acquaintance* can inform him; and I had something allow'd me for Preaching thrice a Week, which was the only Occasion of my buying a Chariot: And I had another considerable Income, no wise depending on the Church; (as not a Shilling of *Church money* went to the Purchase of my *old Chariot*). 2dly, He says what none but the coarsest unbred Clown alive would meddle with, *That my Wife only increas'd my Family*, implying that she did not increase my Income, which is a great Falshood. 3dly, *He immediately set up his Coach*; whereas 'twas above a Year after I was married, having then no Child, nor Appearance of any. 4thly, As to my Stable, upon which he takes occasion to be very foolishly profane, there is a Turret with two thick Walls between that and the Church; and there was before a Shed with a Copper in it for a Wash-house, in the same Place: Besides the Master and the whole Chapter had view'd it about 3 Years before, and lik'd it, and let it stand, till I brought some Abuses before the *Lord High Chancellor* for redress; of all which I have already publish'd an Account. 5thly, He says, *I must farther add, that he was thus extravagant while his Sister was starving, and subsisted only by the Charity of her Acquaintance; he turn'd her out of Doors into this wretched State, because she presum'd to tell him, when she found him playing the wanton with his Head in a Woman's Bosom, that it was indecent and scandalous.* I shall not, like the Doctor, boast of my Kindness and Bounty to my Relations; but only subjoin

D

the



the following Attestation drawn up of my Sister's own accord, in her own Form, as the rest are, without any Directions from me.

Dear Brother,

Iver, Feb. 23. 17<sup>10</sup>.

**H**aving read the Book call'd The Vindication of Dr. Sacheverell, and finding there is a most notorious Slander cast upon you, with Respect to my self, I think my self under the strongest Obligations, both from Nature and Grace, to justify you, and to give the World an Account of my particular Knowledge of your Conversation from the Time I came to live with you, which was 16 Years ago. As to your Carriage to your Father, it was most obedient and obliging; delighting much in his Company, and thinking I was somewhat defective therein: To those of your Relations that had need of your Help, liberal beyond your Power; and to my self the best of Brothers; insomuch as a Lady here used to say to me, You are always Praising your Brother; for which I thought I had great Cause. As to your Carriage here as a Minister, there are many that will say, and more that are dead that did say, Iver never had the like of you, nor ever expect to have; who preached half the Year once a Day more than you were obliged, freely, and taught them from House to House, sitting many Hours in poor Cottages, to teach them and their Children: And Charitable among the Poor to the uttermost of your Power: And as for your Chastity and Honesty, I did and do believe and say, that you were truly so; neither did I ever see your Head, as your Slanderer saith, in any Woman's Bosom. When I left your House you took a Coach and went with me to my Sister, where you paid well for my Board, so that I never needed or desired the Charity of any other Person whatsoever in my whole Life; and I am still maintained by your Bounty comfortably. And as to your Maid Sarah Green, there is nothing but Falshood in the Report: You took her for a Servant, and was to her a good Master, and never pretended Courtship to her, and in my very Soul believe never touched her Lips, nor did I ever think otherwise: As to her going to Worshipping Assemblies with me, you never order'd it, but when she had tasted the good Word of God there preach'd, she said she lov'd me as her Mother for ever letting her go: And the Reason of her leaving of you, as also of mine, was your breaking up House-keeping. As to the Truth of all this I set my Hand,

Your Loving Sister,

And if need so require will  
add my Oath.

Eliz. Bisset.

6thly, The Whim of the Coach lasted but a little while; the Horses were seized by the Man that sold them. I kept the old Chariot above a Year and a half, till it was almost worn out; and when Hay was near 5 l. a Load (3 times as dear as I gave at first) I fold all together again, within 5 l. of what I gave. As to my Horses being seized by the Seller, here is the Receipt the very Day I bought them.

**R**ecieved Nov. 14. 1705. of Mr. William Bisset, Thirty Eight Pounds, Eighteen Shillings, in full for a Pair of Coach-horses and a Chariot and Harness. I say received,

l. 38 : 18

Wm Disher.

And



And let any one judge whether such a poor Purchase, (which is but the Price of one good Horse) was intended for Pomp and Shew, or Use and Convenience; tho' I know several (some of my own Function) that have kept and do keep Coaches upon less than I had. And I can further affirm I never was ask'd for Money that was due twice in my Life, and very seldom at all. I hope now the Reader will perceive the Arrogance and Absurdity of that boast which he wisely puts in the Mouth of my Advocate, P. 63. *Well, I do own this is a good Turn upon him.* The 3 next Pages are about the *Mitre-Tavern-Conference*, of which enough before. After having told us, p. 66. that *the Doctor's Behaviour was admir'd by all* (which I readily own in one Sense to be true) he comes to that Passage about the *Bishop of L——* now *W——* upon whom he basely reflects; as if his *L——p* had found Fault with the *Latin*, p. 67. in spite to the *Dean*, and this he says is *the Doctor's Belief*. I leave the World to judge whether so great a Man would reject a Candidate for Orders on so slight an Account, and without a further Examination. As to Mr. Price his only Witness, he was discarded by his *L——p* for Reasons he very well knows, and consequently his Testimony is liable to just Exception.

As to the Charge about the *Revolution*, *King William*, and the *Pretender*, let the World judge whether a Certificate of 3 Persons that they did not hear him, are a Ballance to a *positive Oath*; and no Reason was ever yet offer'd why Mr. *Eberal* should be perjur'd, (and he is a Man of a good Estate, and nothing offer'd to sully his Credit) without any imaginable Advantage. He says he has a Letter from Mr. *Samuel Parker* of *Oxford*; if so (as another Writer has lately observ'd) he would certainly have printed it, as well as Mrs. *Hearst's*, and Sir *John's*: for 'tis an allow'd Maxim, *De non entibus & non apparentibus eadem est ratio.* As to all but these two he says not a Word.

We come next to Sir *Ch—— H——t*, p. 73. whose *Curate* he says I make him; whereas my Words are, *When he was Curate, and partly Chaplain at Sir Ch—— H——t's*; only the last (as any one may see) is refer'd to him. For the Truth of what I have reported there needs no more than the following Attestation.

SIR;

London, Jan. 17. 1710.

Finding in a Vindication of Dr. Sacheverel, just publish'd by you, a partial and unfair Account of one Relation, which originally came from my self, tho' it was printed by Mr. Bisset intirely without my Knowledge, and with some Omissions and Mistakes also; I thought it proper to send the Doctor, by you, a true Account under my Hand; that in case it be at any time printed, he may not complain of my private Method of hurting his Reputation, and may take what care he can before hand for his Vindication. Only I must say, that if the rest of the Stories which pass of him, can be no better clear'd than he has clear'd this in his late Book, he had better think of altering his way, both of talking, writing, and living, than do the Christian Religion, and Church



Church of England, so much Disservice, as his vain, and loose, and unchristian Conduct at present, most certainly does to both.

I am, Sir, his and your very humble Servant,

To Mr. Henry Clements, to

be communicated to Dr.

Henry Sacheverel.

Will. Whiston.

**A**Bout the Year 1696, when I was for some time in the Country at Tamworth, and occasionally at Aston, near Birmingham in Warwickshire; at the former of which Places, the Pious, Charitable, and Learned Lady Clobery then liv'd; and at the latter, her Son-in-law, Sir Charles Holt, one of great Esteem also, for his known Learning, Sobriety, and Piety, in the regular way of the Church of England; that Living of Aston fell void. At the same time Mr. Henry Sacheverel was at, or near Aston; as having, I suppose, been Curate to the former Incumbent, Mr. Piercehouse, during his Sickness; and so frequently Conversant in Sir Charles's Family. Upon the Vacancy of Aston, Sir Charles was pleas'd, of his own accord, or at the Lady Clobery's Desire, or both, to send, by Mr. Alsop of Tamworth, the kind Offer of the Place to me, if it was agreeable to my Circumstances and Inclinations. I return'd hearty Thanks for so free and generous an Offer. But considering, that that Living would void my Fellowship at Clare-Hall; that my Health was then in a very ill State; and that the Parish was therefore too large for me to undertake; with some Reluctancy, and after some Deliberation, I was forc'd to refuse it. Upon this, it was in some time given to the Reverend Mr. Hollier, who now possesses it: while still no Offer was made of it to Mr. Sacheverel, who expected it. My Lady Clobery, talking one Day with me about that Matter, happen'd to enlarge upon the Reasons she and Sir Charles had to be averse to him. So much I fully remember she said, "That Sir Charles knew him too well to give him Aston: That his Behaviour was exceeding light and foolish; without any of that Gravity and Seriousness which became one in Holy Orders: That he was fitter to make a Player than a Clergyman: That in particular, he was dangerous in a Family, since he would, among the very Servants, jest upon the Torments of Hell. This I here attest under my Hand; and that the rather, because I have so often declar'd it to others; even before I in the least dream'd of being nam'd, as I was in his Tryal; which otherwise might be suppos'd capable of provoking me, to aggravate things against him. And I think that his Vindication of himself, as well as all his late Conduct, do shew, that this Lady and her Son-in-law, were very right in their Judgment of him.

Jan. 17. 17<sup>10</sup>.

Will. Whiston.

As to the next Charge of profane Curses, He denies nothing, but banters it with a Story of Moon-shine and Plumb-pudding; as if a Mixture of Rage and Profaneness were not (what all the World owns) a proper Account of Cursing. And to let the World see 'tis an allow'd Peccadillo with him, he gives me an hearty Curse, Page 76. Hang him a Dog with a Mixture of HEMP.



We come p. 67. to the *Doctor's Mistress*; but first he falls upon me with a Story of my Maid: there needs no other Answer but that of the blunt Disputant; *Bellarmin thou liest*; for 'tis every tittle false: and does it look with a Face of Probability, that I should be 5 Years courting a poor Orphan, without a Penny Portion? and while I was courting her, with an Allowance of suitable Raiment, and Education, force her sore against her Will to attend my Sister to the Conventicle, and let her do (for I had then no other Servant) all the Work of the House, as making Coal-Fires, &c? As to the Tears, I never heard of or saw one; and she has often been (since she left me) at my House, to see me and my Wife; and we have both a very great Respect for her, as being a very pious and blameless Maid. I sent to the Place where she liv'd about two Years after mine, and to another where I thought she might be heard of, but they could give no Account where she lives; but I have met with her by a strange Chance at a Friend's of mine in Town, where she sign'd the following Certificate.

Mar. 1. 17<sup>10</sup>/<sub>11</sub>.

I Do hereby declare to the World, That the Account given in the Book call'd, *The Vindication of Dr. Sacheverel, concerning me and the Reverend Mr. William Bisset, once my Master, is utterly false.*

Sarah Green.

Now as to the *Doctor's Amours*, I find I was misinform'd about the *Gentlewoman's Death*: In the fair Copy deliver'd to the Bookseller I spoke of her as alive; and alter'd it upon the Authority of one that I thought knew better; but 100 Miles and more was too far to send of a sudden; yet this is not very material, the *foul Dealing* is the same.

And since my Book has been out, I have received a Message from a near Relation of *Mrs. I——s*, that 'tis as bad or worse than I have reported: *If it were ended*, as his *Vindicator* affirms, p. 79. *with all the Honour and fair Dealing that a Man can shew*; why does he not get her *Attestation*? or if he had it, is it just and fair to court a Gentleman's Daughter, and carry on the Intrigue without his Knowledge or Leave? If the Dr. read such *Ethicks* to his Pupils, Parents had need be upon their Guard: But if her Father be dead, and *she has enough to tempt any Man to take her*, why does not the Doctor renew his Addresses? for I was assur'd by a very credible Person, that in one of his Letters is this Expression, *Let God forsake me if ever I forsake you*: And now ought this Fellow *B——t* to lose his Tongue and Hand for this Story? I find they long for a French Government, in which such arbitrary Sentences may pass, and *B——t* would lose them and his Life too, if they could find a Rabble or Ruffians for their Turn.

As to the 8th Article of great Immodesty; the Doctor knows no such Person as *S——y W——r*, but the Letter from the Gentleman at Oxford has rub'd up his Memory about *J——y W——r* (the Name in my Account which he wilfully mistook) and a Fellow-Collegiate that she was married to. As to the Wench at the Inn; I know not what he calls his *Progress*, or whether he owns any, but the



the Fact he has not in the least disown'd. The *Whimsical Saying* at the Christning too is not denied, as if for a Parson to be the Town-Bull were but a *Whimsy*, or as it is, p. 82. a *Trifle*; but the *Vindicator* takes his Rise hence for a most profane Banter upon the *New-Birth* and *Religious Discourse*; yet I dare not say he deserves to lose his *Tongue or Hand*, but this I will say, Such a Tongue and Hand are not very fit for a Pulpit.

As to Sir J. W——r's Letter, 'tis no more to the Purpose than Mrs. Hearst's; for he only testifies *as to that Part which belongs to me*, whereas he should have said, As to the Doctor's Behaviour at my House, to my certain Knowledge he was not disorder'd with Drink. I have heard it since confidently affirm'd; as I had it at first from 2 greater Persons than Sir J. who being so very sober himself, makes no Scruple to term one he knows not, a Madman.

Page 83. He gives us a Tast of his Charity: *I protest, I am afraid the Whigs will worship the D—l, and offer their Sons and Daughters at his Altar*: If all his Protestations and Oaths have no more Truth and Sincerity, he too may come to the Honour of *Knighthood*.

As to the Gaming, he denies nothing; but jests it off, with being a *great Dab*, and playing on Sundays. And as to his Menaces, p. 84. I defy him, and all his intimate Friends, with whom I can soon be much more than even; and after this Tast of his Veracity (for I have by authentick Testimony disprov'd every Tittle) the World will not be over hasty in believing him.

For the Parallel he draws, p. 85, & 86, between *my Case and the Doctor's*, about our Places; concluding, p. 8. *himself is equally guilty*; nay, mine is a *Beam*, and his but a *Mote*; and consequently the Argument holds stronger against me. I own I have a Living, 52 Miles from Town, and I have a Place in a Collegiate Church here: but is there no Difference between a Collegiate Church and a Parochial, as both his are? Between the Extent of the Precinct of St. Katherine, and the Parish of St. Saviour's Southwark, which contains, I believe, 4 times as many Souls. Besides (what is the main Difference) I have but 4 Weeks here in a Quarter; when those are out, I have nothing to do in the Church: Whereas he is bound, as *Parish Minister*, to Preach every Week, and do *Parochial Duties* constantly. I have 8 Months in the Year to reside, as I and my Family constantly do, upon my Cure; and I believe the strictest Resident, taking one Year with another, is very near as much absent from his Charge: I have but a Days Journey, and he at least 3; I never fail to be there every Quarter, and 'tis well if he go once a Year.

As to the 12th, sure there never was such wretched Shuffling since the World stood: I charge him with divers Falshoods, both in Doctrine and Fact; which he lays his Thumb compleatly upon; and would perswade the World, *the Weight of the Article lies chiefly upon preaching an old Sermon to so great an Auditory*. The Decency of which he proves from the Practice of *Jockeys* and *Ship-Carpenters*. And what is absurder yet, he makes the poor *Whig* concur with him, p. 89. *I think you have said enough upon this Article*; when



when he had said just nothing, but left the Falshoods and Forgery even as they were.

As to the Postscript, p. 90. & 91. I am fairly acquitted; and therefore let the *Irish Dean*, Mr. Ryley, and the poor *Washerwoman*, &c. answer for themselves, and agree the Matter with the Doctor as well as they can. But I believe very few are of the *Vindicator's* Mind, p. 92. that these are but TRIFLES, and almost allow'd Peccadillo's; sure they cannot seem so from one that never did at School an Immoral or a Childish thing. *Et Tu Brute*, might Mrs. Hearst truly say to him, as *Cæsar* to his reputed Son; What thou, my Child! whom I have taken to my own Arms; whose Youth was so full of the sweetest Modesty, p. 31. and no less full of Manly Goodness. I have read of Venial Sins, but never before of allow'd ones, even in the Church of Rome. I hope he does not preach such Doctrine; if he does, there will be need, more than enough, of the utmost Endeavours of the Societies for Reformation of Manners; when the Enemy comes in like a Flood, to stop the Overflowings of Ungodliness. Concerning the Sense of the 2 Bishops mention'd in this Page, I will believe it when I see it under their own Hands, and not as we have it here, at 2d, 3d, or 4th Hand.

The whole 93d Page, is the sawciest Arraignment of several of the greatest Persons of the Kingdom, especially the renowned Duke of Marlborough, (who is still Commander in Chief, by Her Majesty's own Choice) that ever came from an audacious, self-conceited Stripling.

Page 94. Is taken up with a Panegyrick upon the Doctor, and his great Atchievements; who under God and the Queen has given us this new Life; which may serve to explain his new coin'd, crabbed, long-winded Word *Reviviscence*; which, and *soporiferous*, are all that the World has got by this learned Treatise. A new Life the Doctor has help'd to give us indeed, viz. with broken Heads, broken Limbs, broken Windows; and as this Author hopes, and thanks God for in the worst Sense, p. 95. broken Hearts. What a Life is here about him? But I have reason to think with the Clergyman, in his Letter to the Doctor, p. 26. A time will come when you may quietly walk the Streets, without being run after, and pointed at; and when none will take any notice of you; and if they do, it will be but this, There goes he, who was once the great Troubler of our Israel. This is indeed giving a new Life, such as it is; but God deliver us from such *Reviviscence*.

The *Vindicator* has now done with me, except only an Address in the last Page to the Convocation, to deliver me over to Satan, and cut off all those that trouble us. That so the true Tories, from henceforth, may reign Lords and Masters without controul: The rest, p. 95, 96, 97, & 98, is a furious Declamation against those in general, that are called Moderate Clergymen; all whom he declares, in his excess of Charity, p. 96. Perjur'd before God and Man. He chiefly insults them upon the Meanness of their Parentage; and says, they were born, p. 97. to embrace Dungbills: As if God, the Father of Spirits, ever form'd a Reasonable Creature, which is his Offspring,  
for



for so vile a Condition: *Born to embrace Dungbills!* Now you must know his Father was a Dean, which makes him as proud as if he had been a Duke, and trample upon his Betters as the Mire, *ibid. in the Streets.* But no wonder; for he declares, p. 96. *I own I have no Moderation.* Sure he never read, or does not own for Canonical, that Text, *Let your Moderation be known unto all Men.* P. 98. The Whig, who is relaps'd again, tho' so often converted by his mighty Reasonings, says, *For God's Sake, what do you mean by all this Heat and Passion?* What indeed? For 'twould puzzle the ablest Head on Earth to make any Sense of it. *Thou art as hot as a Glass-House;* (let me add too, as foul as a Draught-House) yet he declares, *If I had time I would be 7 times hotter than I am,* I cannot imagine how that can possibly be on this side Hell. I shall only leave with him that Remark of the Wise Man, which, if duly consider'd, may perhaps bring him to a cooler and humbler Temper, *Prov. 21. 24. Proud and haughty Scorners is his Name, who dealeth in proud Wrath.*

P O S T S C R I P T.

THE same Author, as I have good reason to believe, being resolv'd to have some Notice taken of him, has pitch'd upon an unexampled Piece of Folly; to answer this Book before it was publish'd, nay before it was written; and to foretell what will be found in the several Pages. I wonder any one that has the least grain of Thought, would ever take so much Pains to be laugh'd at. But 'tis the less to be wonder'd at, since Solomon has observ'd, *Eccles. 10. 3. When he that is a Fool walketh by the way, his Wisdom faileth him, and he saith to every one that he is a Fool.*

But of all his Follies, none is so horrid and unexcusable, as the putting that Text of Scripture in the Title Page, from *Pf. 139. v. 2. And understandest my Thoughts long before;* which he manifestly, impiously, and I may say, blasphemously refers to himself, as knowing my Thoughts, long before I knew 'em all my self; and to joyn that Verse with a Verse of Sir Roger L'Strange, I think adds to the Profaneness.

I am assur'd his greatest Friends are highly offended at his acting this very weak Part; especially at that Citation. There is, p. 6. a most impudent Falshood, which he well knows to be such; speaking of the forg'd Recantation in my Name. [*I am of Opinion that his Printer may be prevail'd upon, to produce the Copy in his own Hand writing*] and p. 14. speaking of me, *He often declares he could eat the Heart of a Tory with pleasure.* I will not say, (as he) *Was there ever such a daring Knight of the Post?* But this I will say, there have not been many such licentious Ministers.

The 4 last Pages are so dull and impertinent, that few have had Patience to read them out; and p. 13. his Language is so very coarse and beastly, as a civil Carman would be asham'd to use, and none but a Gold-finder, (to use his own Terms) is fit to deal with so foul a Writer, who has no more Regard to Civility, Decency or Truth.



*Priestcraft in Perfection*  
OR, A  
DETECTION  
OF THE  
FRAUD

OF  
Inserting and Continuing this Clause  
(The Church hath Power to Decree Rites  
and Ceremonys, and Authority in Con-  
troversys of Faith)  
In the Twentieth Article of the Articles of  
the Church of England.

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To forge an Article of Religion, either in Whole or in Part, and  
then thrust it upon the Church, is a most heinous Crime, far  
worse than Forging of a Deed. Archbishop Laud's Speech  
in the Star-chamber. Remains, Vol. 2. pag. 82.

Maximè habenda sunt pro suspectis, quæ quomodocunque  
dependent à Religione, Baconis Nov. Org. lib. 2. Aph. 29.

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L O N D O N;

Printed for B. Bragg in Pater-noster-Row. 1710.







# The Preface.



**T**HE Authority of the Church in Controversys of Faith, is the grand, if not the sole Topick, whereby the Papists have seduc'd many Protestants of the Church of England into their Communion; while they have been able to make few or no Converts among our Dissenters, who universally disclaim that Authority. And I must needs say, that I am so far from being surpriz'd at it, that I think it argues either great want of dexterity in the Popish Priests, or great negligence and indifferency among us in matters of Religion, That they have not more Success with those who believe the Church has Authority in Controversys of Faith: For if by the Authority of the Church in Controversys of Faith be understood (according to Bp Sparrow, the Editor of our Articles and Canons, and all other High Churchmen) a Power in the Governors of the Church to determine what shall be receiv'd and profess'd for Truth among the Members

See his Preface to his Collection of Canons, Articles, &c.



of the Church, and to bind them to Submission to their Sentence, tho they err in their Sentence; we of the Church of England cou'd have no pretence to separate from the Church of Rome in Queen Elizabeth's time, nor to continue in that Separation to this day. For we being only a small Branch of the Roman Church before the Reformation; ought by that Principle to have been concluded by the Majority of the Governors of that Church; and consequently ought to have continu'd Papists in Profession, till the Majority of those Governors had determin'd for a Reformation. But we were so far from proceeding on any such Principle, that the Reformation was carry'd on here in England, not only in opposition to the Governors of the Roman Church in general, but even in opposition to the Governors of our own Church: for in the 1st of Q. Eliz. the Parliament alone establisb'd the Queen's Supremacy and the Common-Prayer-Book, in spite of all opposition from the Bishops in the House of Lords; and the Convocation then sitting were so far from having any hand in those Church-Acts for Reformation, that they presented to the Parliament several Propositions in behalf of the Tenets of Popery, directly contrary to the Proceedings of the Parliament. And as for the Articles of our Church, they cou'd never have

1558,  
1559.



have been agreed to by the Convocation of 1562. had not the Bishops been first depriv'd by Law for their Popery, and their Sees fill'd with Protestant Bishops.

I have therefore been amaz'd how it was possible for our Reformers to have asserted, That the Church had Authority in Controversys of Faith, so contrary to the Principle on which they proceeded; or that they wou'd ever suppose an Authority in Bishops (against which they then acted) to bring back all the Absurditys of Popery, of which this is the Chief, as well as the Foundation of all that monstrous Superstructure; and which can never be demolish'd by Reason and Argument, till this suppos'd Authority be intirely taken away.

But upon examination into the Truth of this matter, I find they were honest and more rational Men than they stand represented. They thought there was no reforming without mending; and therefore they as much abhor'd the Doctrine of the Authority of the Church, as any other Absurditys of Popery, as appears by the Books written by them: And as for the Clause in our Articles that asserts it, I shall prove beyond all contradiction, that it was not of their composing, but a Forgery inserted into our Articles, which by time got strength among us, like some other things, without any  
just



just foundation : such as the use of Organs  
in Churches, said to be superstitious \* by  
our Homilys ; Cuts † in the Common-  
Prayer-Book, and Pictures in Churches,  
forbid

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\* The Homilys introduce a Woman saying to  
her Neighbour : *Alas Gossip, what shall we do at  
Church, since all the Saints are taken away, since  
all the goodly Sights we were wont to have are gone,  
since we cannot hear the like Piping, Chaunting, and  
Playing upon the Organs that we cou'd before ?*  
And in answer to the old Woman, the Homily  
replies : *But (Dearly Beloved) we ought great-  
ly to rejoyce, and give God Thanks, that our  
Churches are deliver'd out of all those things  
which displeas'd God so sore, and filthily defil'd  
his Holy House, and his Place of Prayer, for the  
which he hath justly destroy'd many Nations. And  
this we ought greatly to praise God for, that such  
superstitious and idolatrous Manners as were utterly  
naught, and defac'd God's Glory, are utterly abo-  
lish'd, as they most justly deserv'd.* Homilies,  
printed at Oxford in Folio, p. 221.

† Dr. Nowel, Dean of St. Pauls, having gotten  
several fine Cuts and Pictures, representing the  
Storys and Passions of the Saints and Martyrs,  
caus'd them to be bound up in a Common-Prayer-  
Book, and laid it for the Queen's Use in the Place  
where she commonly sat ; intending it for a New-  
Year's-Gift to her Majesty, and thinking to have  
pleas'd her Fancy therewith. But it had not that  
Effect, but the contrary : For she consider'd how  
this vary'd from her late open Injunctions and Pro-  
clamations against the superstitious use of Images  
in Churches, and taking away all such Relicks of  
Popery. When she came to her Place (at St. Paul's)  
she open'd the Book, and perus'd it, and saw the  
Pictures,



forbid by Queen Elizabeth; placing the Communion-Table Altarwise, when the Sacrament is administred, contrary to the expresse Direction of our Rubrick, which says, The Table at the Communion time shall stand where Morning

Pictures, but frown'd and blush'd, and then shut it; and calling the Verger, bad him bring her the old Book, wherein she was formerly wont to read. After Sermon, instead of taking Horse, &c. immediately she went to the Vestry, and apply'd herself to the Dean thus :

*Q.* Mr. Dean, How came it to pass that a new Service-Book was plac'd on my Cushion?

*D.* May it please your Majesty, I caus'd it to be plac'd there.

*Q.* Wherefore did you so?

*D.* To present your Majesty with a New-Year's-Gift.

*Q.* You cou'd never present me with a worse.

*D.* Why so Madam?

*Q.* You know I have an Aversion to Idolatry, to Images and Pictures of this kind.

*D.* Wherein is the Idolatry, may it please your Majesty?

*Q.* In the Cuts resembling Angels and Saints; nay grosser Absurditys, Pictures resembling the blessed Trinity.

*D.* I meant no harm: nor did I think it wou'd offend your Majesty, when I intended it for a New-Year's-Gift.

*Q.* You must needs be ignorant then. Have you forgot our Proclamation against Images, Pictures, and Romish Relicks in the Churches? Was it not read in your Deanery?

*D.* It



ing and Evening Prayer is appointed to be said ; bowing towards the East, and placing Candles (*unlighted*) on the Communion Table ; *which since*

*D.* It was read. But be your Majesty assur'd, I meant no harm when I caus'd the Cuts to be bound with the Service-Book.

*Q.* You must needs be very ignorant to do this after our Prohibition of them.

*D.* It being my Ignorance, your Majesty may the better pardon me.

*Q.* I am sorry for it ; yet glad to hear it was your Ignorance, rather than your Opinion.

*D.* Be your Majesty assur'd, it was my Ignorance.

*Q.* If so, Mr. Dean, God grant you his Spirit, and more Wisdom for the future.

*D.* Amen, I pray God.

*Q.* I pray, Mr. Dean, how came you by these Pictures ? Who engrav'd them ?

*D.* I know not who engrav'd them, I bought them.

*Q.* From whom bought you them ?

*D.* From a German.

*Q.* It is well it was from a Stranger ; had it been any of our Subjects, we shou'd have question'd the matter. Pray let no more of these Mistakes, or of this kind, be committed within the Churches of this Realm for the future.

*D.* There shall not.

*This Matter occasion'd all the Clergy in and about London, and the Churchwardens of each Parish, to search the Churches and Chappels ; and caus'd them to wash out of the Walls all Paintings that seem'd Romish and Idolatrous, and in lieu thereof suitable Texts taken out of the Holy Scriptures to be written. Strype's Annals of Q. Eliz. pag. 238, 239.*

*they*



they are no where enjoin'd by our Common-Prayer-Book, are therefore forbidden by the Act \* of Uniformity made after the Restoration.

And I am persuaded, that there cannot be a nobler Service to our most excellent and pure Church (at the same time that our Legislature are clearing her from maintaining the most absurd and blasphemous Doctrine of Passive-Obedience) nor greater honour done to the Memory of our glorious Reformers, than to wipe off the Scandal of this Popish Clause both from her and them, among those who take it to be a part of her Articles. I say, among those who take it to be a part of her Articles; because we are really thought to be Protestants abroad, tho some of us desire to appear like Papists at home. For in the Collections of the several Articles of Religion of the Reform'd Churches, printed abroad under the Title of the Harmony of Confessions, our 20th Article stands without the addition of the Clause for the Church's Power, as Dr. Heylin assures us in his P. 268.

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\* Which says, That no Rites or Ceremonys shall be openly us'd in any Church or Chappel, or other publick Place of Worship, or in any College or Hall in either of the Universitys, the Colleges of Westminster, Winchester, or Eaton, or any of them, other than what is prescrib'd and appointed to be us'd in and by the Common-Prayer-Book, &c



**History of the Presbyterians.** And I hope there needs no Apology for recommending our Church to those who pretend to be her Friends, by freeing her from this Clause, and thereby rendring her truly (what a Reverend Dean of our Church call'd her, just after the Restoration, while he was sweeping up a large Fine) The best constituted Church in the whole World.

London, Jan. 1.  
1709.

**Priest-**



## Priestcraft in Perfection, &c.



**T**H E Articles of the Church of England were agreed to and subscrib'd by the Archbishops and Bishops of both Provinces, and the whole Clergy, in a Convocation held at London, in the year of our Lord 1562. and the 5th of Queen Elizabeth. They were afterwards review'd by another Convocation of the Province of Canterbury, held at London in the year 1571. and in the beginning of that year (which was the 13th of the Queen) they were ratify'd in Parliament, under the Title of *Ar- Cap. 12.*  
*articles of Religion, which only concern the Con-*  
*fession of the true Christian Faith, and the*  
*Doctrine of the Sacraments, compris'd in a Book*  
*imprinted, intitled, " Articles whereupon it*  
*" was agreed by the Archbishops and Bishops of*  
*" both Provinces, and the whole Clergy, in the*  
*" Convocation holden at London in the year*  
*" of our Lord 1562. according to the Compu-*  
*" tation of the Church of England, for the a-*  
*" voiding of the diversity of Opinions, and for*  
*" the establishing of Consent touching true Re-*  
*" ligion, put forth by the Queen's Authority."*  
 From which Act arises their Legal Au-  
 B 2 *thority,*



Expos. of the 39 Art. p. 8. *thority, as my Lord of Sarum truly observes.*

These being the *Authoritys* upon which the *Articles* of our Church stand, we have no other way of knowing what and how many these *Articles* are, but from the Records of the Proceedings of the before-mention'd Convocations, and from the *imprinted Book* refer'd to in the Act of Parliament. And if we are to be govern'd by it, it will be evident that the first Article of the 20th Article, viz. ——— (That the Church hath a power to decree Rites and Ceremonies, and Authority in Controversys of Faith) printed in all our modern Editions of the *Articles* since the year 1617. is a perfect Forgery, and never pass'd either the Convocation of 1562. or the Convocation of 1571. nor was it contain'd in the *imprinted Book* that was ratify'd by Parliament.

Ib. p. 16. For, 1<sup>st</sup>. We have the Original Manuscript of the *Articles* which pass'd the Convocation of 1562. of which my Lord of Sarum gives the following account, *That this Manuscript is without doubt an Original; that the Hands of the Subscribers are well known; that it belong'd to Archbishop Parker (who was President of that Assembly), and that it was left by him to Corpus Christi College in Cambridge, and is sign'd with a particular Care; for at the end of it there is not only a sum of the number of Pages, but of the Lines in every Page. And tho this was the Work of the Province of Canterbury, yet the Archbishop of York, with the Bishops of Durham and Chester, subscrib'd it likewise; and it is also subscrib'd by the whole Lower House.* And,



And, 2<sup>dly</sup>. we have an original Manuscript of the Articles, that were review'd in the Convocation of 1571. left to the same College by ABp Parker (who was President likewise of that Convocation) but that is only subscrib'd by the Archbishop, and ten Bishops of his Province; *Ibid.* whereas those of 1562. are subscrib'd by both Houses of the Province of Canterbury, and some Bishops of the Province of York.

Now that the Clause of the Church's Power is not in the beginning of the twentieth Article of either of these Manuscripts, appears from several Collations that have lately been made of our modern printed Editions with them. The Reader may satisfy himself about the truth of this matter from my Lord of Sarum's Exposition only; where Dr. Moss, Mr. Jaggard, and Mr. Lunn, Fellows of the College, testify that the Clause is not in the Manuscript of 1562. and where Dr. Green, the present Master of the College, certifies the Bishop that it is wanting in that of 1571. *Ib. p. 10. P. 13.*

3<sup>dly</sup>. As to the Imprinted Book of Articles that was ratify'd by Parliament, either it was never tack'd to the original Record of the Act, or else it has been since purloin'd from it: for upon examination in the Office where the Records are kept, the Imprinted Book refer'd to in the Act of Parliament is not to be found. Yet Providence has preserv'd to us the most compleat Evidence in the world (next to the appearance of the imprinted Book it self tack'd to the Record) that the Clause of the Church's Power was not in the imprinted Book ratify'd by Parliament; *Q. Where to find the Articles by Law establish'd, since the Imprinted Book pass'd by Parliament, that contain'd them, is not upon record?*



liament; and that is, *Notoriety of Fact*, even among the Clergy themselves. For,

Laud's  
Speech in  
the Star-  
Chamber :  
in his Re-  
mains, vol.  
2. p. 82.

1. When the famous *Burton* affirm'd, in an *Epistle to the Temporal Lords*, That the *Prelates* had forg'd a new *Article of Religion* brought from Rome (*viz.* The Church hath a Power to decree Rites and Ceremonys, and Authority in Controversys of Faith) which gives 'em full power to alter the *Doctrine and Discipline* of our Church at a blow, and have joisted it into the beginning of the twentieth *Article* of our Church; for, says he, it is not to be found in the *Articles of Queen Elizabeth*, ratify'd by Parliament: *Archbishop Laud* (who in his *Speech in the Star-Chamber* endeavours to vindicate the Authority of this Clause against this Passage of *Burton*) does not deny what *Burton* alledges, That it is not to be found in the *Articles* ratify'd by Parliament; but only labours to prove, first, That he himself did not forge the Clause (from which Charge I allow he effectually clears himself) and secondly, argues for the Authority of the Clause from several antient printed Copys, and from the *publick Records* kept in his Office. And it cannot be doubted but his Zeal for that Clause wou'd have led him to affirm it was ratify'd by Parliament, had not the Matter of Fact been very notorious.

Cent. 16.  
p. 74.

2. *Dr. Thomas Fuller*, a Reverend Divine of the Church of England, in his *Church-History of Great Britain*, says, That the Clause of the Church's Power, is omitted in the English and Latin *Articles* set forth in 1571. when they were first ratify'd by Act: And then proceeds to make this just Observation



vation upon the Authority of the whole Body of our Articles, as they stood without this Clause; That their being obligatory to Punishment bears not date from their \* Composition in Convocation in the Year 1562. but henceforward from their Confirmation in Parliament.

3. Dr. Heylin, Archbishop Laud's Chaplain, in his *Animadversions* on this Passage of Fuller, confirms Fuller's Account of the matter, and only censures him, first, for making the Articles obligatory but from the time of their being confirm'd by Parliament; and secondly, for using the term *Confirmation* with relation to the Act wherein the Articles receiv'd their legal Authority. His words Heylin's are: *Our Author does so dream of the Power Animad. of Parliaments in matters of Religion, that he on Fuller's will not suffer any † Act of Convocation to be Church-Hist. p. 146, obligatory to the Subject, till confirm'd by Par- 147.*

\* Fuller, who he thought the Clause not obligatory, was misled so far by Archbishop Laud's Speech in the Star-Chamber, as to imagine it was extant in the Records of the Convocation of 1562.

† The Convocation of 1562. disclaim'd all pretence to a Legislative Power in matters of Religion, so much insisted on of late by our High-Church Priests; and had very different Notions of their own and of the Parliament's Power, from this Reverend High Churchman: For at the end of the Original Manuscript of the Articles, immediately after the Subscribers Names, are added these words; *Ista Subscriptio facta est Strype's ab omnibus sub hac protestatione, quod nihil statuunt Annals, in præjudicium cujusquam Senatusconsulti; sed tantum supplicem libellum, Petitiones suas continentem, humiliter offerunt. In English thus: This Subscription is made by all with this protestation, That they resolve on nothing in prejudice of the Privileges and Rights of either House of Parliament; but only humbly offer this supplicatory Book of Articles, containing their Requests or Petitions.*

liament.



liament. But I wou'd fain know of him where he finds any Act of Parliament, that confirms these Articles. There was nothing done by the Parliament to confirm these Articles, but only a pious Care express'd for Reformation, by requiring Subscriptions of the Clergy to them under temporal Punishments. And then concludes, That Fuller might very well have spar'd this flourish, " That the Obligatoriness of these Articles, as to temporal Punishment, bears not date nine years before from their Composition in Convocation, but henceforward from their Confirmation in Parliament." And I think it can't be doubted, but Heylin had Zeal enough for the Authority of this Clause, and against his Adversary Fuller, to have affirm'd, That it was not omitted in the imprinted Book, to which the Parliament requir'd the Subscriptions of the Clergy; had not Fuller's Assertion, That it was omitted, been undoubtedly true.

4. Bishop Pearson says, In the Year 1571. the Articles were reprinted, and then the Act of Parliament was publish'd; which words do imply his Opinion, that the Book pass'd by Parliament was printed in 1571. But however, for a fuller Confirmation of the matter, take his further Explanation. He says, That the Articles of Religion to which King Charles I's Declaration is affix'd, are the same with the Articles mention'd in the 13th of Eliz. in number, nature, substance and words; as he is assur'd, having himself diligently collated them with an Edition of the Articles, printed by R. Jugg and J. Cawood, Printers to the Queen's Majesty Anno Domini 1571. These last words evidently show Bishop Pearson's Opinion

Bibl. Scrip.  
Eccel. Ang.  
P. 362.

P. 383.

C. 12.



nion, *That the imprinted Book ratify'd by Parliament, was a Book printed 1571. by Jugg and Cawood.* And if that was the Book ratify'd by Parliament, nothing can be plainer than that the Clause of the *Church's Power* was not ratify'd by Parliament. I have that very Edition without the Clause; but the Reader may perhaps be satisfy'd in this matter by either \* *Fuller*, or † *Laud*, or ‖ *Heylin*, or my \*\* *Lord of Sarum*, who all affirm that *the Clause of the Church's Power was left out in the Editions of 1571.*

There is one thing in this last Citation out of Bishop *Pearson* would have amaz'd me, had not a little inquiry into Ecclesiastical History convinc'd me that nothing was more reconcilable in practice than writing *Expositions on the Creed*, and downright Forgery and Falsification. For notwithstanding Bishop *Pearson* affirms that *the Articles printed with King Charles the First's Declaration before them are the same in Number, Nature, Substance and Words, with those printed by Jugg and Cawood in 1571.* and that he himself collated them; yet there is this material difference between these two Editions; the Articles printed with *Charles the First's Declaration* have the Clause of the *Church's Power* in them, and the Articles printed by *Jugg and Cawood* in 1571. are without the Clause; and I am ready to produce both

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\* Church-Hist. cent. 16. p. 74.

† Remains, vol. 2. p. 83.

‖ History of the Presbyt. 268.

\*\* Expos. p. 16.



these Editions for the satisfaction of any Inquirer.

5. The several printed Editions of the Articles in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* are another evidence how *notorious* it was that the Clause of the *Church's Power* was never ratify'd by Parliament. I have, as I said before, an Edition of the Articles in *English* in the Year 1571. by *Richard Jugg* and *John Cawood* Printers to the Queen, when they were first ratify'd by Parliament, wherein the Clause of the *Church's Power* is omitted. I have likewise another Edition, printed the same year in *Latin* by *John Day*, without the Clause. And yet Bishop *Sparrow* has the assurance to pretend to give us a *Latin Copy* of the *Articles*, under the title of *Articles, &c. printed by John Day in 1571.* wherein he has inserted the Clause of the *Church's Power*, contrary to *John Day's* own Edition. But what surpriz'd me extremely, was to find a *Latin Copy* of our *Articles* under the same title, with the Clause likewise inserted, printed before my Lord *Sarum's Exposition of the thirty nine Articles*; which I did not expect to find in a Book written by one that has show'd so much ingenuity as my Lord of *Sarum* has done in this Affair: for it is from the Discoverys made by him of old Manuscripts, that I had the first hint of the Forgery of this Clause.

However, I think I have just grounds to clear my Lord himself from any design to impose on the Reader; but may rather suppose in his behalf, That when he sent his *Exposition of the Thirty Nine Articles*

Collection  
of Artic.  
&c. printed  
1571.  
p. 207.



articles to be printed, he trusted to some Chaplain or Corrector of the Press to put a *Latin* Edition of the Articles before his Book, who has thus impos'd on his Lordship and the World. And my reason for not making this an Act of his Lordship, is, because his Lordship knew, *That the Clause of the Church's Power was left out of the printed Editions of 1571.* Exp. p. 16.

The Omission of this Clause in the Year 1571. was so notorious, that Archbishop *Laud* confesses it, and gives reasons why it was so. Says he, *In fact this is manifest, that in the Year 1571. the Articles were printed both in Latin and English, and this Clause for the Church left out of both. And certainly,* *Speech in the Star-Chamber. Rem. vol. 2. p. 83.* says he, *this cou'd not be done but by the malicious Cunning of that opposite Faction. And tho I shall spare dead Mens Names where I have not certainty, yet if you please to consider who they were that govern'd Businesses in 1571. and rid the Church almost at their pleasure, you will think it no hard matter to have the Articles printed, and this Clause left out.* This the Reader must needs think a most choice Remark, when he considers that the Convocation of 1571. pass'd the Articles without this Clause, as well as the Parliament ; and consequently that they who *rid the Church* at that time, were the *Governours* thereof, in the Archbishop's own sense of the word. By whom wou'd he have had the *Church rid*, but by its *Governours*? And if he wou'd have it *rid* by them, why shou'd he not suppose these *Governours* had as much *right* to omit the Clause of the *Church's Power* if they

C 2

thought



thought fit, as any other Governours had to insert it in the Articles? But I find no Proceedings of Church-Governours will satisfy the greatest Advocates of their Power, unless they be perfectly agreeable to their Inclinations, any more than they do the errantest Fanaticks in the world. And this Observation is not only verify'd by this Remark of Archbishop *Laud*, but by the Proceedings of the High-Church Priests at this day, who at the same time that they preach up the greatest Submission in the world to the Governours of the Church, and make 'em all to be *Jure Divino*, are continually affronting and abusing 'em in the most scandalous manner: whereby they become so much worse than the Fanaticks of old, in that they are inconsistent with themselves; whereas the Fanaticks deny'd that they ow'd the Bishops any Subjection.

But to return: The Articles were not only printed without the Clause of the *Church's Power* in the Year 1571. but continu'd to be printed so for some time after. A Friend at *Oxford* writes me word, *That there is a Latin Copy of the Articles in the Bodleian Library, printed 1575. in which the Clause of the Church's Power is omitted.* How long it was after 1571. before the Clause was put into the printed Copys, my Lord of *Sarum* says he cannot find out. But if Archbishop *Laud* gives us a compleat List of the printed Editions of the Articles, it was not inserted in the Articles till 1593. And if Dr. *Heylin's* word is to be taken, he confirms the Omission of the Clause till that Year. He

Exp. p. 16.  
Speech,  
p. 83.



He says, *The Clause of the Church's Power* Hist. of the  
*was left out in the new Impression of 1571. and* Presbyt.  
*was accordingly left out in all the Harmonys of* P. 268.  
*Confessions, or other Collections of the same.*  
*And so it stood in England till the death*  
*of Leicester, after which in the Year 1593. it*  
*was again reprinted.* So that, according to the  
 confession even of *Laud and Heylin*, the Clause  
 was left out in the printed Copys, not only in  
 the Year wherein the Articles were ratify'd  
 by Law, but for two and twenty Years af-  
 terwards: and this, I suppose, will be al-  
 low'd by all impartial Judges to be a good  
 Evidence of the *Notoriety* of the Fact, That  
 the Clause of the *Church's Power* was not in  
 the *imprinted Book* ratify'd by Parliament.

But 6. and lastly: To put the matter  
 upon such an issue as may clearly demonstrate  
 that the *imprinted Book* ratify'd by Parliament  
 was without the Clause; I desire those who  
 defend its Authority to produce any one *Eng-  
 lish* Edition of the Articles (for it was an *Eng-  
 lish* one that was ratify'd by Parliament) prin-  
 ted in or before the Year 1571. when the Ar-  
 ticles were confirm'd by Law, that contains  
 the Clause of the Church's Power in it. And  
 if this cannot be done, it is a demonstration  
 that the Parliament pass'd the Articles with-  
 out the Clause, unless they cou'd pass a prin-  
 ted Book before it was printed; tho did  
 such an *English* Book appear, it wou'd be no  
 proof at all that the *imprinted Book* ratify'd  
 by Parliament had the Clause in: for I have  
 prov'd by sufficient Evidence before, that  
 they pass'd an *imprinted Book* without the  
 Clause.

Having



Having thus stated the Evidence against the Authority of the Clause, I come now to consider what has been urg'd in its behalf.

Speech,  
p. 83.

Exp. p. 16.

Hist. of the  
Presbyt.  
p. 268.

And first Archbishop *Laud* says, *The Articles were printed in Latin in 1563. (the Year after they pass'd in Convocation) with the affirmative Clause of the Church's Power in them.* And my Lord of *Sarum* speaks of one Copy printed in that Year: But Dr. *Heylin* goes further, and says, *That the Clause of the Church's Power was printed as a part of the twentieth Article, both in Latin and English, 1562. [I suppose it shou'd be 1563.]*

Exp. p. 16.

Of the Insertion of this Clause in the printed Edition of 1563. contrary to the original Manuscript of the Articles subscrib'd by the Convocation in 1562. my Lord of *Sarum* makes the following use: Says he, *The Alteration from the original Manuscript was then made when the thing was fresh and well known; therefore no Fraud nor Artifice is to be suspected, since some Objections wou'd have been then made, especially by the great Party of the complying Papists, who then continu'd in the Church: They wou'd not have fail'd to have made much use of this, and to have taken great advantages from it, if there had been any occasion or colour for it; and yet nothing of this kind was done.*

1. In answer to which, I beseech his Lordship to consider what greater evidence there can be of a *Fraud*, than the printed Articles of 1563. contradicting the original Manuscript subscrib'd by both Houses of Convocation the Year before? Especially when a subsequent Convocation in 1571. thought fit

to



to review the Articles, and ratify them without the Clause of the *Church's Power*. This last Act of Convocation ought to be look'd on as decisive of the *Fraud*, since they proceeded so contrary to the printed Edition of 1563.

2. As to my Lord of *Sarum's* reason why *no Fraud is to be suspected*, viz. *Because the complying Papists made no complaint*; I can see no force at all in it, because the complying Papists were so far from having any cause to complain of the addition of that *Clause*, that they must be pleas'd to see our Church make so great a step so early after the Reformation towards them, and vest such a Power in the *Church* as they always contended for. And perhaps these *complying Papists* had as great a hand in the Forgery, as I shall prove their Successors, the *complying High-Churchmen*, have had in endeavouring to perpetuate it to Posterity.

3. But my Lord imagines, *That such an Alteration cou'd not be made while the thing was fresh and well known*: Whereas I think the Experience of all Ages shows how easy Impositions of this kind are; and I dare say, my Lord of *Sarum*, out of his vast reading, is able to give us a *History* of Impositions of that kind, as big as his *History of the Reformation*.

(1.) The Stupidity of Mankind, even in the times of the greatest Liberty and Freedom of thinking, was always security enough for some Impositions. For who at this day among the Laity dare give themselves the trouble to examine into the Authority of the Articles of any Church (when  
meddling



meddling with such Sacred Things always exposes a Man to the imputation of Atheism) or are able to tell what the Articles of their own Church are? The Laity are ever ready to fight the Priests Battles, and contend eagerly for what they determine in their Synods and Convocations, without ever troubling themselves to understand what it is they fight and contend for. But in Queen Elizabeth's time the State of Affairs was very different from what it is at this time. There was not only less Liberty and Freedom of thinking, but a most excessive Ignorance was spread throughout the Nation. Mr. Strype says in his *Annals*, That many of the Subscribers of the Lower House of Convocation of 1562. (who were without doubt the most learned of the inferiour Clergy) wrote so ill, that it is difficult to read their Names. And in the *Injunctions* set forth in the Year 1559. All Ministers and Readers of publick Prayers, Chapters and Homilys, are charg'd to read leisurely, plainly and distinctly, and to peruse over before once or twice the Chapters and Homilys, to the intent they may read to the better understanding of the People. And as a further Specimen of the Ignorance of those times, it may not be amiss to give the Reader an entertaining Passage out of Dr. Langbain's Preface before a Book of Sir John Cheek's, intituled, *The true Subject to the Rebel*. Says he, What rare Preachers shall we imagine they had at the University in Queen Elizabeth's time, when Mr. Taver-  
nour of Water-Eaton, High Sheriff of Oxfordshire, came in pure Charity, not Ostentation,

Pag. 291.

Sparrow's  
Collect.  
p. 81.



*to give the Scholars a Sermon in St. Mary's, with his Gold Chain about his neck, and Sword by his side, beginning with these words: "Ar-  
 " riving at the Mount of St. Mary's on the  
 " stony Stage where I now stand, I have  
 " brought you some fine Biskets, baked in  
 " the Oven of Charity, and carefully con-  
 " serv'd for the Chickens of the Church,  
 " the Sparrows of the Spirit, and the sweet  
 " Swallows of Salvation."*

But to bring the Ignorance or Negligence of Queen *Elizabeth's* time home to the present Question, I ask what greater instance can there be either of the one or the other, than such a silence among the Writers of that time concerning the Authority of this Clause? For tho it was printed in some Editions of the Articles, and left out in others, yet I cannot find the least notice taken of it by any Authors of that time; so little were the Articles of the Church regarded, and so easy was it for the Clergy to print what they pleas'd for Articles of the Church. Nothing therefore can possibly hinder Frauds of this kind, but the Honesty and Integrity of the Clergy, or their fear of being discover'd: But neither of these can be thought a sufficient Security to any one who has look'd into the History of other Countrys, or even of his own, where the Clergy in the Reign of *Richard* the Second have had the impudence to forge an *Act of Parliament* The Case for the destruction of Hereticks, said by *of Ephraim* them in the title *to be made in the Parliament and Judah,* at Westminster quinto Regis. This Imposture<sup>p. 21, 22,</sup> was indeed detected in the next Sessions of<sup>23.</sup>



Parliament, and this Act of theirs declar'd to be null and void: so their Design came to nothing. But I think this sufficiently shows their Disposition, and what uses they are ready to make of our Simplicity.

(2.) But it will be still more easy to conceive how this Clause was impos'd on us, if the *Articles* were only printed in Latin in the year 1563. with the Clause in them, and in that very year in *English* without the Clause, as I am apt to imagine they were. For tho Dr. *Heylin* says, *they were printed both in Latin and English, with the Clause of the Churches Power in them, in 1563.* yet I find it affirm'd by a Gentleman in the year 1660.

Some Ne-  
cess. of Re-  
form. by  
W. Hamil-  
ton, Gent.  
P. 14.

*That there was a Diversity of printed Copys as to the Clause of the Church's Power, in the very Year they were first agreed on. And again, at the bottom of the same Page, That in that very Year there were two printed Editions of the Articles, one in English, and another in Latin, whereof the one had the Clause, and the other wanted it. And to confirm this account, I shall present the Reader with a Passage out of a Letter from a Friend of mine at Oxford, whom I desir'd to send me a Collation of the first English Edition of the Articles, mention'd in the Oxford Catalogue. He writes me word, That he has done his Endeavour to satisfy me, but not with that good Success he hop'd for: since for the first Edition of them in English in the Year 1563. he found there had been one; but when he came to look over the Book in which it had been bound up among other Miscellanys, he found it entirely cut out, as appears by the space that*



*that is there left.* So that if it be consider'd that the Articles were only printed in Latin in 1563. with the Clause in them, but that it was left out in the English Edition of that Year, my Lord of *Sarum* may very easily imagine how such an Imposition might begin in those times.

(3.) I have a further reason besides Mr. *Hamilton's* Testimony, and the cutting out the Articles of 1563. at *Oxford*, for supposing the English Edition of that Year wanted the *Clause*. I have an old Edition of the Articles in English, printed by *R. Jugg*, and *J. Cawood*, Printers to the Queen, without any date, where the Clause is wanting. And upon examination I think I have reason to believe this to be the English Edition of 1563. because I find it answers all the Characters that Bishop *Pearson* gives us of the Bib. Scrip. first Edition of the Articles in English. He Eccl. Ang. says, the first *Edition* was *set forth* by *R. Jugg* P. 357. and *J. Cawood*, and *that the Articles had no* P. 361. *number affix'd to them*: both which exactly agree to my Edition, and the last particular distinguishes it from all the Editions I have seen; for in the Editions of 1571. and all since, I find the Articles are numbred.

Besides, this old Edition of mine recites only the Titles of twenty Homilys, agreeable to an Edition of the Homilys printed in 1563. which contains only twenty; whereas the later Editions of the Articles give us the Titles of one and twenty Homilys, agreeable to the later Editions of the Homilys.



Wherefore I think I may with some confidence assert, That in the very first Year wherein the Articles were printed, there were two different Copys going at the same time, one in Latin with *the Clause*, and the other in English without the Clause: and consequently the difficulty of conceiving how the Imposition of the Clause might begin, is very easily solv'd.

(4.) But for a full and effectual Confutation of my Lord of *Sarum's* Supposition in favour of some (whom one wou'd think he shou'd know better) *That no Fraud is to be suspected while a thing is fresh and well known*; I will lay before him two Instances, which his Lordship will allow to be just, whereby it may appear how very practicable it is for some Men to impose on others, *while things are fresh and well known*.

In the Year 1552. and the 6th of King Edward the VIth, there was a Convocation held in London: and during the sitting of the *Convocation* there came out in print a *Catechism* and *Articles of Religion*, both bearing the Name of that Synod. And it is a matter of Fact deliver'd down to this time, that they both had the Authority of the Convocation. Dr. Atterbury says, *That in the 6th Year of King Edward the VIth (1552.) the Convocation then met, and pass'd 42 Articles.*

\* Bibl. Bishop \* Pearson and Mr. † Strype both say the same thing. And Bishop Sparrow, in his *Collection of our Articles and Canons*, gives them the Title of *Articles agreed upon in the Convocation of 1552.*

† Annals, p. 286.



As for the *Catechism*, Dr. *Atterbury* says, *Rights, It had the very same Convocational Authority which the Articles had, and that it was generally understood so in those times when it came abroad; and Cranmer says, It bore the Name of a Synod.* &c. p. 201, 202. Fox, Vol. 3. p. 50.

And yet nothing is more plain, than that neither the *Catechism* nor the *Articles* ever pass'd the Synod, but were both Impositions of some of the Clergy and others of those times upon the Synod.

For, 1<sup>st</sup>. As to the *Catechism*. There was a Disputation between *Philpot* the Martyr, and *Weston* a Papist, in the Convocation-House in 1553. in the beginning of Queen *Mary's* Reign; where *Weston* objected to *Philpot*, That he had set forth a *Catechism*, bearing the name of this honourable Synod, without your Consents. *Philpot* reply'd, That this House had granted Authority to make Ecclesiastical Laws, unto certain Persons to be appointed by the King's Majesty; and whatsoever Ecclesiastical Laws they, or the most part of them, did set forth, they might be well said to be done in the Synod of London; and in this Point he thought the setter-forth nothing to have slander'd this House, as they went about to persuade the World, since they had committed the Synodical Authority to them. Ib. p. 16.

There was a Dispute likewise between the same *Weston* and *Cranmer* in Oxford 1554. wherein *Weston* objected to *Cranmer*, That he had set forth a *Catechism* in the name of the Synod, and yet there be fifty who witness that they were of the number of the Convocation, and yet they never heard one word of the *Catechism*. Ib. p. 50.  
And



And Cranmer answers, *I was ignorant of the setting to of that Title, and as soon as I had knowledg of it, I did not like it; therefore when I complain'd thereof to the Council, it was answer'd by them, That the Book was so entitled, because it was set forth in the time of Convocation.*

These Answers of *Philpot* and *Cranmer* clearly show the Imposition on the Synod; and I cannot help adding, out of respect to that excellent Martyr *Cranmer*, that *Cranmer's* Answer clearly shows his own Honesty and Integrity in this whole Affair.

2ly. As to the *Articles* of 1552. being impos'd on the Synod, that will likewise appear evidently out of *Fox*. One of the Popish Charges against *Cranmer* in 1553. in the beginning of *Queen Mary's* Reign, was, *That he did compile and cause to be set abroad divers Books.* *Cranmer* answer'd, *That as for the Catechism and Book of Articles, he granted them to be his Doings; which words, according to my Lord of Sarum himself, decide the Point, so that it will admit of no more Debate, viz. that neither the Catechism nor the Articles were compil'd by the Convocation, tho both of them were put out in their name, and while they sat.*

Ib. p. 551.

*Reflect. on Atterbury's Rights* p. 28.

My Lord of *Sarum*, to clear further the Authority of the Edition of the *Articles* in 1563. against the Original Manuscript subscrib'd by both Houses of Convocation, says, *The true account of the Difficulty is this, When the Articles were first settled, they were subscrib'd by both Houses on Paper; but that being done, they were afterwards ingross'd in Parchment,*

*Expos.* p. 16.



*Parchment, and made up in form, to remain as Records. Now in all such Bodys, many Alterations are often made after a Minute or first Draught is agreed on, before the Matter is brought to full perfection; so this Alteration was made between the time that they were first subscrib'd, and the last voting of them. But, says my Lord Bishop, the Original Records, which, if extant, wou'd have clear'd the whole matter, having been burnt in the Fire of London, it is not possible to appeal to them.*

To which I answer, 1. That let the *Articles be ingross'd in Parchment, after they were subscrib'd by both Houses on Paper, still those subscrib'd are the authentick Originals: and were those Parchments (which the Bishop supposes) in being, they wou'd not be of equal Authority with the Originals in Paper, sign'd by both Houses of Convocation.*

2. His Lordship's Supposition, *That the Alteration was made between the time the Articles were first subscrib'd, and the last voting of them,* is inconsistent with the Proceedings of all other Assemblys of Men, who always *vote first and subscribe last: And this Method which his Lordship supposes the Convocation took, will never be allow'd to be the Method of Convocation, even by Men who have no great Opinion of the reasonable Proceedings of such a Body.*

3. His Lordship refers the proof of his Supposition to Records that are *lost* (which did they appear wou'd signify nothing) and therefore can never be admitted to take place against such incontestable Evidence as



I have produc'd. And I hope, in regard to the Authority of Human Testimony, whereon the Truth of the Christian Religion in some measure depends, that neither his Lordship, nor the Clergy will urge such Presumptions in favour of themselves and their own Power, against the highest Evidence a matter of Fact is capable of, lest *Infidels* and *Scepticks* with as much reason turn such Objections upon them.

4. But to vindicate beyond contradiction the Authority of the Manuscript Articles of 1562. left to *Corpus Christi* College by Archbishop *Parker*, and to destroy the credit of the Latin Edition of the Articles printed in 1563. and overthrow my Lord of *Sarum*'s Supposition of the Convocation's first *subscribing the Articles* without the Clause, and then *voting* them with the Clause, I shall produce a Passage out of that very Latin Edition of 1563. where the Clause was first printed, with which I am furnish'd by Bishop *Pearson*, who in a Book, intitled, *No*  
 Bib. Scrip. *Necessity of Reformation*, says, *We know that*  
 Eccl. Ang. *there was an Original of the Articles enroll'd;*  
 p. 362. *we can tell them how many Pages that Original*  
*consisted of, even determinately 19. we can as-*  
*sure them this was deposited with Matthew*  
*Archbishop of Canterbury; we can tell them the*  
*Day when it was done, viz. the Fifth Day of*  
*February: all which appeareth by the Post-*  
*script printed with the Articles in Latin in the*  
*Year 1563. by Renald Wolfe the Queen's Prin-*  
*ter. And he then proceeds to give us the*  
*Postscript, which in English runs thus: These*  
*Articles*



*Articles \* of Christian Faith, containing in all nineteen Pages, in a Manuscript in the Custody of the most Reverend Father in Christ Matthew Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate and Metropolitan of all England, the Archbishops and Bishops of each Province, lawfully assembled in a Holy Provincial Synod, do receive and profess with unanimous Assent, and approve as true and Orthodox by Subscription of their Hands on the Twenty Ninth of January, in the Year of our Lord, according to the Computation of the Church of England, One Thousand Five Hundred Sixty Two : And all the Clergy of the Lower House did unanimously receive and profess the same, as appears by the Subscription of their hands, which they brought and deposited with the same most Reverend Archbishop, on the Fifth of February in the aforesaid Year.*

These words contain such a Description of the Manuscript left by Archbishop Parker

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\* Hos Articulos Christianæ Fidei, continentes in universum novemdecem paginas in Autographo, quod asservatur apud Reverendissimum in Christo Patrem, Dominum Matthæum Cantuariensem Archiepiscopum, totius Angliæ Primatem & Metropolitanum, Archiepiscopi & Episcopi utriusque Provinciæ regno Angliæ, in sacrâ Provinciali Synodo legitimè congregati, unanimi assensu recipiunt & profitentur, & ut veros atque Orthodoxos, manuum suarum subscriptionibus approbant, vicesimo nono die mensis Januarii, Anno Domini, secundum computationem Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, millesimo quingentesimo, sexagesimo secundo : universusque Clerus inferioris domus, eosdem & recepit & professus est, ut ex manuum suarum subscriptionibus patet, quas obtulit & deposuit apud eundem Reverendissimum, quinto die Februarii, Anno prædicto,



to *Corpus Christi* College in *Cambridg*, as demonstrate that to be the only authentick Original of the Articles of 1562.

For, 1<sup>st</sup>. The *Postscript* says, That the *Articles in Manuscript* were kept by *Archbishop Parker*; and it is certain *Parker* gave these *Manuscript Articles* to *Corpus Christi* College.

2<sup>ly</sup>. The *Postscript* says, *The Manuscript contain'd in all nineteen Pages*, so does the *Manuscript of Corpus Christi College*; for at the end of it are these words, *These Articles containing in all nineteen \* Pages, &c.* This Agreement of the *Postscript* with the Original *Manuscript* as to nineteen Pages, is of the more consequence, because this *Manuscript* is a fair Draught of *K. Edward's Articles* (which were forty two in number) accurately writ out for the use and serious consideration of the *Archbishop*; some of which are wholly superseded and struck out by the *Archbishop* with a red-lead Pen, and divers others of them are shortned, dashing that thro which he was minded to have omitted: whereas had it been a *Manuscript* consisting only of thirty nine of those Articles of *K. Edward*, and those contracted too, it is reasonable to imagine the *Manuscript* wou'd have fallen short of nineteen Pages; but since it consists of exactly nineteen Pages, it must be the *Manuscript* refer'd to in the *Postscript*.

3<sup>ly</sup>. The *Postscript* says, *The Archbishops and Bishops of both Provinces subscrib'd the Manuscript Articles, kept by Archbishop Par-*

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\* Hos Articulos Fidei Christianæ continentes in univsum novemdecem paginas, &c.



ker, on the 29th of January 1562. and so says the *Manuscript of Corpus Christi College*. Ib. p. 289. From all which nothing is more clear, than that the Latin Edition of the Articles in 1563. upon which so much is built, destroys its own credit, establishes the Authority of the Manuscript of *Corpus Christi College*, and cuts off all pretence for imagining the *Clause of the Church's Power* was voted after the *Articles* were first subscrib'd; since the printed Edition of 1563. came out after the Convocation had done both subscribing and voting.

2. Besides the Authority of the Latin Copy printed in 1563. it is further pretended, in behalf of the Clause in question, That before the *Fire of London* there were Records of Convocation in being that had the *Clause* in them, and that from thence it was taken and printed in the year 1563. *Bp of Sarum's Exp.* p. 16.

Dr. Heylin says, That having occasion to consult the Records of Convocation, he found this controverted *Clause of the Church's Power* verbatim. Archbishop Laud, in his Speech in the Star-chamber, at the Censure of Pryn, Bastwick and Burton, is more particular, and says, That he sent to the publick Records in his Office, and here, under his Officer's hand, who is a Publick Notary, is return'd to him the 20th Article, with the affirmative *Clause of the Church's Power* in it. And there is the whole Body of the Articles to be seen; and that these Articles were fully and fairly agreed to and subscrib'd in 1562. *Animad. on Fuller's Ch. Hist.* p. 144, 145. p. 83. Ibid.

And as to the Articles review'd by the Convocation in 1571. he says, They were



settled as in the year 1562. with the Clause in them for the Church: for looking further into the Records which were in his own hands, he found the Book of 1562. subscrib'd by all the Lower House of Convocation in the year 1571. These Particulars urg'd by Heylin and Laud, seem at first view to give some Authority to the disputed Clause; but as all Objections to the Truth do, when examin'd, tend to its Confirmation, so here these Objections will give me an opportunity of setting this matter in a clearer light than I cou'd have done, had not Archbishop Laud and Heylin thought fit to produce these Authorities.

I begin first with the pretended Record of the Articles subscrib'd in the year 1571. because my Answer here will discover what sort of Evidence Archbishop Laud was, and thereby prepare my Reader for what I shall observe more largely, on occasion of the pretended Records of the Articles of 1562. cited also by Archbishop Laud.

P. 208.

Now that Archbishop Laud never saw any Articles that were settled and subscrib'd in 1571. as he says he did in his Speech in the Star-chamber in 1637. will be evident from the following Passage written by him, in his History of his own Troubles and Trial: says he, A Committee of the House of Commons sent Mr. Dobson my Comptroller to me to the Tower, to require me to send them, under my Hand, what Originals I had of the Articles of Religion establish'd in 1571. This was on Wednesday, July 12. (1643.) and I return'd him the same day this Answer in Writing, with my name  
to



to it: " The Original Articles of 1571. I  
 " cou'd never find in my Paper Study at  
 " Lambeth, or any where else; and whe-  
 " ther any Copy of them were left there, I  
 " cannot tell." So that here you have  
*Laud* contradicting himself, and destroying  
 his own Testimony in the *Starchamber*, in the  
 fullest manner that can be. While he was  
 in the height of his Power, and had no  
 fear of being call'd to an account for what  
 he said, this *blessed Martyr* made no scruple  
 to put a Falshood on the World, by say-  
 ing, *That looking into the Records which were in*  
*his own hands, he found the Articles subscrib'd*  
*by all the Lower House of Convocation in 1571.*  
 But when he was in apprehension that he  
 shou'd be oblig'd to produce his Vouchers  
 for what he said, he proceeded with more  
 Caution, and tells the Parliament, *That he*  
*cou'd not find the Original Articles of 1571.*  
*either at Lambeth, or any where else.* I do  
 not think his Admirers will alter their  
 Opinion concerning him (any more than  
 I do mine) on account of this notorious  
 Prevarication: I do not hope to produce  
 that effect on them; nor is it of any mo-  
 ment to the question in debate, either whe-  
 ther they do not believe a word that he  
 says, or else lay an equal stress on both his  
 Testimonys; for let them take which side  
 they please, it is demonstrable that his Tes-  
 timony in the *Starchamber* must go for no-  
 thing.

2. As to the Record of the *Articles* that  
 Archbishop *Laud* says were agreed and sub-  
 scrib'd to in 1562. and for which he pro-  
 duc'd



duc'd the *Hand* of a *Publick Notary* in the *Starchamber*, I answer,

1<sup>st</sup>. By asking, (1.) On what day this *Record* was agreed to and subscrib'd? for if it was subscrib'd before *Archbishop Parker's* Manuscript was subscrib'd, it can be of no validity to establish the Authority of the controverted Clause, the subsequent Subscription of *Parker's* Manuscript nulling all former Subscription. (2.) I ask by whom this *Record* was subscrib'd? for unless it was subscrib'd by both Houses of Convocation, it is of no validity against a *Record* subscrib'd by both Houses, as *Archbishop Parker's* is. (3.) I ask in what manner this *Record* is subscrib'd? for in my Enquirys I meet with something very strange, and that for ought I know *Archbishop Laud* may call *Subscription*. A Friend at *Oxford* writes me word, That there are two *Latin Copys* of the *Articles* printed in the year 1563. by *Renald Wolfe*, wherein the Clause of the *Church's Power* is inserted; and, says he, I cannot but observe a notable piece of *Fraud* as to one of these *Copys*, to the *Vellum Cover* of which is pasted a long *Scroul* of Names, of the suppos'd *Subscribers* to the *Articles* of 1562. But when I came to compare these Names with those *Mr. Strype* has given us out of *Corpus Christi College Library*, that are subscrib'd to *Archbishop Parker's* Manuscript of 1562. I found them quite different; for tho some of the Names are the same with these, yet it is commonly by other Titles: so that neither the *Prolocutor* nor the *Members* cou'd be the same that subscrib'd the *Articles* of 1562. Unless therefore *ArchBp Laud*,



*Laud*, *Dr. Heylin*, or somebody else, had told us in what manner this Book was subscrib'd; we may very well imagine that there was such a piece of Artifice us'd, as there is at *Oxford*, to give credit to the controverted Clause: especially since so much Prevarication appears in supporting it, and there is the greatest Evidence in the world for rejecting it.

2dly. I answer, That there cou'd be no Records of Convocation in the Archbishop of *Canterbury's* Office left in *Laud's* time, proper to determine the question of the Authority of the controverted Clause. For it has already been shewn, that the original Articles were left with Archbishop *Parker*, and that they were given by him as a Legacy to *Corpus-Christi* College in *Cambridge*, at his death in 1575. where they still remain.

3dly. Had not the Manuscript of 1562. all the marks in the world of being genuine, yet the Authority of Archbishop *Parker* must be allow'd to be greater in this case than Archbishop *Laud's*. I suppose Archbishop *Parker* is generally esteem'd a High Churchman, by what I meet with of him in *Wood Athenæ* (who never gives a good word to any one Oxon. vol. of another Character) That he sat in the 1. p. 588. See of *Canterbury* with great honour to the time of his death: And therefore he must be suppos'd at least willing to do justice to the Church, tho he might make some scruple of prevaricating in its behalf, as *Laud* did. But there was a great difference between them in another respect. Archbishop *Parker*,  
ker,



her, as President of the Convocations of 1562, and 1571. the only Convocations that ever had the affair of our Articles before them, must be acquainted perfectly with their Proceedings, and consequently be better qualify'd to give an account of our Articles than any succeeding Archbishop.

Pag. 70.  
Ann.Dom.  
1617.

4thly. That there were no Records in the Archbishop of Canterbury's Office, proper to determine the question before us, in Laud's time, will appear likewise from a Passage out of Dr. Heylin's *Cyprianus Anglicus, or Life of Archbishop Laud*; which on other accounts, as well as that before us, deserves to be cited at large. Says he, The Archbishop (that is Archbishop Abbot, Laud's immediate Predecessor) had been off the books since the Affront (as he conceiv'd) was put upon him, in burning his Chaplain Dr. Mocket's Book intitled, *Politia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*; which had given no small reputation to the Church of England beyond the seas: for which Severity, tho many just reasons were alledg'd, yet it was generally conceiv'd, that as the Book far'd the worse for the Author's sake, so the Author did not speed the better for the Archbishop's sake; between whom and the Bishop of Winchester there had been some differences, which the rest of the Court-Bishops were apt enough to make use of to his disadvantage. This Dr. Mocket had publish'd in the Latin Tongue the Liturgy of the Church of England, the publick Catechisms, the Thirty nine Articles, the Book of Ordination of Bishops, Priests and Deacons, and many doctrinal Points extracted out of the Book of Homily's; together with Bishop Jewel's Apology,  
Mr.



*Mr. Noel's Catechism, and his own Politia, &c. A Collection which the good Man publish'd in a pious Zeal, for gaining honour to this Church among foreign Nations: But then this Zeal of his was accompany'd with so little Knowledg in the Constitution of this Church, or so much byass'd to Calvin's Platform, that it was thought fit not only to call it in, but to expiate the Errors of it in a publick flame. For first his Extracts out of the Book of Homily's were conceiv'd to be rather fram'd according to his own Judgment, which inclin'd him towards Calvinism, as his Patron did; than squar'd according to the Rules and Dictates of the Church of England. And possible enough it is, that some just offence might be taken at him, for making the Fast-days appointed in the Liturgy of the Church of England to be commanded and observ'd ob Politicas Considerationes, for politick Considerations only. But that which I conceive to have been the true cause why the Book was burnt, was, that in publishing the twentieth Article concerning the Authority of the Church, he totally left out the first Clause, viz. Habet Ecclesia Ritus sive Ceremonias statuendi jus, & in Controversiis fidei auctoritatem: by means whereof the Article was apparently falsify'd, the Church's Authority disavow'd, and consequently a wide gap open'd to dispute her Power in all her Canons and Determinations of what sort soever.*

From which Passage of Dr. Heylin, I argue, (1.) That if Mocker's Book was burnt out of enmity to Archbishop Abbot his Patron; and if the Reasons publicly assign'd were what the Doctor suggests; and if the



Doctor *conceives* aright as to *the true cause of burning it*; it is evident that the Clause of the *Church's Power* must be a pure piece of Forgery. For if the Omission of the Clause had been really a defect in *Mocket*, why was not that assign'd as a publick Reason for burning the Book? That wou'd have been so glorious an opportunity for the *Court-Bishops* to show their enmity to *Abbot*, that their omitting to assign that as a Reason for burning his Book, evidently shows that they cou'd not defend the Authority of the Clause. (2.) *Mocket's* Book show'd the Judgment of Archbishop *Abbot*, and in all likelihood of many other Divines of that time, and thereby render'd the Authority of the Clause very suspicious; so that it became the *Court Bishops* not only out of enmity to Archbishop *Abbot*, but out of regard to the Church, to have settled the Authority of this disputed *Clause*, which the Records of that time must have enabled them to do, had there been any to the purpose. But since no attempt was made at that time towards establishing the Authority of this doubtful Clause; and since ABp *Abbot* and several other eminent Divines must be suppos'd likewise to think it spurious; nothing can be plainer than that there were no Records then in being proper to determine the Affair of this controverted Clause, but what made against its Authority. The Records belonging to the Office of the Archbishop of *Canterbury* were as visible then as they were afterwards in *Laud's* time; but since no one then thought fit to make use of them, when  
so



so just an occasion was given, I conclude that there were then none there in favour of the Clause, and that if Archbishop *Laud's* Manuscript did appear to have been there in Archbishop *Abbot's* time, it wou'd be of no authority.

5thly. But Archbishop *Laud* himself has enabled me to put an end intirely to the Authority of this Manuscript, (for which he produc'd the Hand of a publick Notary) in almost as ample a manner as he did in the case of the original Articles of 1571. For when the House of Commons in 1643. sent to him at the same time about the Original of the Articles of 1562. as they did about those of 1571. he sent this Answer with his Name to it: *The original Articles of 1562. with many hands, I did see and peruse at Lambeth; but whether the Bishops hands were to them or not, I cannot remember.* So that these original Articles of 1562. for which he cites a Publick Notary, are plainly of no authority, when consider'd in opposition to Archbishop *Parker's Manuscript*: For sure no one will say that a Manuscript subscrib'd by one House of Convocation, is of equal authority with one subscrib'd by both Houses, and both Provinces. But,

Hist. of his  
Troubles,  
p. 208.

6thly. It does appear, That there was a double Subscription of the Articles, first by \* *some Members of the Lower House*, and afterwards by the *Body of the Lower House*

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\* Acta Conv. Anno 1562. printed in the Synodus Anglic. p. 206.



on the fifth of February †. From whence I argue, That either the Articles, which were thus doubly subscrib'd, were numerically the same, or somewhat different from one another. If they were numerically the same, then the *Records* for which *Laud* produces the Hand of a *Publick Notary*, must be forg'd Records, with a sham List of Names tack'd to them: because these Records of *Laud* differ from the Articles sign'd by the *Body of the Lower House on the fifth of February*, which were lodg'd with *Archbishop Parker* (as appears from a || *Postscript* to the first *Latin Edition* of the Articles in 1563.) and are now to be seen at *Corpus-Christi College in Cambridge* without the Clause. If the Articles thus doubly subscrib'd were not the same in all respects, then those *Records*, for which *Laud* produc'd the Hand of a *Publick Notary* (if they were true Records) must be those first subscrib'd by some Members of the Lower House; because *Archbishop Parker's* Manuscript was left by him to *Corpus-Christi College* at his death in 1575. and consequently was remov'd from the *Archbishop of Canterbury's* Office long before *Laud's* time. Wherefore did those Records now appear with the Clause for the *Church's Power*, they wou'd be so far from establishing its Autho-

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† Ibid. p. 207. compar'd with the *Postscript* (to the first *Latin Edition* of the Articles in 1563.) printed in *Bibl. Script. Eccl. Ang.* p. 362.

|| *Bibl. Script. Eccl. Ang.* p. 362.



rity, that they wou'd intirely destroy it. For the appearance of such a Record wou'd show that there was a Contest in the Convocation of 1562. about the *Clause* of the *Church's Power*; and the Manuscript of *Corpus-Christi* College wou'd show not only that the *Clause* is no part of our twentieth Article, but that the Convocation of 1562. acquitted themselves like Protestants, in throwing out such a *Clause*, which some at that time of day were so much Papists as to subscribe; whereby the Sense of our Church wou'd be discover'd in a more compleat manner against the Doctrine of the *Authority of the Church in Controversys of Faith*, than if a Clause asserting its *Authority* had never been offer'd at.

Thus I have produc'd what I think fit at present to demonstrate both the Forgery and Absurdity of this Clause: But yet I hope no one can think me so irrational, as to propose either by the *one* or the *other* to produce any other effect on our *High-Church Priests*, than a greater Noise and Zeal than ever in its behalf; for as my Lord of *Sarum* Exp. p. 5. very justly observes, *When Corruptions are beneficial to the whole Body of the Clergy*, they can never be reform'd without a miracle by the major part. And therefore I shall conclude this matter with a few Inferences from the whole, for the sake of those to whom it is written; who either have no interest to mislead them, or else have a Love of Truth superior to such a consideration.

As,



Mark 7.  
13.

As, 1<sup>st</sup>. A Man may see by this Instance how uncertain *Tradition* is, and by what sort of means *that* has, not with the *Jews* only, but with the majority of Christians, gone a great way towards *making the Word of God of none effect*.

Sermons,  
Vol. 4.  
P. 433.

2<sup>ly</sup>. How uncertain the Evidence of the gravest Divines in Church-Matters is, more especially since they give ground to make one believe, that they think themselves oblig'd in Conscience to promote the *good of the Church* by Fraud (as well as Force) as the Instances I have given wou'd tempt one to imagine. For I can hardly conceive so ill an Opinion of ABp *Laud* or Bp *Pearson*, as to believe them capable of offering things to the World against their own knowledg, upon any other Principle, but that out of Conscience they think themselves oblig'd to use that *Trick* (as ABp *Tillotson* phrases it) of the *Zea-*  
*lots, of Lying for the Truth*.

3<sup>ly</sup>. If Men may be impos'd on so easily in such a Country as ours, how much more easily may they be impos'd on in the more ignorant and dark Corners of the Earth, especially before Printing was invented, when all kind of Literature was wholly in the hands of Ecclesiasticks?

4<sup>ly</sup>. If Priests are capable of venturing to forge an Article of Religion, and Mankind are so stupid as to let them have Success, how can we receive Books of Bulk (such as the *Fathers* and *Councils*) that have gone thro their hands, and lay any stress or dependance on their Authority? Ought we not  
rather



rather to suppose, that where they have had an Opportunity, they have laid out their natural Talents in Alterations, Interpolations and Rasures of those Books, than that they have let us have any thing pure and unmixt as from the Fountain, where it has been in the least degree in their Power ?

5ly. We may learn how advantageous such Discoverys are to *True Religion*, which can never be rendred suspicious, or of doubtful Authority, but when it is mix'd and blended, and put on the same foot of Credit with the Forgerys of Priests. Let Religion (which signifies Man's Duty to God) stand on those Reasons which must of course occur to every body, without the assistance of Forgery from the Priests, and Persecution from Magistrates at their instigation ; and it cannot be suppos'd, but that all *well-meaning* Men must come into it, without a high Reflection on Almighty God, in making him to require that as a Duty of us, which with the best Intentions we are not able to arrive at the knowledg of.

6ly. and Lastly, How great a value we Protestants ought to set upon the Holy Scriptures, those inestimable Treasures of Wisdom and Knowledg, since there is nothing but uncertainty to be met with every where else ; and since we are assur'd by the Spirit of Truth it self, that *they* alone are *able to make us wise unto Salvation*. They 2 Tim. 3. have a universal Tradition to support them, 15. infinitely beyond the Evidence of any other



ther matter of fact, and have besides the  
 1 Cor. 2. 4. *demonstration of the Spirit and of Power.*  
 But I cannot exprefs my fenfe better a-  
 gainft the Authority of Priests, and for  
 the Authority of the Protestant Religion  
 contain'd in the Scriptures, than in the  
 words of our incomparable *Chillingworth*:

*Prot. Rel.* fays he, " By the Religion of Protestants I  
*a safe way,* " do not understand the Doctrine of *Lu-*  
*cap. 6.* " *ther*, or *Calvin*, or *Mélancthon*; nor the  
*Sect. 56.* " Confession of *Augufta* or *Geneva*, nor the  
 " Catechism of *Heidelberg*, nor the *Arti-*  
 " *cles of the Church of England*; but the  
 " Bible, the Bible, I fay, the *Bible only* is  
 " the Religion of Protestants. Whatfoe-  
 " ver elfe they may believe as matter of  
 " Faith and Religion, they cannot do it  
 " with coherence to their own grounds, nor  
 " require the Belief of it of others, with-  
 " out moft high and moft fchismatical Pre-  
 " fumption. I for my part, after a long,  
 " and (as I verily believe and hope) im-  
 " partial fearch of the true way to Eternal  
 " Happinefs, do profefs plainly, that I can-  
 " not find any reft for the Sole of my Feet,  
 " but upon this Rock only. I fee plainly  
 " and with my own Eyes, Councils againft  
 " Councils, fome Fathers againft others,  
 " the fame Fathers againft themfelves, a  
 " Conſent of Fathers of one Age againft a  
 " Conſent of Fathers of another Age, and  
 " the Church of one Age againft the Church  
 " of another Age. Traditive Interpreta-  
 " tions of Scripture are pretended, but  
 " few or none to be found: No Tradition  
 " but only of Scripture, can derive it ſelf  
 " from



“ from the Fountain. In a word, there is  
 “ no sufficient certainty, but of Scripture  
 “ only, for any considering Man to build  
 “ upon. This therefore, and this only, I  
 “ have reason to believe: this I will profess,  
 “ according to this I will live; and for this,  
 “ if there be occasion, I will not only wil-  
 “ lingly, but gladly lose my Life, tho I  
 “ shou’d be sorry that Christians shou’d  
 “ take it from me.”

**F I N I S.**

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Vindicated from the  
Abusive Senses put upon it.

---

Written by a *Curate* of SALOP;  
And directed to the *Clergy* of *that County*,  
and the Neighbouring Ones of *North-  
Wales*; To whom the Author wisheth  
Patience, Moderation, and a Good Un-  
derstanding, for Half an Hour.

---

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*The 13th Chapter to the Romans,  
Vindicated from the Abusive Sen-  
ses put upon it.*

**M**Y Business having drawn me up to *London* in the Winter, I had the Opportunity of Hearing the *Trial* of the famous Doctor, from the Beginning to the End : and was thereby inform'd of abundance of Things, of which I was before ignorant ; and enabled, as I thought, to set you right also, and to correct a great many Mistakes, into which I found We had all of us been led. When I first came to *Town*, it was between the Preaching of his Sermon, and his being *Impeach'd* for it : and I believe, I may safely affirm, there were not Ten Men of Sense and Character, in all the *City*, but did absolutely condemn that Discourse, as a Rhapsody of incoherent ill-digested Thoughts, dress'd in the worst Language that could be found. They said it became not a *Minister* of the Gospel, for the Spirit with which it was compos'd ; nor a *Doctor*, for the Argumentative Part of it ; nor a tolerable *Englishman*, for the Stile and Expression. In a word ; neither the *Matter*, nor the *Manner* of the *Sermon* pleased any one. This, I am sure, was then the Untainted Judgment of the *Town*. The Man was thoroughly despis'd, both by his Friends, and Enemies, for this Performance. Upon the *Impeachment* indeed Matters were much changed, and the *Sermon* mended strangely. The *High Church* Party took the *Sermon*, and the *Preacher*, into their Protection, and made his Cause their own ; not changing their Opinion, nor valuing either at the Price of a Pin, but making it a Handle and Occasion of bringing their lost and abandon'd Cause into countenance again, and of playing their Game anew with more advantage. They gain'd at first on the devout and honourable Women,



who whisper'd back to them, That if they had the Courage to resume the Posts they had been lately driven from, there never was an Opportunity more favourable than now : I may not tell you abundance of Things that I then heard from good Hands : We quickly saw how the Cause thriv'd in its Management, and what Arts were used to make weak People believe, *the Church was endangered in that Trial, and Tried together with her Champion* : This was then the Talk of credulous Women, shallow Men, and of young Preachers, and of many of my Countrymen and

Sir J. Pa---on. *Fellow-Curates* ; from whom, I doubt not, our Neighbour stole the Thought, and put it into his *elegant Address*. Whereas to Me, the Church appear'd to be no more concern'd in This Dispute, than the Mountain, at whose bottom my House stands. The Dispute, I plainly saw, was who should have the good *Places*, the profitable *Posts*, and *Offices of Honour*. The Peace was then in view, and both Sides began to bestir themselves ; the One to *keep* the Seats they were already in, the Other to *remove them*, and place their Betters in ; imagining, that as Things settled at the Peace, there they would fix and continue. But let them settle where they will, the Church, I dare engage, will be no whit the better, unless we will account that half a score Seditious, Bold *Incendiaries*, are the Church. These indeed will be Gainers, as you will shortly see ; and that will be all the advantage the Church will get by this warm Controversy.

There is nothing so conceited as a Man that has lately been at London, and let into some *Secret History*, and kept Company for an Hour or two, with some *Great Folks* above his Quality. This, I own was my Condition, and I believed that as soon as I should get down into the Country, I should carry all before me, and quickly convince you, that you had wrong Notions of Things, understood very little of the Springs of publick Affairs, and were carried away into a thousand Errors. That you are still as blind as

*Beetles,*



Beetles, I am very sure ; but that you are capable of being convinced, and set right in any of these Matters, is what I now doubt very much ; since I have seen you so unanimous in affirming the Doctor to be a *Man of Parts*, and great *Defender of the Church*, and that the *Churches Interest* and *His* were inseparable ; and that all who were *against Him*, were *Enemies to the Church*, with a great many such like foolish and absurd Propositions. When I saw this, I easily forgave your counting *Six* to be more than *Seven*, and *Fifty two* to be as many again as *Sixty-nine* : These I thought might better be maintain'd, (by opposing *Weight* to *Number*) than the other, which betrays such a Defect of Judgment, as is not to be rectified or remedied. But that which gave me most trouble, in all our Bickerings, was, methoughts, that obstinate, vexatious Citation of *The 13th. Chap. to the Romans*, which was thrown at my Head upon all Occasions. I could not mention the *Revolution*, *K. William*, the *H. of C* ———, *Liberties of the Subject*, nor any thing like them, but presently I was desired to look into the *13th Chap. to the Romans*. I no sooner urged that *Sir. S. H.* and all the Doctor's *Council* had defended the *Revolution* and the *Resistance* that brought it about, as strenuously and openly, and in as plain terms, as the *Managers* themselves had done ; and that the present *Archbishop of Y.* had given up all that they contended for, in making the *Laws of the Land* the *Measure of the Subjects Submission and Obedience* ; as good *K. Charles the I.* had own'd the *Law to be the Measure of his Power*, in His *Declarat.* from *New-Market*, *March 9. 1641.* I had, I say, no sooner urged these things, and others to the like Purpose, but that a *Bible* was brought, which opened of itself at the *13th Chap. to the Romans*, and I was bid to see what I could make of it. This, as I was a *Curate*, gave me more Concern than all you said besides, and so I resolved to see and read that Chapter through and through, and give you my Thoughts of it ; which I now send you in *Print*, for the Edification of my Country, and



and good Neighbours. It cost me the more Pains, because I was to spin it (as it were) out of my own Brains, not being allowed, as it should seem, to consult any Commentators, either of the *Popish* or the *Protestant Party* abroad; since I was every day told, that the *Doctrine of Passive Obedience and Non-Resistance*, was a *Doctrine Peculiar to the Church of England*. Now altho' a *Doctrine* seldom recommends itself to me, by its *Peculiarity*, yet I thought it would be to no purpose to cite either *Protestant* or *Papist*, who would not be believed or trusted in the Matter. And yet, I tell you, it is no little prejudice to a *Doctrine* of such Importance, to have both *Protestant* and *Popish* Writers favour it so little as they do: Nor is it a little absurd, to say a *Doctrine* is *Peculiar* to a Church, when it pretends to come from *Christ*, to be taught by the *Apostles*, and by all the *Primitive Writers*. I desire after the Example of other *Great Authors*, that I may first suppose some few things, as *Postulata*, and then make *Arguments* and *Inferences* from them, in the manner following.

I. I suppose that the *Epistle to the Romans* (of which the 13th Chapter is so notable a part) tho' immediately directed to the Christians of *that Empire*, was yet intended by *St. Paul*, for the Use, Instruction and Direction of *all the Christians* in the World besides.

II. I suppose that, at what time the 13th Chap. to the *Romans* might be written, there were as many different Governments in the World, as there are at this Day. I will name but Four. 1st, An *Absolute Monarchy*, such as the *Roman Empire* then was, and the *Turkish* one now is. Where the *Will* of the Prince was the *Law*. 2dly, A *limited and mixed Monarchy*, as that of the *Quadi* was of old, and *England* is now thought to be. Where the Prince governed by a Body of known *Laws*, made by himself, together with a *Chamber of Nobles*, and a *Chamber of Sage and Substantial Persons*, chose out of the *Commonalty*, to represent them. He could make no new *Law* by himself, nor  
could



could he *abrogate an old one* ; nor could he so explain a *doubtful* controverted Passage of a Law, as to make it pass for Law, by his *single Authority*. He had the Power of appointing all such as should *execute* the Laws. He had also the Power of *the Sword* ; he could make *War and Peace*, but he could not of himself, raise any Money, either to pay the *Civil List*, or to pay the *Soldiers* ; nor could he appoint his *Successor*. In a word, it was just such another Government, as that of *England* is, under a *King*, a *House of Lords*, and *Commons*. And if any of you doubt whether the *Quadi* were really and in truth thus governed at that time, I will not refer you to the Writers of those times for my justification, but desire only to suppose there *might be* such a Government ; which is not unreasonable, because you know there actually *is* such a one, namely our own of *Great Britain*. 3dly, An *Aristocratical* Government, like that of *Venice*, where the *Senators* truly govern all, but with a *Duke* at their Head, of little *Real*, but of much *Ceremonial* Significancy. 4thly, A *Commonwealth* like that of the *Seven Provinces* with a *Stadtholder* for their *Captain General*. These Four Sorts of Government I take leave to suppose there were, or at least *might have been*, when the 13th Chap. to the *Rom.* was written.

III. I suppose the 13th Chap. to the *Romans*, made no immediate *Change* of all, or any of these Four Governments ; but left them as they found them. Each of them continued, or might have continued, as it stood before *that Chapter* was written ; neither of them became more or less lawful, innocent, or convenient, than they were before *S. Paul* appeared : It gave the *Governing Part* of each, no more Power than it had before ; nor did it put the *Governed Party* into any worse Estate and Condition.

IV. As the 13th Ch. to the *Rom.* unsettled no Government that was then settled ; nor made any manner of Change that we know of : So neither did it settle or fix any Government in such a manner, as to make it  
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unlawful for the *Legislative Power* (should it see fit) to change or alter it. An *Absolute Monarch* might, if he had pleased, have condescended to govern by *known Laws*, and might have obliged himself to govern by *no other Laws*; and might have discharged the People from obeying him, whenever he should go about to overthrow those known Laws: And of this he might appoint 12 or more *Great Officers* to be the *Judges*, who should determine, whether such and such Commands, if executed, would overthrow those known Laws; and consequently whether the People were obliged to execute those Orders and Commands. One may suppose the 13th Chap. to the Romans would not hinder this *Arbitrary Prince*, from making these Condescensions, nor from obliging himself to stand to them when made. Neither would the 13th Chap. to the Romans forbid or hinder a *Limited Monarchy* from becoming an *Absolute one*, should all that are concerned freely consent to make it so. In a word, it is but reasonable to think, that every Estate and Government knows its own Defects the best; and best knows how to supply and remedy those Defects, by changing the Place of Power, and putting it into proper Hands, in what Degree or Measure it thinks fit, and most conducive to its own Advantage: For all Governments have the same Authority; but differ in the Exercise and Administration of it.

V. The 13th Chap. to the Romans is therefore a much quieter Chapter than most People imagine. It changed no Government: It settled none unalterably; It made no Freemen Slaves; It made no Slaves Freemen. It left every Nation to be governed by its own Laws; and if they could mend those Laws, they might: And if they should part with them for worse, it did not forbid them doing so. It bids every Soul be subject to the Higher Powers - - - but it does not tell us, who those Higher Powers are: It sends us to the Laws of the Constitution, to learn where they are placed. The Higher Powers at Rome were not, at that time, the Emperor; the Senate, and the People, conjunctly, but the Empe-



ror, the Senate, and the People conjunctly, but the Emperor alone. The Higher Powers among the Quadi were the Prince, The upper and lower Chambers; in the Legislature, the Power of raising Taxes, and appointing the Succession; but the Prince alone in Fighting and executing Laws. The Higher Powers in the Aristocracy, and in the Commonwealth, were much as they now are in Venice, and the Seven Provinces. This we learn not from the 13th Chap. to the Romans, but from the Histories of their several Constitutions. The 13th Chap. to the Rom. tells us, that the Powers that be, are ordained of God; therefore it tells us, that Arbitrary Monarchy, that Limited Monarchy, that Aristocracy, and a Commonwealth, are ordained of God; that they are, each of them, alike the Ordinance of God. And the same Chapter says, that they who resist the Ordinance of God, shall receive to themselves Damnation --- Therefore it says, that whosoever resisteth in an Arbitrary, or a Limited Monarchy, in an Aristocracy or in a Commonwealth, shall receive to himself Damnation, i. e. It says in short, that a Man may be a Rebel in or against any Sort, or Species of Government; and that a Rebel, without Repentance, shall be damned. But does it tell us, what Rebellion is? Or what sort of Resistance it is, that makes a Man a Rebel? This innocent Chapter, to my thinking, says nothing of the Matter --- it leaves us to learn from the Laws and Constitutions of each Government, what Obedience is required at the Subjects Hands: What it is to be a Rebel; and what Resistance is adjudged Rebellion. And since it leaves each Kingdom to be governed by its own Laws, (as is above shewn) and to change those Laws, as it sees convenient, it follows manifestly, that such or such an Act of Resistance, may be Rebellion in one Country, and not in another; and (in the same Country) at one time, and at another time (when the Law is changed) it may be no Rebellion; and that which once was damnable, may now be innocent and justifiable. We may therefore learn from the 13th Chap. to the Romans, that Rebellion is at all times damnable; but we cannot learn from thence, what is Rebellion. That the Laws



of the Land must teach us: The Chapter forbids *Resistance*, but, truly, the *Laws* must tell us what *Resistance* is, and in what *Case* it is *forbidden*.

VI. The 13th Chap. to the Romans commands *Submission to the Higher Powers*. The *Laws* of the *Empire* may say, that this *Submission* (with respect to the *Roman Emperor*) must be *Submission without Reserve*: The Chapter therefore may say, that the *Submission* of the *Roman Subjects*, was *Submission without Reserve*. But does the 13th Chap. to the Romans say the same thing to the *Subjects* of the *Quadian Monarchy*, with respect to their *King*? When the *Laws* of their *Government* tell them, that their *King*, is not a *Roman Emperor*, nor has the sole *Legislative Power* lodged in his *Hands*, nor can raise a *Penny of Money*, without both *Chambers*; Does this Chapter tell the *People*, that they must submit *without Reserve*, to what *Laws* the *Prince* shall think fit to make of his own *Head*? And must pay whatever *Taxes* shall be laid upon them by him, without *Consent* of both *Chambers*? Does the Chapter bind them, where the *Laws* have freed them? If not, 'tis manifest, the *Laws* of the *Land* are to instruct us, what *Submission* is required from the *Subject* to the *Prince*, and in what *Cases* it ought not either to be *ask'd* or *paid*. The *Higher Powers*, in the *Aristocracy* of *Venice*, are the *Duke*, and the *Senators*: The 13th Chap. to the Romans bids the *Subjects* of that State submit themselves to the *Duke* and *Senators*. But does that Chapter bid them pay the same *Submission* to the *separate Orders* of the *Duke*, as to the *Decrees* of the *Senators* conven'd with him in the *Great-Council*, if so be that the *Laws* of that State forbid the *Subjects* to pay *Obedience* to such *separate Orders* of the *Duke*, unless confirm'd by the *Decrees* of the *Senate*, in due *Form*? Will any *Man* say, the 13th Chap. to the *Rom.* commands the *Subjects* to pay such *Acts* of *Obedience*, as the *Laws* of that State discharge them from paying, and require them not to pay? The *Duke* is to be obeyed, where the *Laws* say he is to be obeyed, and not otherwise. And if a *Man* should say, *S. Paul* required the contrary, they would stop his

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Mouth with *S. Mark* ; They would put him into a Sack, and throw him into the *Adriatick Gulph*.

VII. It is not therefore to be endured, that the *13 Ch. to the Romans* should be so slander'd, as it has of late been : Since it only requires such Obedience and Submission, as the *Laws* of every Government require at the Subjects hands, neither *more* nor *less* ; for if it required either *more* or *less*, it would alter and unsettle Governments ; it would change the *Power* of the *Rulers*, and the *Liberties* of the *People* ; it would make the one more or less *absolute*, the other more or less *free*, and quite subvert *Establisments*, and turn the whole World upside downwards : The contrary to all which has been shewn above, and in its way demonstrated.

VIII. I do not therefore intreat you, Not to be Slaves your selves ; nor intreat you not to court Oppression, Tyranny, and Arbitrary Power ; nor intreat you, not to abuse your Fellow Subjects for maintaining the Liberties and Privileges which the *Laws* of their Country have allowed them ; I do not now so much intreat you in these Matters, as I intreat you, not to abuse the *Word of God* ; not to traduce *S. Paul* ; not to speak evil of the *Christian Doctrine* ; as tho' these did not only barely favour, but encourage, and command, the Slavery of the Subject, and the Princes Arbitrary Power, if he should please to assume it. Let the *Scriptures* alone, and make not *them* subservient to the base and villanous Designs of wicked Men. that would enthrall their Country. If they in whose hands the *Legislative Power* is lodged, shall now, or hereafter, give up the Liberties and Privileges we now enjoy as *Englishmen*, it will be time enough then to submit to our accursed Fortune. That is a Power, we know not how to disallow, or disobey. There, we shall see and feel the Weight of *S. Paul's* Authority, pressing Submission to the Lawful Powers, and calling for Obedience to the Rulers, that are set over us. Resistance in that Case, shall be accounted damnable. Let the *Laws* of our Country first bind our Hands, and then *S. Paul* will bind those Laws upon our Consciences. But do not wrong that Saint,



by saying that *he* hath made us Slaves, before the *Laws of our Country* have made us so. In this, I intreat you to spare the *13th Chap. to the Romans*.

IX. But, it may be, you will say, *the 13th Chapter to the Romans*, presses Submission on the Christians, to a Prince that was the very Worst of Men, a Monster of all Tyranny and Cruelty : and therefore that it is not now perverted or abused, when brought to enforce Submission to the like Commands of other Princes. To this I answer, that it is not to be proved, with any certainty, in whose Reign, or at what time, *the Epistle to the Romans* was written. But let the *Passive Doctors* take it for granted, that it was written when *Nero* reigned ; and (if they like it the better for that ) just when he caused the City of *Rome* to be set on Fire, and strung his Harp on that occasion : Or when he gave his Orders out to have *his Mother* kill'd ; or in what Fit of Enormous Wickedness they please to place Him. What, I would know, is all this, to the Other Parts of the World, who were govern'd by Milder Princes, and liv'd under Laws both Just and Merciful ? Where it was not allow'd to the Prince to Govern by his own Will and Pleasure, but by known and settled Rules of Wisdom and Equity ? Were the Subjects of these *Other States* and Kingdoms obliged, immediately upon the Writing this *Epistle to the Romans*, to conform themselves to the Example of the Subjects of the *Empire*, and pay their Princes the same Obedience and Submission, that were paid to *Nero* ? If not, what signifies it who was then Emperor ; or whether He were good or bad ? And would it not be a sort of Blasphemy against the Christian Doctrine, to say, the Subjects of other States and Kingdoms were *Free* by the *Laws of their Country*, but, by their *Conversion* to Christianity, became immediately *Slaves* to the Will and Pleasure of their several Princes, in the same Measure and Degree, that the People of *Rome* were Slaves to *Nero* ? When I intend to Renounce Christianity, I may say this thing of it, but not before. But if these States and Kingdoms were not oblig'd (by their becoming Christian, and receiving *the Epistle to the Romans* for the Word of God) to conform



conform their several Governments to that of *Rome*, to become themselves Slaves, and to make their Princes absolute as *Nero* was; Why then is *the 13th Chapter to the Romans* urged to make those People Slaves, after the Example of the *Romans*, whose Government was never like the *Roman Government*? Why may we not as well hold fast our Legal Liberties, after the Example of those *Other Kingdoms*, who continued to be Free, notwithstanding their becoming *Christians*, and receiving the *Epistle to the Romans* for the Inspired Word of God? How should it enter into any serious Man's Belief, that, because the *Romans* were to submit themselves to *Nero*, who was an *Arbitrary Prince*, in Instances of great Tyranny and Cruelty; therefore the *Quadi* must submit themselves to *Cotylas* their Prince, in the like Instances of Tyranny and Cruelty; altho' by the Laws of that Kingdom, *Cotylas* was not an *Arbitrary Prince*, but bound by his Oath, to Govern by known Laws, which expressly said, *The People were not to be treated in such a manner*? Suppose *St. Paul* had lived about 30 years ago, and had taken occasion to write to the *Christians* at *Constantinople*, living under the *Turkish Emperor*; and should have thought fit to have said, in exprefs Words, *Let every Soul be subject to the Higher Powers; for there is no Power but of God; The Powers that be, are ordained of God; and He that resisteth the Power, resisteth the Ordinance of God; and they who resist, shall receive to themselves Damnation, &c.* Had it been Reasonable for any *Clergyman* to have argued from hence, that the Subjects of *Great Britain*, *Venice*, and *Holland*, must have paid the same Obedience in all Regards, to the *King*, the *Duke*, and *Prince of Orange*, which the Subjects of the *Turkish Empire* paid to the *Grand Signior*? There is hardly a Man living but sees the Absurdity of such a Consequence; and yet, we have Men of all Orders and Degrees amongst us, that do every day, with great Gravity, make the same Conclusion, from the Subjection of the *Romans* to their Emperor; and infer, that the rest of the World are obliged to pay the same to their Respective Princes; and grow very angry, if we yield not quickly to them. The *Supreme Power* is, indeed, in all Places, and



at all Times, the *same*, and must have the *same* Submission paid to it, that is paid to the *Turkish* Emperor now, and was heretofore paid to the *Roman* One. But we must first know certainly *where* the Supreme Power is lodged ; and that, I am sure, we shall never know from the *13th Chap. to the Romans*, which mentions not a word of *England, Venice*, or the *Seven Provinces*. For that I have said, we must have Recourse to the *Laws and Constitutions* of those several Countries.

X. Let me then intreat you once more, not to lay so heavy a Load upon *this Chapter*, or any other Piece of Scripture. What need is there of charging *God* with all the Miseries and Misfortunes that afflict Mankind, under a State of Slavery, by making them the Effects of his Commands ; which must not be withstood, altho' the Laws say otherwise, or leave Men, at least, at Liberty ? Have Princes any need of being courted to become the Tyrants and Oppressors of their People ? Is not *the Exorbitance of Power*, the Prize they are sometimes aiming at, and contending for, and the thing that seems to please them more, than the true Lustre of the Crown, which they constantly wear with Innocence and Justice ? What if it is not so with *Us* at present ? Who can answer for Futurity ? If a *Good Prince* be complimented with more Power than belongs to Him by the Constitution, Who shall be able to withhold it from a *Bad One* ? And if you tell a *Good Prince*, *He has it from God*, a *Bad One* will tell himself as much, and become his own Flatterer. Look round the Neighbouring World, and think what *France* is now, what *Spain*, what *Germany*, what *Italy*, what *Swedeland*, and what *Denmark* is ; and remember they were once as *Free* as you are now, and thought themselves as little likely to put on the Chains they now groan under. The *Clergy*, I must own, had but too great a share, in bringing on those bad Changes ; there was no doing such great Things without them ; they forwarded the cruel and ambitious *Aims of Princes* ; the Villanous Designs of *Wicked Counsellors* ; and the base Treachery of their *Fellow-Subjects*, and help'd to offer up the Liberties of  
their



their Country, to the *Will* and *Pleasure* of their Kings. Only, the 13th Chapter to the Romans had no hand in these bad Businesses; The Explanation of that Chapter to these Purposes, is, it should seem, peculiar to the Church of England. Excuse me, Brethren, if I am somewhat Zealous to remove this Scandal; I ever did, and ever shall account it a Reproach, to have it said, that the Churchmen here, are Enemies of Liberty, and Favourers of Arbitrary Power: and, inconsiderable as I am, I always took the liberty to say, *We* loved our Nation as well as the Dissenters did. But yet I cannot help excepting at least a Dozen that are not content to be reckoned of the Church, but call themselves the Church of England, who by their Principles are Slaves themselves, and (which is worse) would have all others to be so.

XI. I have now done with the 13th Chapter to the Romans, and have shewed you, that it requires of no People, any more Submission to the Higher Powers, than the Laws of their several Countries require: That it exacts no other Obedience than the Laws exact: That it forbids no other Resistance, than the Laws of that Country forbid: And that it Damns no Man, for making such Resistance as the Laws of his Country allow him to make, be it more or less. And after all this, I have the Presumption to say, that there is not a better Subject in all the Queen's Dominions, than I am: I tell my People that She is the Lord's Anointed; that She possesses the Throne, as well by the Act of Settlement, as by an Hereditary Right, as being the Daughter of King James; the Title and the Hopes of the Pretender (be they what they will) having been extinguish'd by an Act of Parliament; so that no Body can, or ought to come between the Crown and Her. I shew them moreover, that to preserve the Protestant Religion (which would be utterly subverted, should any Papist come to Reign over us) an Act of Parliament has quite cut off the Hereditary Right of more than Twenty several People, (all of them Papists) to settle the Crown upon the House of Hanover, and given to them (as long as they continue Protestants) an Hereditary Right also. I tell the People also, that Govern-  
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ment is *the Ordinance of God*, so beneficial to the World, that, without it, they could not live in Peace, nor have any Property, nor enjoy any good thing of this Life; nor call either House or Land, or Meat or Drink, or Cloathing, *their own*; but that every thing would be taken from them, by such as were cunninger, or stronger than they: And that they cannot love or thank God sufficiently for such a Blessing, as secures all others to them; and this convinces them how reasonable it is, to pay *Taxes and Assessments*, to enable the Government to protect them from Violence and Injustice, and Fraud at home, and from their Enemies abroad. I take this Course to make them in Love with Government, which, I assure them, was *ordained of God* purely and only *for the People's Good*; and there is not a Man in the *Parish* but believes it, because it is so much for his Interest; and *it is not truer that God is in Heaven*. I never dress up *Cæsar* like a Hangman, a Ravisher, and a Publick Robber, and then tell them *He is God's Vicegerent*, and is not to be resisted; but I shew them the difference betwixt an *Arbitrary Prince*, and one that governs *by Law*, and tell them how happy the People of *England* are, above what the *Romans* heretofore were, and most other of the Nations of the World now are; whose *Rights and Properties* are as much secured by *Law*, as the *Prerogative* of the Crown is: That they are subject to no *Will and Pleasure* of a single Person, but to known Laws made in part, by *Representatives* of their own chusing; and that they are not to pay a Penny of Money, but what the *Parliament* lays upon them publicly. This makes them value their *Constitution*, and resolve to maintain it; which I also tell them they are as much obliged to do, as to defend *the Rights and Person* of their Sovereign. As to the Doctrines of *Passive-Obedience* and *Non-Resistance*, I seldom meddle with them, because they always suppose some very hard Proceedings of the Crown, some notorious Infringement of the *Liberties of the People*, or violent Invasion of their Right and Property; there ~~can~~ be no pretence for *Passive Obedience*, but where the Commands are Unlawful,

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unreasonably Hard and Cruel, and so insupportable, that they cannot be *actively obeyed*, and complied withal; which is an *Odious Case* to put to the People, against their Prince. And so is the Business of *Non-Resistance*; there is no speaking to it, without supposing things are come to that Extremity, that the Subject cannot have his Remedy, or Security, in *Concealment*, by *Flight*, by *Petition*, nor by *Course of Law*; it necessarily supposes a forcible *Invasion* on the Prince's side, which the Subject is not (it seems) to resist. These I say, are very hard and *odious Cases*, for Preachers to put against their Princes; tho' the Conclusion always is in favour of the Prince. And indeed I have seldom heard these Causes managed in the *Pulpit*, with that Success that should encourage one to do the like. The Prince has generally lost more Ground in the *Affections* of the Audience, than he has gained on their *Reason* and *Understanding*. Nay, where the People have gone away convinced that they must not resist, yet were they full of *Wrath* and *Indignation*, to think they must endure, so tamely, such insupportable Oppressions, as the Preacher had supposed, and, in his Passive Scheme, had laid down. For these and other Reasons I seldom touch upon these Doctrines in the *Pulpit*, and really think I do my Prince more Service by my Silence, than if I should urge them in the common manner. But whenever I am asked my Opinion of these Matters, out of the Church, I never am ashamed to tell them what it is; it is what I have set down at the beginning of this *XIth Section*. I say with King Charles the 1st the the *Law is the Measure of the King's Power*. And I say with the present ABp. of Y.--, that *the Law is the Measure of the Subject's Submission*. And I think I may say of my self, from both of them, that a *Subject is not obliged by Law to submit to the Command of his Prince that is directly against the Law*. And this I think will say it self, whether I say it or no. But I add moreover, that in some Cases where the Law leaves me at Liberty (to avoid all Scandal and Offence) I may be obliged to obey a Command that brings not an intolerable



lerable mischief on me : To disobey in *light Cases*, would shew too great a slight of Power, and a disrespect to the Person of the Governor, which ought most carefully to be considered, and avoided if it can. In a word, I never preach upon the *13th Chap. to the Romans*, but I endeavour to make the People understand the *Blessing of Government*, to love *their Prince*, and pay *their Taxes readily* : By which means I bring them to obey for *Conscience Sake*, much rather than for *Wrath* ; because that Government is ordained of God for the good of Mankind, and Princes are appointed of him, to secure this End, and to see it answered by the Execution of good Laws ; and *for this Cause we pay Tribute*. And thus the People see they have a very good Bargain of it --- The Prince *sells* them Security and Protection from all Injustice at Home, and Enemies Abroad, for the *Rates and Assessments* which they agree (by their *Representatives*) to pay him at such certain times. But for your *Axes, Halters, Fire and Sword, Death and Damnation*, if they disobey ; they know it as well as I, and pray me to spend my time better. And yet I take my Opportunity to let them know, that Disobedience to the Laws is *Damnablen in the other World*, because it is destructive of the Peace and Security of Mankind *in this* ; which is the very *End* of Government, the very *Reason* of God's Institution of it.

XII. It is high time you will think to put an end to this Commendation of my own Way of Preaching : I think so too ; but I did it, to let you see that there is *other use* (and much more serviceable to the *Crown*) to be made of the *13th Chap. to the Romans*, than what is commonly made of it, by most young Preachers, whose Understanding is not, generally, equal to their Heat and Zeal ; and who run away with the *Words* and *Letter* of a Text, and leave the *true Sense* and *Meaning* of it behind them. Would it not vex a Man a little, to hear a young Divine preaching upon that Saying of Christ, *Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's* : --- To tell his People that from the Division of the Text, it was plain, that  
what-



whatever was not God's, must needs be Cæsar's, for no one else was concerned; and then to back it with that pretty Fancy, *Divisum Imperium cum Jove Cæsar habet*. This, however had done no great harm, if he had not in the Application told us, that *All Kings and Queens* were the same things with Cæsar, and invested with the same Powers; and consequently that all we had in the World, belonged to *them*, if it were not pre-engaged to God. By this we perceived that nothing was left to us; the *Tythes* were God's, and all the rest was Cæsar's. Is this to be endured in an *English* Audience, if the Ears of every Man in the Parish were not bored through? And I would fain learn how much the Doctrine of those greater Men differs from that of this Young Curate, who tell us, that all Magistrates, as well the *Subordinate*, as *Supream*, are so of God, so much his Ordinance and Institution, that they are not in any Case, or upon any Pretence whatever, to be resisted, not only in the Execution of the Laws (which every one allows) but even in the most outrageous Violation of the Laws? So that a Petty Constable shall break my House open, abuse my Wife and Children, ransack my Coffers, take what Plate, Money, or Goods he pleases, provided his Staff be painted with the *Queens-Arms*; only because these Venerable Gentlemen have stamped the Divine Authority upon all *Subordinate Magistrates*. I know they will wipe their Mouths, and say, they have supposed no such *Extream Cases*. I say, we are never the more obliged to them for their silence; for such *Extream Cases* will suppose themselves, and will come first into every Bodies Mind and Consideration. Say that all *Subordinate Magistrates* are the Ordinance of God, and the whole Parish will say *their Constable* is such a Magistrate. Say that Magistrates are by no means to be resisted, tho' doing never such violent illegal Acts, and what shall hinder a needy Rascal got into an Office, from attempting to do them, protected for the present, not only with the *Royal* but *Divine Authority*? And all these Doctrines, and their dreadful Consequences are, it seems, to keep the Peo-



ple from *Rebellion* ! As if, it were *Rebellion* to oppose illegal Violence ! As if it were a *damnable Sin* to resist a *Constable* or, (if you will) a *Justice of Peace*, committing Outrages *against the Laws*, such as deserve Imprisonment, Fine, or Death ! Yet these are the easie, natural, and unavoidable Consequences of the Doctrine of these *worthy Writers*, who seem to have little Regard to the *Country* wherein they live, and little to the *Laws* that protect them from those Insults and Violences, which they invite and tempt Men to commit, by making their Persons *sacred* ; for by this new Divinity, we are about to consecrate Four or Five Thousand of the *Queen's Officers* at Home, and all the *Regiments* in *English Pay* abroad. Let these Learned Men look to it, for there is not one of the *Foot-guards*, but, if sent by his *Officer* (whose Commission runs still higher and higher) is a *Subordinate Magistrate*, and is upon that Account *irresistible*. You may be sure I say these things with great Scorn ; but yet these silly wicked Consequences are not to be avoided, if you will take these *Doctors Word* for the Premises. How freely do they part with Peoples Estates and Liberties ! How cheap do they make *Damnation* ! To be damn'd, will, in a little time, come to signify no more than to be *excommunicated* in a *Spiritual Court*, for not appearing upon Summons, or for not paying Costs of Three or Four *Shillings* ! Surely, my Brethren will awake some time or other from these Dreams ; altho' I know *my Voice* is much too low to reach them.

But Courage, *Countrymen* ! For whilst I was writing, under great Agony of Mind, the last Period, I received in the *Gazette*, the *Address* of the *Clergy of London and Westminster*, with their *Bishop* at their Head : Who tell the *Queen*, " They acknowledge the most Illustri-

" ous House of *Hanover*, as the next Heirs in the Prote-

" flant Line, to have the only Right of ascending the

" Throne, and indisputable Title to our Allegiance.

" We thank God, (continue they) from the bottom

" of



“ of our Hearts, for the Legal Provisions in this Regard  
 “ made to secure us from Popery and Arbitrary Power;  
 “ which we once, through the Divine Assistance vi-  
 “ gorously and successfully withstood, when they were  
 “ breaking in upon our Constitution: Nor shall we  
 “ fail to manifest an equal Zeal against them, whene-  
 “ ver, and by what Means soever, they shall meditate  
 “ a Return. From whence I do with great Satisfac-  
 on, observe 1<sup>st</sup>, That the *Bishop and the Clergy of Lon-*  
*don and Westminster* do openly acknowledge, to the  
*Queen's Face*, that an *Act of Parliament* can transfer the  
*Hereditary Right* of Succession from one *Person* to ano-  
 ther, and from one *House* to another, and that such a  
 Title is *indisputable*. The Proof of this, is, that the  
*House of Savoy* and other *Houses* are set aside, in fa-  
 vour of the *House of Hanover*. This I am sure, the  
*Clergy of London* were far enough from venturing to  
 say, when the *Bill of Exclusion* was on foot; then the  
 Right of Succession was *De Jure Divino*, *indefeasible*,  
*unalienable*, *unalterable*, and I know not what. They  
 did not pretend it to be barely *unreasonab'le*, and *hard*,  
 and *inconvenient*, but absolutely *unlawful* to exclude the  
*Duke of York*. They altered their Mind, belike, when  
 he was *K. James*. 2<sup>dly</sup>, They thank God hear-  
 tily, for the *Legal Provisions* made to secure the Peo-  
 ple from *Popery* and *Arbitrary Power*. And so do I, to  
 see this *Declaration* come from them, because it will  
 help to acquit them of the Scandal of being *Friends to*  
*Arbitrary Power*; and because I hope they mean what  
 they say. Now I would fain know how any Men can  
 thank God, that the Laws are on their Side, in this or  
 that Regard, who acknowledge at the same time, that  
 if those Laws should be invaded, violated, and quite  
 subverted, even to the utter Misery and total Ruin  
 of the People, they have no manner of Right to de-  
 fend them, by any *forcible* Opposition whatsoever, al-  
 tho' the Person that thus subverts those Laws, has no  
 such Power Committed to him? What Security to  
 a Subject is a *Law* against *Arbitrary Power*, when it is  
 forbidden the Subject (by a *Superior Law*) to put that  
 Law



Law in Execution against that *Arbitrary Power*? What are *Privileges* worth, what are *Liberties* good for, that cannot be maintained and secured, by such means as are only proper, only able to secure them and maintain them? How would it read, should such a Speech have been left as this, spoken to the *King* of the *Quadi*, by the *High Priest* of *Mars*, at the Head of his *Sodality*? “ We thank the Immortal Gods, *most Noble Prince*, “ that we have *Laws* and *Statutes* to secure us against “ *Arbitrary Power*, that bind you, by the share you had “ in making them, and by the Oath you took to govern by them, neither to hurt our *Persons*, nor deprive us of our *Liberty*, nor take our *Money* from us, “ but in such a manner and proportion as is settled by “ our *Constitution*; these *Laws* and *Liberties*, the World “ around, admire and envy to us. But yet we are “ obliged to tell your *Subjects* (as we often tell your “ *Majesty*) that whenever you please to breakthrough “ these *Restraints*, to invade these *Liberties*, and to subvert these *Laws*, their Hands are *tied*, they have no “ other Remedy, but to implore *your Mercy* and *Forbearance*, and beseech the *Heavenly Powers* to divert “ your purpose, and inspire you with a better mind. “ We tell your Majesty, you have no *Moral Power*, “ nor yet *Political*, to do these cruel and destructive “ things, but if you will go on, the *Gods* may call you “ to an Account hereafter; but as for *us* and all your “ People, we are devoted to eternal *Snakes and Furies* “ if we lift up a Hand against you: For you are *Irresistible*, not only in your *Sacred Person*, but in all “ your *Ministers* that act *Subordinately* under you. I stay not to conjecture what Remarks so grave a Man as *Tacitus* would make on such a Speech. I only say, That if the Prince abstain from Violence, after this, he is a very good Prince, and will deserve all Thanks and Praise imaginable; but what Claim or Title to such solemn Thanks, the *Immortal Gods* should have, passes my Reach and Understanding; because (as I should think) those Gods were the very People (if you will pardon that bold Figure) that hindered these



good Laws from being any Security to the Subject, by imposing an after-Law, that tied his Hands from maintaining them. And if the *London-Addressers*, when they come to explain themselves, should mean thus, I say, they cannot compliment their Prince too highly, for the Preservation of these Laws from Violence ; but I shall be to seek, for what it is, they *thank God* so from the bottom of their Hearts. For a Hundred Laws are not worth a Chip, if he, *against whom* those Laws are expressly designed, has it in his Power to subvert and confound them when he will ; because those Persons, *for whose Safety* those Laws were expressly designed, are restrain'd from opposing him with any forcible Resistance whatsoever. Had this Doctrine been true, and believed, how little had all the Laws against *Popery* signified in the Reign of K. *James*, had the *Subordinate Powers* at *Hounslow-Heath* stood by their Master, and joined with him in the *Executive Part* ? 3dly, I am glad to observe, that the *Bishop* and *Clergy* take occasion to represent to her Majesty, and all the World, how vigorously they *have* opposed *Popery* and *Arbitrary Power*, and how vigorously they will *again* oppose them, if ever they offer to return and make Head. How vigorously and successfully they opposed *Popery*, is visible and Legible to all the World, to their everlasting Honour. But their vigorous Opposition to *Arbitrary Power*, in that unhappy Reign, has the misfortune not to be so well known to the Kingdom, unless they mean the Hand they had in bringing about *the Revolution*. The *Noble Head* of these *Addressers* had indeed such a Share in that Transaction, that it never ought to be forgotten ; and he opposed Illegal Arbitrary Power, *by all the ways* a brave Man, and a Lover of his Country could ; but surely the *Followers* of him will not assume this Honour. Let them make out their Claim to this great Merit, and all Men living will be glad to own it. But till it appear, that they *did* heretofore vigorously oppose Arbitrary Power in their Prince, the Promise of doing the like, with equal Zeal *hereafter*, will and must be *fallacious*, or of little Use and Service ;



Service ; unless it be, to let us see, that they, who say they *have* opposed Arbitrary Power, and say they will *again* oppose it, must needs believe it *Lawful* for other People to do the like. But if they only mean (as I am afraid they do) by *Opposition*, the Preaching up the Prince's *Obligations* to keep his Oath, and not to exercise any *Illegal Arbitrary Power* ; what will it signify, if, at the same time they tell their Audience , that *S. Peter* and *S. Paul* have tied their Hands, made all Laws *useless*, and all Nations *defenceless*, in Case the Prince will not regard his Oaths and Obligations, but will subvert the Laws, invade the Peoples Rights, Estates and Lives, and in a word, undo the Kingdom ? Let them but say this plain thing --- That *it is not forbidden to this Nation, by any Law or Command of God, to save it self and its Posterity, from imminent and utter Ruin by Resistance*, and we will ask no more. And if it still be asked, who shall be Judges when this Ruin is so near, that it will want *Resistance* to prevent it ? I answer, every Lord, and every Commoner in Great Britain.

But after all, I am come back to say, that whenever the *Legislative Power* shall enact, that the Prince's *Proclamations* shall be accounted Sacred as the *Roman Edicts* were : That they shall do just what they *please*, and what they please shall be accounted *Legal* : That to resist *them*, or those whom they shall *Commission* under *Hand and Seal*, tho' violating the known Laws, shall be *Rebellion* : Whenever this or more shall be done by the Legislature, I freely own *I shall be bound by it* ; and own moreover, that *S. Peter*, and *S. Paul* will bind me to it. For that is the meaning of all I have been saying, That *the Word of God* obliges all Subjects to such *Obedience*, and no other, as the *Laws* of their Country have obliged them to : And has forbidden such *Resistance*, and no other, as the *Laws* of their Country have forbidden.



A  
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OF THE

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OF a BOOK, intitul'd,

**A Plain and Easie Method  
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*Lesley*

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L 3 J

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A Detection of the  
**Meaning and Wicked Design**

Of a Book intitul'd,

*A Plain and Easie Method with the DEISTS.*

S I R,

**Y**OU will hereby find, that I have not been altogether unmindful of the Promise I made you, of sending you my Thoughts and Opinion concerning a Discourse intitul'd, *A Plain and Easie Method with the Deists*: The Occasion whereof, was a long Conference which pass'd between your self, and me, and two or three more Gentlemen, at your House, when I was last in *London*, concerning the Present State of the Christian Religion in most parts of the World, and the several Obstructions with which it has all-along encounter'd; together with the truest and safest Method of *Recovering its Credit, and Reconciling it to the more General Respect and Approbation of Mankind*. For we could not (as I well remember) at that time refrain our heavy Complaints, and Resentments: That, notwithstanding the Christian Religion must be acknowledg'd by all, to be the most Pure, Spiritual, and most suitable to the Nature of created Intelligent Beings; And notwithstanding it is so aptly accommodated to the Convenience, and just Liberty of human Enjoyments, and To conducive to the General Good and Happiness of Mankind; Yet has it, from its first Establishment



in the World, been oppos'd, and discountenanc'd by Adversaries of all sorts, and degrees ; by Jews, Turks, Heathens, Atheists, and other Infidels from without, as well as Hypocrites, Apostates, and Carnal-minded Men from within ; insomuch that it would be endless to recount the several Ways, and Means, which the Devil, in conjunction with the rest of its malicious, and crafty Enemies, have found out, and put in practice, to extinguish, or at least eclipse, its Light and Splendor in the World : Sometimes by Force, and Violence, persecuting its Members with Fire, and Sword ; sometimes by Flattery, and base fawning Insinuations, drawing them into Snares ; sometimes by dividing them into several Sects, and Parties ; sometimes by corrupting their Integrity, by Proposals of Secular Advantage : As well as by introducing Artificial Forgeries into the Writings, and Doctrines, and casting several odious Calumnies, and Reflections upon the Persons of its sincerest Professors in all Ages : To which may be added, the great proneness, and inclination that is to be found in all Men, to the satisfaction of their sensual Lusts, and Pleasures. All which, to humane Reason, and Appearance, seem such insuperable Impediments to the growth, and strength of Christianity, that the Continuance of its glorious Profession amongst us ought to be look'd upon as no less an Effect of the Power, than the Goodness of its Almighty Author. But, besides the Obstructions it has all-along met with from its avow'd or conceal'd Adversaries, it is above all Religions more particularly unfortunate, in being prejudic'd and expos'd, by the unwary Conduct of its profess'd Friends, and greatest Admirers ; who, from an inconsiderate Zeal for its Encrease, and Propagation, have undertaken to defend it with such weak, and inconclusive Reasonings, as have serv'd only to expose both it, and themselves, to Derision and Contempt.



These Reflections naturally led us to consider the several Causes of this Universal Decay of Christian Faith, and Piety; and which more particularly have occasion'd so much Infidelity, and Blasphemy against the holy Scriptures; so far, that the Belief of them is not only publickly ridicul'd, and expos'd by a very considerable Party of Men, of no mean Abilities, Attainments, and Interest in the World; but made indifferent, and ineffectual, by a much-greater number of Politick Hypocrites, who profess Religion only for Fashion sake, no otherwise than as they wear their Cloaths, that they may not seem particular; and by that means deprive themselves of all the Hopes, and Secular Aims they propose to themselves, by a ready compliance with Establish'd Customs, and Systems. We at last, all of us except your self, concluded, That these ungodly, and notorious Abuses, have (besides the common depravity of human Nature) proceeded chiefly from the Corruption, Ill conduct, Ignorance, and Ambition of those, to whom we of the Laity have all-along most blindly intrusted the *Conduct* of our *Consciences*, and the *Defence* of our *Religion*. These we divided into three sorts; of the first kind, there are some who knowingly, and on purpose, have made use of unlawful Practices in favour of the Gospel of *Jesus Christ*. Others out of Ignorance, and Weakness, have by their unskilful handling of the Controversie, done infinite Disservice to the Cause of Christianity; whilst there are others of the same Stamp, and Character in the World, who make it their continual business to sacrifice its Interests, and holy Mysteries, to the Pride and Ambition of their own particular Sect, or Party; and make it countenance such absurd, and mischievous Principles, as are calculated only to serve their Avarice, and Lust of Dominion. Of the first kind, we may instance particularly in those, who from a wrong Apprehension, That either it was lawful to use indirect Means for maintaining so good a Cause; or, that

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the Christian Religion did really stand in need of such Unwarrantable Methods to support it; have made no scruple to forge, and impose upon the World, as genuine, such Acts, and Monuments, as they thought might be of service to the Christian System, and Profession: Which being at length discover'd by their subtle Adversaries to be spurious, and supposititious, have prov'd an occasion of great Offence to all sincere Christians, of Triumph to the Enemies of the Gospel, and an Interruption to its Progress in the World. Such (for Instance) were the Oracles and Prophecies of the Sibyls, *Hystaspes*, &c. either actually counterfeited, or violently and knowingly supported by *Hermas*, *Justin the Martyr*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and the Fathers of the second Century, as so many Inspirations and Prædictions in favour of the Christian Revelation; which serv'd, in the end, for nothing else, but to expose their Persons and Doctrines to the scorn and detestation of their Heathen Antagonists.

The second kind (whose Zeal is without Knowledge) may perhaps appear less criminal, but every whit as dangerous; and, tho' not designedly, have, at least eventually, prov'd the Instruments of much Mischief to the Church, and Gospel of Christ.

The third sort is still the most dangerous of All, and has proved of infinite disservice to Christianity, by disarming it of all its glorious Attributes, and peculiar Advantages, which distinguish it from the Superstitions and Follies of the Heathens, and the more gross Forgeries, and Blasphemies, of the Church of Rome. These Men have consider'd Religion only as a Politick Institution, to support their Pride, Insolence, and unmeasurable Dominion over the poor Laity: And, finding Christianity entirely opposite to any such impious Purposes, have endeavour'd, by a thousand ways, to mix, and blend it with the Heathen Fables, and Idolatry; and have given up their Religion, to save and establish their Power. The famous



famous Mr. *Dodwell* (sometime since the Idol of High-Church) is a remarkable Instance of this kind ; For, to prove the Divine Right of Episcopacy, (which depends upon the Authority of the Fathers of the second and third Centuries) he endeavours to shew, we have no better Authority for the Scriptures ; and so (as much as in him lies) gives up Christianity to a particular Order of Priests. Father *Simon* does the same, to support the Traditions of the Church of *Rome* ; and, in order to prove them of equal Authority with the Books of the Old and New Testament, endeavours to shew there is little or none for either ; by attempting to make out, that there are few or no Books in the *Canon* but are liable to great Objections, and have been rejected by some Sects of Christians, and many by All of them, in some Ages.

The Remedy to these Evils occur'd to our Minds, in a very plain and obvious manner : For, we easily perceiv'd, That there had all-along been wanting the true, and solid Foundation whereon to build and establish so noble a Superstructure, as that of the Christian Religion ; and tho' the Scriptures themselves are indeed the only Foundation, yet the Methods that have hitherto been commonly made use of, for the defence of their Divine Authority, have prov'd very defective, and unsatisfactory ; the Remedy whereof we were ever like to despair of, from those who have so vilely betray'd, and abus'd the Trust committed to their Care, and Management. Several Systems were then propos'd amongst us ; and that which was then offer'd by my self, was the result of several years Meditation, and most serious Reflection upon the present State of Christianity ; and, which seems to me not only the true Basis upon which our excellent, and most incomparable Revelation is built ; but also, the only Means, under God, and the Influence of his Holy Spirit, to put an effectual stop to that Inundation of Profaneness and Irreligion, which so generally and

scan-



scandalously overspreads the Universal Face of *Chri-  
stendome*. A System, not only justifiable from the  
Fathers, and most of the sincerest Professors of the  
Gospel in all Ages, but supported with all the Evidence  
of Faith, and Experience, as well as from the Nature,  
and Genuine Tendency of all Divine Revelation what-  
soever. But (whether from its Novelty, or the Pre-  
possession of the Company in favour of their own O-  
pinions) it was at that time so much disrelish'd, that  
I did not think fit to insist any longer in its Vindicati-  
on. Instead whereof, I thought my self obliged ra-  
ther to give attention to what was offer'd by your  
self, as an effectual Means, and answerable to all the  
Ends we had propos'd to our selves, thro' the whole  
course of our Conversation. You then were pleas'd  
to inform us, That notwithstanding all we had been  
complaining of against the Clergy, there had been  
publish'd by one of that Order, a little Book against  
the Deists, with all the Force of Reason and Demon-  
stration imaginable: That this alone was sufficient to  
confound all the false Reasonings, and most subtle  
Cavils, and Evasions, of Deists, Atheists, Jews, and  
all manner of Infidels: That if this Book were but so  
order'd and distributed, that every Family might have  
the Privilege of reading, and considering its profound  
(and yet clear and evident) Arguments and Conse-  
quences, it would be a standing and never-failing  
Preservative against all manner of Infidelity and Licen-  
tious Thoughts: That this Book, tho' first Printed so  
many years ago, and with several subsequent Editi-  
ons, was never yet attempted to be Answer'd by He-  
retics, or Unbelievers: That it was approv'd of by  
our learned *Universities*, in a very distinguishing man-  
ner, as a Piece of eminent and important Service to  
reveal'd Religion: In short, That the Wit, Learning,  
and Judgment of it were altogether impregnable, and  
like a threefold Cord, that could not be broken. I  
was as glad to hear of a Book of this Nature, as I was  
sorry



sorry I had never yet been acquainted with it; and  
 therefore, suppressing what I had farther to urge in  
 defence of my own System, and not a little pleas'd,  
 that I was hereby not only to enjoy the Perusal of a  
 Discourse, that must give me infinite Satisfaction, but  
 ease me of a great deal of Care and Trouble I was like-  
 ly to be at upon the same Account, and for the same  
 Service; I made you a solemn Promise to read it over,  
 and examine it with the utmost Care and Diligence,  
 and then send you an Account of the Performance, ac-  
 cording to my best Ability in Judging. To discharge  
 my Engagement therefore, I shall now freely com-  
 municate to you my Sentiments of it; not thinking it  
 necessary, either in Friendship, or good Manners, to  
 excuse my differing in Opinion from a Man of your  
 Candor and Ingenuity; which, were it not extraor-  
 dinary, I should not venture to trespass upon, in so  
 plain and homely a manner; but should rather blush,  
 and be silent, than shock your Modesty, in telling you  
 how widely, and almost immensely, I am forc'd to dif-  
 fer, in this respect, from one, with whom in other  
 matters I have always held a perfect and entire Agree-  
 ment: However, it is no small Consolation to me,  
 That you were always known to be a hearty and sin-  
 cere Lover of Truth, in the pursuit of which we both  
 unanimously consent, tho' we vary in the Means of at-  
 taining it; which gives me no small encouragement  
 to hope, that in this also we shall be of one, and the  
 same Opinion, after you have well consider'd, and di-  
 gested the Reasons I produce for my Assertion; (*viz.*)  
 That this Book is no way answerable to the Character  
 you were pleas'd to give it; nor of the least Support,  
 or Advantage to the Cause of Christianity; But rather,  
 a pernicious Contrivance to destroy and subvert the  
 Truths and Doctrines of the *Gospel*; and gives up (as  
 much as in him lies) the whole Cause of Religion to  
 the Deists; by putting the Proofs and Evidences of  
 it upon an equal Foot and Level with all the Gross  
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and Idolatrous Superstitions of Heathenism, and Popery. And that, whereas many Others, in the Vindication of the Christian Religion, have discover'd a great Strength and Mastery of Reason, and a great Acuteness, in turning to their Advantage all the Arts and Subtilties of Learning and Invention; this Author appears wholly destitute of any such Qualifications, either natural or acquir'd; but, thro' the vain conceit of his own empty and trifling Performance, so much the more exposes the Principles of our Holy Religion, to the Contempt and Insults of *Deists*, *Jews*, and *Atheists*; and, thro' his unlucky and misguided Zeal, has done all the mischief he was capable of to the Cause he undertakes, and professes to defend. Tho' whether he really intended any such thing as the Good of Religion, is very uncertain: Nor is it less difficult to find out, under which of the three fore-mention'd Heads it will be most proper to rank this doughty Champion of the Orthodox Faith, since he so justly represents them all; and it were an Injury to deprive him of his lawfull claim to the Title of the Three-headed Monster, tho' a very shallow one. For, as to the first, we find him reviving that old exploded Piece of Villany, the *Sibylline Prophecies* (page 120) and ridiculously confirming their Authority from the fourth *Eclogue* of *Virgil* (page 113.) He appears under the second Head in this his Argument against the *Deist*, if we suppose him in earnest, which is more than can fairly be granted, since his Intention seems to be no other, than to serve the Cause of Popery, as we shall see anon. The third Abuse he is more guilty of than either of the rest, since we find not only in this Book, but in all his other Writings, such frequent mention of the exorbitant Power, Authority, and Pre-eminence of the Clergy, over the poor Laity. Thus we see, That all the Vices, Follies and Extravagancies even of his own Tribe, are here sum'd up, united and consolidated in this one Composition of a Priest. But I shall  
not



not trace him farther than in his Book that lies before me; which, for your Satisfaction I shall now proceed to examine, postponing for the present, any farther mention of what I propounded to you as the only proper Foundation upon which Christianity is built: The full proof whereof, I intend e're long to transmit to you in a just Treatise apart. And 'in the mean time, think it the most recommendable course, to eradicate, in the first place, those Prejudices you have conceiv'd in your Mind, in favour of this vile and pernicious Book; as Physicians first purge the Body of its noxious and peccant Humours, in order to prepare it for the admission of good and wholesome Physic.

And indeed, were it not out of great Concern for the Christian Religion, and the Respect I owe to your Satisfaction, and the common Regard which ought to be paid to some well-meaning, tho' unwary Persons, who may possibly be seduced or abus'd by the seeming Zeal and Earnestness of this Author; I should think both my Time and Labour lost, which is bestow'd upon an Adversary in all respects so mean in himself, (without considering his accidental Qualifications of a High-Church Priest, a Nonjuror, and an *Irish-man*) as to afford not the least matter of Honour or Triumph to a Victory. However we shall take him as he is, and shall be abundantly satisfy'd, if it falls to our Lot, by an occasion or accident never so trifling, to do any service to the Truth, and discover a Jewel, like *Aesop's* Cock, by raking a Dunghill.

His Method in short is this: He lays down four Rules, or Marks, whereby we may infallibly judge of the Truth and Certainty of all Miracles or Matters of Fact; Which four Marks do all meet in the Miracles, or Matters of Fact of *Moses* and *Jesus Christ*: And that they neither do, nor can possible meet in the Matters of Fact of *Mahomet*, Heathenism, Popery, or any Imposture whatsoever: His four Rules are these. (page 7.)

First, That the Matter of Fact be such, as that Mens out-



ward Senses, their Eyes, and Ears may be Judges of it. Secondly, That it be done Publickly, in the Face of the World. Thirdly, That not only Public Monuments be kept in Memory of it, but some outward Action to be perform'd. Fourthly, That such Monuments, and such Actions, and Observances, be instituted, and do Commence from the time that the Matter of Fact was done. And, he says, That all such Matters of Fact wherein these four Rules do meet, cannot possibly be false; and that such Miracles do sufficiently Vouch, and Evince the Truth of the Doctrines deliver'd. For these, he says, are the strongest Proofs we can desire, and which every Deist would confess he would acquiesce in, if he saw them with his Eyes. p. 6.

Now, tho' I would be far from weakning the Force of any proper Argument, that can be adduced either to confirm the Principles, or advance the Practice of Christianity; which, I am satisfy'd in my Conscience, is built upon the strongest and most solid Foundations of Truth and Revelation; yet it will not from thence follow, That I am bound to sit still, and unmov'd at, much-less to acquiesce in, or approve its being thus expos'd, to the Contempt of its worst Enemies, by the weak and shallow Reasonings of this Author. For, who is there that ever embrac'd the Scriptural Faith, and Doctrines upon any convincing Grounds, that would not be affected with Sorrow and Resentment, to see the Gospel of *Christ*, which is Truth it self, built upon a Rock, fenced and fortify'd with Arguments most solid, and impregnable, to be thus subverted and laid level with the sandy Foundations of Heathenism and Popery?

I shall, in the first place, readily grant and allow, That his four Marks do meet, and are to be found in the Miracles, or Matters of Fact of *Moses* and *Jesus Christ*: But, I deny, That they neither do, nor can possibly meet in the Matters of Fact of Heathenism, Popery, or any Imposture whatsoever. And therefore, if it should appear, that these four Marks are to be found  
in



In any Imposture, it will follow necessarily, That we cannot, by these four Marks, judge infallibly of the Truth, and Certainty of all Miracles, or matters of Fact. And consequently, that if these matters of Fact are to be found in common with the Christian, and Heathen Religions, they cannot be an Evidence, or Demonstration of the Divine Authority of either. And farther, That whosoever shall presume to found the Christian Religion, upon a Basis that is common to that of Heathenism, or Popery, does so far subvert, and destroy the Fundamentals of true Religion, and the Revealed Veritys of the Gospel. And therefore, to prove in short, that this Author is guilty of this foul, and impious Charge, and (instead of vindicating) has ignominiously expos'd our holy Faith to the Contempts, and Assaults of Deists, Papists, and Heathens; I shall produce some Instances of Miracles, or matters of Fact, from the most Authentic, and Judicious Heathen Historians, as well as celebrated Popish Authors, wherein all the four Rules above mention'd do plainly meet, and occur. Which is what I undertake to shew, and is the Cheif Design of this Discourse. In the doing whereof, I am sure not to incur the least Censure from any unbyass'd Person; since none can be thought to have a just Esteem for Christianity, who does not at the same time, pay the greatest deference to Truth, the only Support of it. And indeed, it will be highly necessary, for all those who have any concern for the Honour of the Gospel, to see these Arguments confuted; which are of equal force to justify all the ancient and modern Paganism, that is, or ever was in the World. And therefore, it can never reasonably be thought, that I am any way favourable to the Opinions of the Deists; Or, that the Refutation of a false Argument in favour of Religion, should be either a disservice to that Religion, or a countenance to the Errors of Deism; tho' our Author's making use of such an Argument, is justly liable to both these Objections. Notwithstanding



if any be otherwise minded, I shall be very well contented with the good opinion of your self, Sir, and those Few, who think it no mean piece of Service to Religion, to confute any inconsistent Argument that may be urg'd in its Defence. And however some People, through Prejudice or Malice, may be influenced to think or say, That what I here deliver may prove of use, or Service to the Cause of Deism; I doubt not, but in the next Letter I have promised to send you, all reasonable Satisfaction will be given to those who are not wilfully mistaken.

I begin with *Livy*, who, at the end of his tenth Book, tells us, 'That though the year 460 *ab Urbe condita* had been prosperous to them upon many accounts; yet it scarcely made amends for a grievous Plague, which then raged so all over the City, and Country adjacent, that the Mortality increas'd to a Prodigy. Upon which, they had recourse to the *Sibyl's* Books, to inquire what End or Remedy the Gods might give to this Affliction: In which Books it was found, That *Æsculapius* was to be sent for from *Epidaurus* to Rome. But nothing in this matter was done this year, (the Consults being engaged in War) except a Decree of one Days Supplication to *Æsculapius*. Here ends *Livy's* Tenth Book. The Eleventh is a Supplement by *Freinshemius*, who continues the Story thus. The City and Country were constantly infested with the Evil of this Contagion; which, after they had us'd all manner of means for three years together, could neither by Divine or Human Assistance be expell'd. Either therefore moved by the *Sibylline* Books, or the Answer of the Oracle at *Delphos*, (for this also is reported) ten Ambassadors were sent to bring *Æsculapius* to Rome from *Epidaurus*, in which City it was believed he was born. And though the Oracle was something intricate, and obscure, so far, that the Senate was no way able to guess at the Event of Things; yet they Ordained, That the Gods should be obey'd: Nothing

doubt-



doubting but that they would Themselves find out a way to bring their own Decrees to effect. From hence there hapned a Thing wonderful to be related, and yet of *undoubted Truth*, not only from the *Testimony* of many credible Authors, but from the *building of a Temple*, which *at that time* was built and dedicated in the *Isle of Tyber*. When the Ambassadors were arriv'd at *Epidaurus*, and had deliver'd their Message, they were, indeed, very civilly entertain'd: But because it did not sufficiently appear to them what the Ambassadors desir'd, they brought them into the Temple, that they might take and carry away from thence whatever they thought for their purpose. The Temples of this *God* being in most parts of *Greece*, situate on eminent and open places, the *Epidaurians* also had built this Temple 5000 Paces distant from their City; which was in those times extreamly celebrated, and became very wealthy, by means of the Gifts of such Persons, who imagin'd they had recover'd their Healths there. When the Ambassadors were brought into this Place, and stood admiring at the Image, which was of an excessive bulk, and was the excellent Workmanship of *Thrasymedes the Parian*, a *Serpent* of a vast size, that slid down on a suddain from the inward recesses of the Temple, struck all their Minds with the greatest Horror and Devotion; the Priests with profound reverence cry out, That the *Deity* it self was in this *Snake*, and that he had *formerly* been seen in the same Shape, and that it was always a Comfortable Sign. The *Serpent* was for two days openly seen in the Temple, and then withdrew himself; but, on the third day, he pass'd thro' the midst of the admiring and adoring Throngs of the People, directly to the Port where the *Roman Vessel* lay at Anchor; which entring, he compos'd himself upon his own various Folds, in the Cabin of *Quintus Ogulnius* the chief of the Embassy. It was anciently reported, That this same *Æsculapius* was



" was formerly carry'd by *Mules* from *Epidaurus* to  
 " *Sicyon* in the form of a *Serpent*, being conducted by  
 " one *Nicagora*, the Wife of *Echetimus*. The *Romans*  
 " rejoycing at this so strange a sight, as if they had the  
 " *God* in their Company, set Sail, and in a few days  
 " having cross'd the Sea, arriv'd with a prosperous  
 " Gale at the Haven of *Antium*. But, the stormy Wea-  
 " ther putting a stop to their farther Voyage, the *Ser-*  
 " *pent* creeping out of the Ship, where thro' the whole  
 " Voyage he had kept himself quiet, slides into the  
 " Porch of the Temple of *Æsculapius*, which in that  
 " City was much celebrated, and there he continues  
 " three whole days, not without great fear of the Am-  
 " bassadors, lest he should not be drawn from thence;  
 " since he had not, all that while, return'd to his ac-  
 " custom'd Food; till at last, he was restor'd to the  
 " Ship, and with a great deal of Joy convey'd to *Rome*.  
 " The whole City flock'd out to view this incredible  
 " Spectacle; and all along the Banks of the River by  
 " which he pass'd, *Altars* were erected, *Incense* burn'd,  
 " and *Victims* slain. And now they arrived where the  
 " *Tyber*, divided by a small distance, forms an Island;  
 " where the *Serpent*, leaving the Ship, swims over to  
 " that Island, called afterwards by the Name of *Æscu-*  
 " *lapius*, and was never after seen. The *Senate*, appre-  
 " hending that this Place was made choice of by the  
 " *God* himself, decreed, That in the same place a Tem-  
 " ple should be built to *Æsculapius*, and the Plague  
 " wholly ceas'd. The Temple presently grew famous  
 " by very considerable Presents, and the great Recom-  
 " mendations of those who cry'd up this Deity for the  
 " healthful Remedies he had bestow'd upon them.

This Story is so very apposite, and does so directly  
 answer all this Author's four Marks, that I cannot see  
 what can possibly be objected against it; except, that  
 it is only a Supplement, and not an Original. To  
 which I answer, " That if it be compos'd and collected  
 " from Originals, as Ancient or of as good Authority



as *Livy* himself; it must be acknowledg'd to be of equal Weight and Credit. And that this is so, appears from *Freinshemius* himself, who all-along thro' his Supplemental History gives us an Account, step by step, and almost thro' every period, of the several Authors from whence he borrows his Memorials; and for the Particulars of this Reflection, he quotes to us *Valesius's* Fragments of *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, *Suidas*, *Pausanias*, *Valerius Maximus*, *Plutarch*, the Author *de Viris illustribus*, *Ovid*, *P. Diaconus*, and *Livy* himself; to which he might have added *Strabo*, *Florus*, and several others. For there is scarce any Author who wrote concerning those Times, that has omitted the Mention of this Story as an approved Verity. So that this Objection, instead of weakning the Truth of this Relation, has given us a lucky occasion of confirming it, by so many Quotations from the best Authorities. And it is not to be doubted, if this eleventh Book of *Livy* had not been unfortunately lost, we should certainly have met with a more ample Account of this matter from Himself: And my Reason for this Assertion is, That even the *Epitome* of this eleventh Book, written by *L. Annaeus Florus*, long before this or any other of *Livy's* Books were lost, gives us a plain, tho' indeed a succinct Account of all the Material Parts of this Story, in these words. *Cum Civitas pestilentia laboraret, missis Legatis ut Aesculapij Signum Romam ab Epidauro transferrent; Anguem, qui se in navem eorum contulerat, in quo ipsum Numen esse constabat, deportavere eoq; in Insulam Tyberis egresso, eodem loco Sedes Aesculapij constituta est.* I have chosen therefore to give the Reader a Translation of *Freinshemius*, which is not only well attested, but more ample and particular than any one Original I have met with. However, that we may not want an Original for those who desire it, I shall farther satisfy them, by Transcribing this History in the very words of *Valerius Maximus de Miraculis*, than which nothing can



be more plain and positive. (viz. Triennio continuo  
 vexata Pestilentia Civitas nostra, cum finem tanti & tam  
 diuturni mali neq; divina misericordia, neq; humano auxi-  
 lio imponi videret, Cura Sacerdotum, inspectis Sibyllinis li-  
 bris, animadvertit, non aliter pristinam salubritatem recu-  
 perari posse, quam si ab Epidauro Æsculapius esset accer-  
 situs. Itaq; eo Legatis missis, unicam fatalis remedij opem  
 auctoritate sua (quæ jam in Terris erat amplissima) impe-  
 traturam se Credidit. Neq; ea opinio decepit; pari namq;  
 studio petitum ac promissum est presidium. Evistigioq; E-  
 pidaurij Romanorum Legatos in Templum Æsculapij (quod  
 ab eorum Urbe quinq; Millibus passuum distat) perductos,  
 ut quicquid inde salubre Patriæ latus se existimassent pro  
 Fare suo sumerent, benignissime invitarunt. Quorum tam  
 promptam indulgentiam Numen ipsius Dei subsecutum,  
 verba Mortalium cœlesti obsequio comprobavit. Siquidem  
 is anguis (quem Epidaurij raro, sed nunquam sine magno  
 ipsorum bono visum, in modum Æsculapij venerati fue-  
 runt) per Urbis celeberrimas partes, mitibus oculis, & leni  
 tractu labi Cœpit; triduoq; inter religiosam omnium admi-  
 rationem conspectus, haud dubiam præ se appetita clarioris  
 sedis alacritatem ferens, ad Triremem Romanam perrexit:  
 Paventibus inusitato spectaculo nautis, eo conscendit ubi  
 Quinti Ogulnij Legati tabernaculum erat, inq; multipli-  
 cem orbem per summam quietem est convolutus. Tum Le-  
 gati perinde atq; exoptatæ rei compotes, expleta gratiarum  
 actione, cultuq; anguis à peritis accepto, leti inde solve-  
 runt; ac prosperam emensi Navigationem, postquam An-  
 tium appulerunt; anguis, qui in Navigio ubiq; remanserat,  
 prolapsus in Vestibulo Ædis Æsculapij, mirto frequentibus  
 ramis diffuse, supereminentem excelsæ altitudinis palmam  
 circumdedit. Perq; tres dies, positis quibus vesci solebat, non  
 sine magno metu Legatorum ne in Triremem reverti nollet,  
 Antiensis Templi hospitio usus, Urbi se nostræ advehendum  
 constituit; atq; in ripam Tyberis egressis Legatis, in Insulam  
 ubi Templum Dedicatum est transnavit, adventuq;  
 suo Tempellatam, cui remedio quæsitus erat, dispu-  
 lit.



Now, tho' this is abundantly sufficient to overthrow our Author's Argument, as fully answering all his four Marks; yet I shall throw him in one Instance more, of an extraordinary miraculous Matter of Fact, which happened at the Battel of the *Romans* against the *Latins* at the Lake *Regillus*: Which Story, tho' mention'd by several Authors, I shall choose to give the Reader in the sense of *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* in the sixth Book of his *Roman Antiquities*. 'In this Battel, says he, it is related, That two Horsemen, in Shape and Stature far exceeding all that Nature produces in our times, and in the first bloom of Youth, were apparently seen by *Posthumius* the Dictator, and the Souldiers that were near him, charging in the Front of the *Roman* Horse, and wounding with their Spears Hand to Hand, those of the *Latins* who oppos'd them, till they were driven into a precipitate flight. And, that after the *Latins* were totally routed, and their Camp taken, it is said, 'That just at Evening twilight, after the Battel was ended, there were seen after the same manner, in the *Roman Forum*, two young-men clad in Military Garments, exceeding Tall and Beautifull, of the same Age, still retaining the same Looks they had in the Fight, as if they were just then return'd from the Battel, with their Horses all in a foaming Sweat: And when they had alighted, and had bath'd themselves in the Water which flows from a Fountain near *Vesta's* Temple, which makes there a narrow but a deep Lake; many People surrounding them, desirous to know whether they had brought any News from the Camp, they related to them the Battel in Order as it was fought, and gave them an Account of the Victory. And that when they had withdrawn themselves from the *Forum*, it is said, They were never after seen by any body, tho' they were long and diligently sought after by the Governour who was left in the City. But the next day, when the Principal Men of the Commonwealth



' had receiv'd their Letters from the Dictator, where-  
 ' in (besides other matters that had happened in the  
 ' Combat) they came to understand this *Vision of the*  
 ' *Gods*, they concluded them (upon their being satis-  
 ' fy'd that both the *Apparitions* were of the same Gods) to  
 ' be the Representations of *Castor* and *Pollux*; as in all  
 ' likely-hood they were. Of this incredible and won-  
 ' derful Presence of the Gods ( *τοῦτοι οὐρεῖα* ) many Mo-  
 ' numents are extant in *Rome*, as well the Temple of *Ca-*  
 ' stor and *Pollux* built in the *Forum* by the People of  
 ' *Rome* in the very same place ( *ἐνθα ᾧθεν τὰ Ἑιδωλα* )  
 ' where their *Apparitions* were seen; as also, the Foun-  
 ' tain hard by the Temple, which is said to be conse-  
 ' crated to those Gods, and to this very day is so believ'd.  
 ' To these may be added, the magnificent *Sacrifices*  
 ' which the People of *Rome* perform once a year by the  
 ' chief Men of the Equestrian Order, upon the *Ides* of  
 ' *August*, upon which day this War was happily brought  
 ' to an end. But beyond all these, is that Pomp, which  
 ' after the Sacrifice, is led and brought up by those  
 ' who serve in the Wars on Horseback; who, distin-  
 ' guish'd by their several *Tribes* and *Centuries*, march all  
 ' in order on Horseback, as if newly return'd from  
 ' the Battel, Crowned with *Olive-branches*, and Cloath'd  
 ' in *Purple-gowns* edg'd about with *Scarlet*, (called by  
 ' them *Trabeæ*) setting out in their Pomp, from a  
 ' certain Temple of *Mars* which is built without the  
 ' City, and then passing by the other Quarters of the  
 ' City thro' the *Forum*, and so by the Temple of *Castor*  
 ' and *Pollux*; sometimes to the Number of 5000 Men,  
 ' who carry along with them whatever Rewards of  
 ' their Valour they had receiv'd from their Leaders:  
 A noble sight, and worthy of the Greatness of that  
 People. And this is what I have observ'd to be said,  
 and done by the *Romans*, concerning the Appearance  
 of *Castor* and *Pollux*. By which, besides many other  
 Great Things, we may well conjecture how dear to  
 the Gods the People of that Generation were.



It will perhaps be objected, That this Account wants the fourth Mark of our Author ; because it does not appear that this Temple was built at the Time that these things were said to be done : To which Objection, tho' I think it a sufficient Answer, that it was built in the very Place where the *Apparition* was seen, which in all probability could not be long after the Fact; yet for farther satisfaction, we need do no more than look into the second Book of *Livy*, chap. 20. where we shall find, That the Dictator *Aulus Posthumius* vow'd the Temple to *Castor* even in the Field of Battle; and that about four years after (which is no very long time for the building a Temple) it was finish'd and dedicated by the Dictator's Son, as we see in the same Book chap. 47. And truly, in this Story, as well as the other, all the Historians who have written any thing of those Times do in part or in the whole agree : For, not to spend time upon the Citations of it by *Plutarch*, *Valerius Maximus*, the Author of the Book *de Viris illustribus*, &c. I shall only produce one short passage from *L. Florus* relating to this Miracle, in the Eleventh chap. Lib. 1. where he tells us, The Battle was so sharp, that it was reported that the Gods were present at the Spectacle; and that *no body ever doubted* but that *Castor* and *Pollux* were both there upon white Horses. *Ea demum atrocitas fuit prelii, ut intersuisse spectaculo Deos Fama tradiderit : Duos in candidis equis Castorem atq; Pollucem nemo dubitavit.*

Thus we see, That these and such-like stories are related by Heathen Historians with all the positive assurances imaginable; and were not only entertain'd and receiv'd by a few Persons, distinguish'd from vast multitudes, who at the same time beheld the Miracles, yet could not believe; but were unanimously embraced and credited by whole Citys, that were very populous, and afterwards consented to by the whole Nation, as undoubted supernatural Evidences : Yet they plainly tend to nothing less, than to introduce or confirm the

Gentile



Gentile Idolatry and Superstition, with all the absurd consequences of their gross and inconsistent Doctrines, and fabulous Traditions. But, if we may credit our Author, they stand upon as sure and solid a Foundation as the Christian System: Since he is pleas'd to tell us (page 11) *That no Imposture can have all these Marks.* However, notwithstanding his vain and ignorant Boasting, I am confident no good sober minded Christian will ever second, or approve what he tells the Jew (page 415) *And if you can shew the Uncertainty of these Marks, or that they are wanting to the Evidence of Christianity; Then down comes your Law with it, and we must all together turn Deists.* One would think this Author was himself a Deist (if we had not good assurance that he was acting the Part of a Papist) who can upon such easy Terms give up the Cause to them. But, thanks be to God, we have not so learned Christ, as to put his Doctrins upon an equal Foot and Degree of Evidence with the Heathen Superstitions: For we have a much better Handle to hold our Faith by, than what is offer'd to us by this shallow Disputant, Notwithstanding all his presumptuous confidence, in telling of us (Page 45) *I put it upon them to shew any forgery that has all these Marks: This is a short Issue, keep them close to this; This determines the Cause all at once.* And so (page 46.) *Let them pick and choose the most probable of all the Fables of the Heathen Deitys, and see if they can find in any of these the four Marks before mentioned.* And what if they can? Is our Religion then lost and gone? and must we all turn Deists, with this Author? God forbid. The Deist indeed has gain'd matter enough for Triumph; Nor is he, in this case, but the true and sincere Christian's only proper and immediate Opposer; who cannot but be griev'd at heart, to see his God thus blasphem'd, his Religion expos'd, the Foundation of his Faith and Hope thus pluck'd up by the roots, and all the glorious Consequences of the Death, and Resurrection of his Redeemer frustrated, and rendred ineffectual,



eternal, by this pragmatical *Levite*, who pretends his sacred *Orders* to be deriv'd upon him by a continued succession from *Christ* himself, tho', one would rather think from *Judas*, who betray'd him. Let me therefore ask this bold and blasphemous *Priest*, who has thus adventur'd with his foul unhallow'd Pen, to treat of a Subject of this immortal Concern to us all, in so loose and unjudicious a manner: Were not, in the first place, the before mentioned Appearances of a Serpent and the two Youths on Horseback such matters of Fact as that Mens outward Senses, their Eyes and Ears could judge of? And were not these Facts done (secondly) in the face of the World, in the Cities of *Epidaurus*, *Antium*, and *Rome* in the first Instance; and the whole *Roman Army*, and the whole People of *Rome* in the other Instance? And, in the third place, were there not only publick Monuments kept in memory of these Occurrences, but outward Actions also perform'd such as *Temples* built, where there must necessarily be *Priests* to perform the sacred Offices in them, besides the consecration of the Fountain, the magnificent Sacrifice, and pompous Cavalcade abovemention'd? And, in the fourth place, Did not the Senate immediately order a *Temple* to be built for *Æsculapius*? And was it not built? and is not part of its Foundation to be seen by Travellers at this day? And was not the *Temple* of *Castor* and *Pollux*, vow'd by the Dictator upon the place of Battle, finish'd and dedicated 11 years after? And, if these Particulars are plain and evident in these Histories, what then will be the Consequence, according to this Author? why truly, no less than an Establishment of Heathenish Idolatry, upon an equal ballance with Judaism and Christianity. For, according to his Principles, these matters of Fact must necessarily be true, because they have his four Marks, which cannot possibly meet in an Imposture; For Truth does not *recipere majus & minus*, nor can one Truth be a greater Truth than another. From hence therefore it will follow



low, according to this Mans way of Reasoning (page 12, &c) That these Things could not possibly be impos'd upon the People at the time they are said to be done, for that would have been contrary to the Senses of those who were then alive, who must necessarily have contradicted it: And therefore, these Books that relate these Miracles could never have been receiv'd for Truth by the People, if they had told them these things as done before their Eyes, if they had not been so done. And, it was equally impossible that these Things should be impos'd upon the People afterwards by any Author whatsoever: For, they could never be persuaded, That these Monuments had been all along kept up in memory of such extraordinary Occurrences that were never before seen or heard of by them. And if, in the next place, we should suppose that the People did not know why they had so long continued those several Rites and Observances, till these Authors told them; It will thence follow, That they were perform'd for so many Ages successively in memory of Nothing at all; which is absur'd and impossible. So that to all these Suppositions the same Answer will be given in favour of the Heathen Miracles, as our Author produces in behalf of the Christian Religion. And, as we have made use of the same Arguments with our Author, we may justly infer the same Conclusion, That the Heathen Miracles were undoubtedly true, and that they were no Impostures, but ought to be believ'd and profess'd by all those who have any regard for the Salvation of their Souls. But to shew, that the World was never without Impostures with our Author's four Marks, I shall (before I come to Popery) give the Reader an Instance out of some Histories of *Modern Gentilism*. The *Siamese* pretend to have had four Gods born amongst them, who at some thousands of years distance from one another have brought them a New Revelation from Heaven. The last God, after a long Expectation of the whole Universe, was born about



about 400 years before our *Blessed Saviour*, and is called by them *Sommonocodom*. His Mother was a Virgin, and Conceive'd him in an extraordinary manner; And tho' She brought forth her young Child in a Desert, yet there was a *Holy Hermit* (whereof many are to be seen in *Siam* to this day) who, in confidence of seeing this so long expected GOD before he died (as he was promis'd by an *Angel*) came to the Place where he was born, and took up the young Child, together with the care of its Education; and fed, and nourish'd it in the Wilderness for a considerable time, with *Milk* and *wild Hony*. This Child ran great hazards in his youth; for, certain *Kings* being jealous of their *Authority*, upon hearing People say, *That the true King of Kings was born*, sought after the young Child, to Kill him; whereupon this good old *Hermit* fled with him into the Kingdom of *Camboy*, where he did an infinite number of *Miracles*, and where he remain'd till the danger that threatned him was over. At last, being about the Age of ten or twelve years, he return'd to *Siam*, where he did a great many extraordinary *Miracles*; such as appearing in the *Air*, in a Throne of *Gold* and precious *Stones*, and the Angels at the same time descended from *Heaven*, and Worshiping him; with many more of the same Kind, whereof the Signs and Marks remain at this day. Here he instructed the People in his new Religion, and wrote *Books* for the Benefit of Posterity, full of excellent *Morals*, comprised chiefly in ten Commandments; which also contain in them the present Religion of the *Siamese*; being an Account of the Doctrines, Worship, and Ceremonies prescribed by *Sommonocodom*. Here also he instituted his Order of *Priests* of his Disciples, and their *Successors* who were to Officiate under the Notion of his *Imitators*, in wearing Habits like his, and in keeping close to the Rules he left them. These *Priests* are in great Veneration amongst these Barbarous People, who worship even the hems of their Garments; and believe, That



the Cheifest and most laudable of all Virtues, is to honour and do good to their *Priests*, or *Talapains*: who are become so proud and insolent upon it, that they disdain so much as to salute a *Layman*, tho' it were the *King* himself.

And so far have they instill'd into this Savage Nation this profound Reverence to the Persons of their *Priests*, that they have impos'd upon them a Relation or Tradition as general receiv'd and believ'd as any other Part of their Religion, viz. That *Thevathat* the Younger Brother of *Sommonocodom* was cast into *Hell* for persecuting and opposing his Elder Brother, where he was tormented with grievous Pains: Insomuch, that *Sommonocodom* seeing him in so pittifull a condition, took Compassion on him, and forgetting all the Injuries he had done him, offer'd to release him, upon condition that he would but worship these three Names, *Puthang*, *Thamang*, and *Sangkhang*; the first whereof signifies God, the second the *Word of God*, the third *Imitator* of God. *Thevathat* readily consented to adore the two first words, but could never be persuaded to adore the third, because it signifies *Priest* or *Imitator of God*, declaring that the *Priests* were a parcel of wicked, sinfull Wretches, and deserv'd no manner of Respect. But this unpardonable affront to the *Priests*, in refusing to adore them equally with *God* and his *Word*, has already cost him above 2000 years most exquisite Torments, and is still like to do so for a very great number of years, as the *Historian* says. By which, I suppose he means, till these *Talapains* forgive him. Which, if they are not unlike many others of their Character, and implacable Tempers, which I could easily name, will be as we commonly say, *At latter Lammas, or To Morrow come Never*. All which was so well known to *Rablais*, a Man of the greatest Wit, Learning, and Judgment in his Time, that in his 5th Book chap. 9. he brings *Aedituns* exhorting *Panurge*, never to be so mad as to meddle with those sacred Birds.



*Birds.* 'As much, says he, as thou lovest the Profit, Welfare, and Life not only of thy Self, and thy Friends, and Relations alive or dead, but also of those who may be born hereafter, to the thousandth Generation, for so long thou wouldst entail Misery upon them. Who sees not therefore, that such a Story as this well inculcated and believ'd in *Siam*, would prove as effectual for the Honour, Profit, and Dread of the Priests, as if they were able by a word to turn a piece of Bread into their God, or to open or shut the Gates of Heaven when and to whomsoever they please? But, to return to *Sommonocodom*, he dy'd at length in the 82 year of his Age, after having foretold the time of his Death to his Disciples; his Soul ascended into the *Eighth Heaven*, properly call'd *Paradise* or *Niruppaam*. His Body was burn'd, and his Bones remain to *this day*, part in the Kingdom of *Siam*, and the other part in the Realm of *Pegu*; to which is attributed a most wonderful Power or Vertue; and, that part of them being chang'd into divers Metals, and part of them remaining in their natural state do shine forth with a most divine and wonderful Brightness.

This is, in short, the Substance of what Mr. *Gervaise* and Father *Tachard* say in their several Voyages to *Siam* concerning the Religion of that Country: Which being founded upon *Miracles*, must unavoidably contain in it the four Marks of our Author. As *First*, these Miracles were done in the Face of the World. *Secondly*, they were such as the Eyes and Ears could Judge of. *Thirdly*, a New Religion is establish'd upon them. *Fourthly*, a Succession of Priesthood, Ceremonies, and Worship from *Sommonocodom's* Time to this. From whence it will follow, that this Religion also can be no Imposture. And if any should go about to detest and abhor this Doctrine, as absur'd and Blasphemous, I would advise them to be very cautious and wary, before they presume to oppose their single Opinions against the united Judgment of the two famous Universities



versities of this Land, *Oxford* and *Cambridge*. For it is well known, That in the late Reign of *K. William*, there was a Collection made by these two Learned Bodies, *involas*, (or rather *avolas*) ergo, for this doughty Champion of the Christian Religion against the *Deists*, as a Gratuity to this bungling Journeyman for doing their proper Work, whilst they in the mean time, like useless Drones and true College Lubbers, they could find nothing else to do, stretching themselves out at ease in their lazy Cells. Which sufficiently shews us, how thinly they are furnish'd with Members of true Piety, Parts, or Learning; who could not only discover the dangerous Consequences of this Argument to the Christian Religion, but could be prevail'd upon, to give so joint and universal an Approbation to this trifling and treacherous Performance. However, to do them Justice, I will not be positive in placing the Collection wholly to this Books Account: Since there are others of Opinion, that this Man's greatest Merit with them consisted in his zealous, tho' very senseless, Compositions against our happy *Revolution*, and that most *Lawfull and Rightful* Title which was confer'd upon *K. William* by the People for his great Services. And indeed, I am so much the apter to incline to these Gentlemen's Opinion, when I consider, That not one Voluntary Contribution of this Nature was ever yet rais'd amongst them, but in favour of such who have been sworn Enemies to the Liberties of their Country, and Notorious Opposers of our present happy Establishment. Whereof, if it were needful, I could produce several pregnant Instances. But I shall forbear to Name them, nor would I have mention'd their Conduct in this Particular, if it had not been as Flagrant and Notorious as our *Acts of Parliament*, or *Public Proclamations*. Upon which Account, I am confident, I shall have the Excuse of those few Members amongst them, who have all-along oppos'd these destructive and slavish Proceedings.

But



But leaving these Heathens, I shall proceed to consider, whether any instances of this kind are to be found in the Romish Religion. Tho' I see not how Popery can deserve the Name of *Religion*, it being nothing else but a politic System Invented and Establish'd by Priests to enslave the poor Laity, and enjoy the Fruits of their Labours; the greatest disgrace and mockery that ever yet was impos'd upon Humane Nature, under the Notion of Religion; and a Composition of all the grossest Dregs and foulest Ingredients of Ancient and Modern *Gentilism*, improv'd and sublimated into the purest *Quintessence* and subtlest Spirit of Impudence, Inhumanity, and lewdest Avarice. And yet even in this Church, or rather Society of *Robbers, Gluttons*, and *Ecclesiastic Roysters*, we shall not fail to find our worthy Author's four Characteristic Marks of the true Christian Religion. And I doubt not but our Author was sensible of this, when he tells us, (*page 46.*) *That these Legendary Fables are disown'd and laugh'd at, by the Learned and Men of Sense amongst them:* With design, I suppose, to prevent us before-hand, and to render of no effect whatever may be produc'd in Proof, that these his four Marks are to be met with in the Church of *Rome*. But, I suppose, he will not allow this to be a good Argument against the Credibility of *Miracles* in other Churches, and Religions, because they are disown'd and laugh'd at by Men of Learning and Sense amongst them: And I am afraid it would extend much farther then he is aware of. However, we shall find a great difference between being *disown'd* and *laugh'd at*; for, tho' these *Miracles* may be laugh'd at in Private, they may be stiffly and peremptorily own'd in Public, which is the Case I am sure of the Church of *Rome* (to say nothing of others). And therefore, whatever Men of Learning or Sense amongst them may think in their own Minds, it is sufficient to fix any Doctrine or Practice upon a Church, when we find those Doctrines and Practices to be publickly allow'd,

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enjoin'd, and approv'd by the Governours and Guides  
 of such Church, in whose Hands and Power it is to  
 order and direct whatever shall be believ'd or practic'd  
 in it. And therefore (besides the Notoriety of the Fact  
 in all parts of the World where the Popish Religion is  
 profess'd) I cannot but think it the most effectual and  
 conclusive way, to produce Instances out of their Books  
 of *Controversie*, which are written purposely upon this  
 Subject of Miracles; not only because what is affirm'd  
 by such Author's does always bear the stamp of the  
 Churches Authority, and Approbation, by a *permisso Super-*  
*riorum*; but because these Persons have a particular  
 License to read Heretical Books in order to Answer  
 them, and therefore are look'd upon by the Church it  
 self to be Men of no mean Learning and Sense amongst  
 them: So that by this means we shall not only destroy  
 our Author's Argument, but this his Assertion too.  
 To this purpose therefore I shall make use of a Book of  
 Controversie written by one *E. W.* against Dr. *Stilling-*  
*fleet*, intituled, *A Discourse of Miracles wrought in the*  
*Roman Catholic Church*, Printed at *Antwerp*, *permisso Super-*  
*riorum*. The Book is full of Miracles, with our Author's  
 four Marks, but I shall think it sufficient to name one  
 or two of them, without disgusting the Reader too  
 much with such nauseous Entertainment. This Au-  
 thor (p. 53.) gives us an Account of Miracles wrought  
 by the famous *Thomas Cantelupe*, Bishop of *Hereford*,  
 which, he says, were in all to the number of 425,  
 whereof some he sets forth here at large. It seems  
 that Pope *John* the 22d, hearing of several wonderful  
 Miracles that had lately been wrought at the Tomb of  
 this Saint, he appointed several Commissioners to go  
 to the Tomb, and take a strict and severe examination  
 of the Truth of these Facts, in order to his *Canoniza-*  
*tion*. This Commission was granted at the Intercession  
 of the whole Nation, the King, the Clergy, and the  
 People. This Commission was executed with the  
 reatest Caution and Exactness, and the most Active  
 Person



person in it was *Richard* then Bishop of *Hereford*, and  
 successor to *St. Thomas*. The Depositions of the Wit-  
 nesses with the whole Process is to this day kept in  
 the Vatican Library at *Rome*; but the Commission to  
 some of the Commissioners not lasting above four  
 Months, they had not time to examine more than 39  
 Miracles, whereunto they subscrib'd. This was in the  
 year 1307. He gives an Account of several of these  
 Miracles, I shall only name the first, as short as is con-  
 venient. It is of a Child whose Name was *Roger*, of a-  
 bout two Years and three Months old, Son to one  
*Servaise*, who belong'd to *Conway* Castle in *Wales*; This  
 Child fell on the 6th of *Sept.* 1303. from a Bridge be-  
 longing to that Castle into a Ditch about 28 Foot un-  
 der the Bridge; he fell upon a Stone (there being no  
 Water in the Ditch) and was sworn to be dead by three  
 persons who saw and handled him. The Coroners be-  
 ing sent for, went down into the Moat, found the Child's  
 body cold and stiff, covered with a little hoary Frost,  
 stark dead indeed. Whilst the Coroner was doing  
 his Office, one *John Syward* a Neighbour not far off,  
 went down into the Grott, gently handled the Child's  
 body all over, and finding it was dead as ever any  
 was, made the sign of the Cross upon it's Forehead,  
 and earnestly prayed after this manner, *Blessed St.*  
*Thomas Cantelupe, you, by whom God has wrought in-*  
*numerable Miracles, shew Mercy upon this little Infant, and*  
*obtain that he may return to Life again, &c.* No sooner  
 had *Syward* spoke these words, but the Child began to  
 move his Head, and Right Arm a little, and forth-  
 with Life and Vigour came again into every part of  
 his Body. The Coroners and a world of other Stan-  
 ders-by saw the Miracle; and in that very place, with  
 great Admiration, return'd humble thanks to *God* and  
*St. Thomas*, &c. Here also the four Marks are plain  
 and evident; for we have nothing here, in the first  
 place, but Peoples Eyes and Ears are Judges of. Se-  
 condly, it was sufficiently Public, in the Castle Ditch  
 or



or Moat. And then 3dly, and 4thly, here are the *Monuments* or Records of it preserv'd in the *Vatican*; and besides we have the *Monument* of the *Canonization* which follow'd upon this, and the rest of the *Miracles*; and the Action to be perform'd, is the Prayers to this Saint on his day in the *Kalendar*. So that we see here also, That it is no hard matter to topp Miracles upon the poor blind *Lairty*, that shall bear the strictest Test and Examination imaginable, and yet all false and supposititious. I should have ended here with this *E. W.* and his *Miracles*, but there is one more which is so very remarkable that I know not how to pass it by: He says, that *Anno 1105*, a Merciless Plague raged in *Arras*, the chief City of *Artois*, which sent forth loathsome Ulcers, &c. not to be cured by Human Art. The whole City, ever devote to the Mother of *GOD*, experienc'd her in this their Necessity to be a true *Mother* of mercy; The manner was thus. The blessed Virgin shewing her self visibly to two different Persons, the one called *Itierus*, the other *Nortmannus*, enjoyned them to tell *Lambert* then Bishop of *Arras*, that the next Saturday towards Morning she would appear in the great Church, and put into his hands a Wax-candle burning, from whence drops of Wax should fall into a Vessel of Water prepared by the Bishop: she said moreover, that all the diseased that drank of this Water, or pour'd any drops of it into their Ulcers, should forthwith be cured. This truly promis'd, truly hapned; our blessed *Lady* appear'd all beautiful, having in her Hands a wax Candle burning, which diffused Light the whole Church over; this she presented to the *Bishop*, he blessed it with the sign of the Cross, set it in the Urn of Water; when placed there, drops of Wax plentifully fell down into the Vessel. The Water given to the diseas'd, they drank of it, and no sooner had they done so, but all were cured, about 150, who then were expecting the Miracle. Hereupon the violence of the Contagion presently ceased, the whole City over; and all gave humble thanks



thanks to Almighty G O D, and his Sacred *Mother* for the singular favour. This Miracle gave beginning to a Society called *Sodalitas ardentium*, into which the very first and best of the City entred, and there enrol'd their Names. The Candle, to this day preserved with great veneration, spends it self, yet loses nothing; that is like the Bush which *Moses* saw burn, but not at all consum'd; and therefore remains still in the *same length and greatness* it had 500 years ago. A vast quantity of Wax, made up of the many drops which fall into the Water upon those festival days when the Candle burns, may be justly called (as *Petra Sancta*, who saw it, writes) *perpetuum miraculum*, a standing indeficient Miracle. Thus far *E.W.* Now, tho' it may possibly be no very difficult matter to give a near guess how this Juggle was contriv'd, yet, as gross as it is, we may evidently discern all our Author's four Marks shining in it; for this is a Miracle obvious to the Eyes and Ears; and it was done publickly, in the sight of all the People, who met there (upon this previous notice given to the *Bishop*) to see the Miracles, whereof 150 were cur'd upon the spot. And there were not only festival days appointed upon this account, but a Fraternity enter'd into upon it. Tho' these two last *Marks* seem superfluous, for the Miracle continues still, and the Candle remains entire, in the same length and thickness, tho' so often lighted, and burn'd upon these festival days, for above 500 years together; this is beyond not only our Author's Marks, but exceeds any thing he can produce. And this I doubt not but our Author very well knew, and therefore calculated his four Marks (as he has many other of his Books) to serve the Cause of Popery; to which upon all occasions he appears to be so cordial a Friend. For if these four Marks will serve the turn, they are it seems the *Marks of the Beast*, and Popery has no more to do, than to put in for the true Religion, by shewing these four Marks at this day; and true Christianity must then

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truckle to *Romish* Infallibility, appearing in these four Rules laid down by our Author. And that this was his Intention by inventing this System, can scarcely be doubted by any that consider this Author's Principles, which are perfectly Popish, and are seen not only interspers'd in all his Compositions in general, but particularly in his appearing at the head of a Popish Doctrine, viz. of the Sacrament of the *Eucharist's* being a *real Sacrifice*, maintain'd by none but *H——* and such as are violently suspected to be that way inclin'd. We may observe also his Opinion of these Miracles of the Church of *Rome*, by what he says of them in this Book (p. 46.) where he can find in his Heart to bestow upon them no worse a Name than that of *Pious Cheats*. As if so much Villany contriv'd on purpose to serve the ends of Idolatry and Hypocrisie, could any way deserve the Name of *Pious*, tho' with never so scandalous an Adjunct. And I think I may fairly leave it to the Reader, who is in the least acquainted with this Man's Principles and Practices, whether he has not advanc'd as far that way, and declar'd as much by his Writings and Actions, as any Man who does not openly profess Popery either can or dares do; tho' I think in nothing more than in these four Marks, which have been so well receiv'd at *Oxford* and our *Alma mater*, who might justly take it amiss, and think it too great a Reflection upon their Judgments, if we should not allow them to understand the design of these four Marks, for which they so readily and liberally joyn'd in their contributonal Acknowledgements: For it is most certain, that the Papists desire nothing more than that the whole stress of the Argument should be put upon Miracles; and as I once heard of a certain Countryman of our Author's, who, in a Cause wherein he was concern'd, instructed his Counsel, that whatever else he omitted, he should be sure to order matters so, that the *Swearing* part might be of his side; so has this Advocate for his Friends and Clients the Papists taken  
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special care that the weight of the Controversie should depend upon Miracles ; very well knowing, that Popery would easily out-go all other Pretenders upon that Foot, and win the Prize of Certainty and Infallibility from them all. For as to these four Rules, every body that has seen and observ'd any thing in those Countries, must know, that they are to be found in almost every Town or Village : For what else is the meaning of those Crutches, Artificial Hands, Feet, Legs, Arms, and other Members of the Body, that are daily hung up in their Temples by way of devotional Gratitude, and in memory of the miraculous Cures that have been done upon their Prayers to the Saints and Martyrs, or their devout Application to their Tombs and Relicks. And we very well know, that in almost every great City there are public Prayers and Processions said and perform'd, upon the Revolution of a certain term of Years (like the *secular Games* of the old *Romans*) in memory of some extraordinary Miracle, publickly shew'd in the view of all the People, by some Saint, Statue, Relick, consecrated Host, &c. Their Legends and Church Histories are fill'd for the most part with such sort of Narratives, and there is no travelling many Miles in any Popish Country, without meeting Churches, Chapels, Tombs, or other Monuments erected in Memory of extraordinary Miracles perform'd by their Saints and Martyrs, the Registers whereof are kept in those particular Churches, containing the whole process of these Miracles, and when, and how they were done, in the public view of the People ; and an Anniversary Feast kept ever since in that Parish upon the same Account. How these gross Falsties come to be impos'd upon the People at first, may be matter of wonder to a great part of the World, who are unacquainted with the Boldness and Diabolical Impudence of the Priests, and the great power and dreaded influence they have over the poor enslav'd Laity in those Countries ; which not only encourages,



but enables the Priests, at any time, or any place, or upon any occasion where it serves their Interest, to set up a Miracle in all its Forms and Attestations. For these Legendary Miracles are never thorowly and narrowly inspected, even by those who possibly could discover the Imposture; and even the Magistrates themselves, if we should suppose them able to do it, and willing in their own Minds, yet durst not appear in opposition to these Practices, for fear of drawing the Hate and Revenge of the whole Clergy upon them: Therefore when the Priests, who have gain'd the Multitude on their side, have a mind to perpetuate a Miracle, there will be no opposing the Torrent without being horn down by it; nor contradicting it, without the loss of one's Life. Therefore, in such Cases, those who are most prudent and politick (from whom only we can expect the Detection) either keep silence, or make a shew of believing them, by joynning with the Multitude; in the mean time, the Miracle is establish'd in all its Forms, not only with the Author's four Marks, but with fourscore more, if it be thought needful: And some Ages afterwards, there appear grave Authors, who tell us, That these things were done in the presence of 1000 Persons, whereof none as we can find did ever contradict it; and so far they may say true, without considering, that this want of Contradiction may as well be an Argument rather of the Wisdom and Policy of those who could have contradicted it, than of the Truth of what they did not contradict. I would not undertake to give an Account of all the Ways and Means, whereby Impostures of this kind obtain Credit amongst the ignorant part of Mankind; I shall only observe, that there is a difference between the Means and Artifices that are made use of to set up, and establish a Miracle pretended to be done at the same time, and the reviving or discovering a Miracle suppos'd to be done some Ages before. The first kind is perform'd for the most part after the manner I have already hinted;



ted; and those of the latter kind, tho' they are managed and brought to light by the Cheats and Artifices of the same Persons, yet still it is in a different method, and quite another manner of proceeding; either by foregoing and producing some old Dormant History, which must be found by some extraordinary Providence; or by foisting such Narratives into some new Editions of the Books that were written in former Times, which was no hard matter for those who then had the sole management of the Manuscripts before the Invention of Printing; or by pretending New Relations to such Priests, Hermits, Monks, &c. who were generally esteem'd for Sanctity, or by publishing Narratives of that kind, pretended to be taken from Authentic Registers, in the Archives of such and such Churches, which, not being enquir'd into, do by length of time pass for faithful and true Collections, and so to gain a general Credit. Or else these Relations are pretended to be found in the Tombs and Graves of Saints, wrap'd up in Lead or Wax, &c. So that the Priests will never want means or opportunities for Miracles of all kinds, adapted to all Purposes and Circumstances whatsoever; there being little else to be consider'd in the whole matter in order to understand it rightly, than who the Persons are that make them, and what kind of People they are who believe them.

Having produc'd these Instances, I might apply them after the same manner as I have already done those concerning Heathenism, but this would be *assumere*, and the Reader will do it for himself of course; besides, I should not be very forward of applying what is here said of Popery in the same way as that of Heathenism (from page 12, &c. of our Authors Book) for fear he should agree with every thing that is there said, only changing the word *Heathenism* for that of *Popery*. For I cannot, considering all things, be otherwise persuaded, but that this was the End and Aim he propos'd to himself by writing this Book: for his *System* does  
so



so directly serve their turns, that 'tis impossible but they could be so blind as not to see it: for, as I have instanced in several Particulars that carry with them the four Marks, it will be easy for the *Papists* to say, That their Church had not only these four Marks accompanying the first Founders of it, in a visible and powerful manner, but that they have continued with her ever since, and to this very day do still attend her, and distinguish her Miracles from all others; which plainly demonstrates, that it is one and the same Church still, actuated by the same Spirit and Guilt of working Miracles, which *Hereticks* do not so much as pretend to. And if we should answer them, that Miracles were ceas'd in the Church, they would presently reply, not only that Miracles are as necessary now as ever they were, to distinguish the true Church, and Doctrine of *Christ*, from the Confusion of so many various Pretenders; but that *Jesus Christ* himself speaks of greater Works to be done by those who believe, than he had wrought, (*John* 14. 12.) E. W. page 21. And if he had been put to an Instance, he might have nam'd that of *Arras*, which not only exceeds the four Marks, but transcends any Miracle that was wrought by *Christ* or his *Apostles*, in its being a standing and perpetual Miracle.

I shall take my Leave of this Author, by observing, That it is no wonder such a miscreated Understanding as his should be so far abandon'd, to embrace and comply with *Popery*, the vilest, basest, and most execrable of all Religions that ever were yet profess'd in the World; who has so notoriously blunder'd in the most obvious and common Notions of *Liberty* and *Property*, as to pester the Public with so many nauseous Pamphlets and Papers, in the behalf of absolute Slavery and Arbitrary Power. They both depend upon the same Principles; and whosoever is capable of entertaining heartily any one of these Notions, must necessarily



ily fall at last into the other. Nor was it ever otherwise found by the Experience of all the Parts of *Christendom*, but that arbitrary *Power* and *Tyranny* in Church and State went hand in hand together. And therefore any one of these should ever find admittance into any State or *Kingdom*, it would most naturally, and unavoidably draw in the other after it. And if we should consider every particular Nation of *Christendom* one by one, we shall find, that their *Liberty* and *Happiness*, in the *State*, is in a direct *Proportion* to the *Freedom* they enjoy in their *Churches*, and *Consciences*: So that these two are not only *Twin-Brethren* of the same extraction, and sprung from the same common Parents, *Violence* and *Ignorance*, but are also sworn *Brethren*, united in an indissoluble Bond of Politic as well as Natural Affection, and Conspiracy, to root up and destroy whatever is good, fair, or desirable amongst Men. These are the *Dogs of Hell*, that are let loose from the *Infernal Regions*, to hunt and worry the Peace, *Happiness*, and Tranquillity of *Mankind*. These are the *Harpies* that defile with their filthy odious Gripes whatever was design'd by G. O. D, or *Nature*, for the *Pleasure*, *Health*, or *Welfare* of the poor subjected *Laity*; to whom may justly and literally be apply'd the Saying of the Poet,

*Tristius haud illis monstrum; nec seavior ulla  
Pestis, & Ira Deum, Stygiis sese extulit undis.*

Or rather the Saying of the Prophet *Jacob*, to *Simeon* and *Levi*: *They are Brethren; Instruments of Cruelty are in their Habitations. Cursed be their anger, for it is fierce; and their wrath, for it is cruel, &c. Gen. 49.*

I suppose, Sir, by this time you will not stand in need of any more Instances, or any farther Arguments, to convince you of your mistake, either with respect to  
the



the great Judgment, and force of Reason in this Book  
 or to the true design and intention of its Author.  
 And therefore I shall insist no farther upon either. But  
 because I have been hinting to you several Ways, and  
 Means, how Mankind are deceiv'd in Matters of  
 that *Nature*, I shall, for your farther Entertain-  
 ment, conclude my *Letter* with a Relation of two  
 extraordinary Occurrences; which, tho' they be  
 of different kinds, will equally serve to convince  
 you, how far the World is capable of being im-  
 pos'd upon, in matters of plain *Fact*. The first of  
 them I shall give you in *Vestegan's Words*, who, in  
 his *Restitution of decay'd Intelligence*, page 85. says thus:  
 ' There came into the Town of *Hamel* in the Coun-  
 ' try of *Brunswyc*, an odd kind of Companion, who,  
 ' for the fantastical *Coat* he wore, (being wrought  
 ' with fundry *Colours*) was called the *Pyed Piper*; for  
 ' a *Piper* he was, besides his other *Qualities*. This  
 ' Fellow, forsooth, offer'd the Townsmen, for a cer-  
 ' tain Sum of Money, to rid the Town of all the  
 ' Ratts that were in it, (for at that time the Burg-  
 ' hers were with that Vermin greatly annoy'd).  
 ' The accord, in fine, being made, the *Py'd Piper*  
 ' with a shrill Pipe went Piping thro' the Streets,  
 ' and forthwith the Ratts came all running out of  
 ' the Houses in great numbers after him, all which  
 ' he led into the River of *Weser*, and therein drown-  
 ' ed them. This done, and no one Ratt more per-  
 ' ceiv'd to be left in the Town, he afterwards came  
 ' to demand his Reward, according to his Bargain;  
 ' but being told, That the Bargain was not made  
 ' with him in good earnest, viz. with an Opinion  
 ' that ever he could be able to do such a Feat,  
 ' they cared not what they accorded unto, when they  
 ' imagin'd it could never be deserv'd, and so ne-  
 ' ver to be demanded. But nevertheless, seeing he  
 ' had done such an unlikely thing indeed, they  
 ' were



were content to give him a good Reward, and so  
 offer'd him far less than he look'd for. But he  
 therewith discontented, said, He would have his  
 full Recompence, according to his Bargain; but  
 they utterly denying to give it him, he threatned  
 them with Revenge; they bid him do his worst.  
 Whereupon, he betakes himself again to his Pipe,  
 and going thro' the Streets as before, he was fol-  
 lowed by a number of Boys, out of one of the  
 Gates of the City; and coming to a little Hill,  
 there opened in the side thereof a wide Hole, in-  
 to the which himself and all the Children, be-  
 ing in number 130, did enter; and being entred,  
 the Hill closed up again as before. A Boy, that  
 being lame, and came somewhat lagging behind  
 the rest, seeing this that happened, return'd pre-  
 sently back, and told what he had seen. Forth-  
 with began great Lamentation among the Parents  
 for their Children, and Men were sent out with  
 all diligence, both by Land and by Water, to  
 enquire if ought could be heard of them; but  
 with all the enquiry they could possibly use, no-  
 thing more than is aforesaid could of them be  
 understood. In *Memory* whereof, it was then or-  
 dain'd, That from thenceforth no Drum, Pipe,  
 or other Instruments should be sounded in the  
 Street leading to the Gate thro' which they pass'd;  
 nor no *Ostrie* to be there holden. And it was  
 also establish'd, That from that time forward,  
 in all Publick Writings that should be made in  
 that Town, after the Date therein set down of  
 the Year of our *L O R D*, the Date of the Year  
 of the *Going forth of their Children* should be ad-  
 ded; the which they have accordingly ever since  
 continued. And this great Wonder happened on  
 the Twenty-second Day of July, in the Year of  
 our *L O R D*, 1376.



How this Story came to obtain such Universal Credit in those Parts, I will not undertake to say; having upon Enquiry, found no Foot-steps of it in History; and therefore, considering that this was done in an Age of the greatest darkness of Ignorance and Superstition, that ever yet overspread the Christian World, I shall leave it under the violent Presumption that is due to Forgeries of this kind (*viz.* That the Priests had the chiefest Hand in the Contrivance). And shall only observe, that (tho' others are at Liberty to think of this matter as they please) for my own part, I cannot (with the good leave of the four Marks that appear most flagrant in it) find any Reason to doubt of its being an Imposture. And tho' I cannot so easily detect the *Design* or *Interest* of such a Fraud, (unless perhaps, the common Prospect of Advantage which the Church all-along reap'd from the belief of such extraordinary Apparitions, &c.) yet I must still be of the same Opinion, when I consider, that the contrary Perswasion would reflect too grossly upon the Doctrine of Divine Providence, and intrench too far upon the Mercy, Goodness, and Justice of G O D; and be too strict and literal an Infliction of that Threatning, of *Visiting the Iniquities of the Fathers upon the Children*, &c. which, all things consider'd, ought certainly to be understood in the most tender and restrictive sense imaginable; and not to be thus exerted in its full latitude, upon the common and trifling *Phænomena's* of Ratts and Py'd Pipers.



The next Instance is of much-more Truth and Certainty, and contains in it a farther Discovery of the impudent Assurance, and bold Attempts of the Clergy, upon the easie Belief and too forward Submission of the Laity. I shall here give it you only in brief, and referr you, for your more ample Satisfaction, to a Book lately Publish'd, and intituled, *Priestcraft in Perfection*, &c. where you will find a very remarkable piece of supposititious Practice, by some of our *Protestant* Divines in *ENGLAND*, in the Year 1593. The Case was this: The *Act* of *Parliament* which ratifies and confirms the *Articles* of the Church of *England*, as they were agreed unto, and subscrib'd by the Clergy of both *Provinces* in 1562; and afterwards reviv'd by the *Province* of *Canterbury* in 1571, is in a very notorious manner violated, and rendred of little or no Effect, by the Forgeries of our Priests, and their wicked Contrivances to advance their Power and Authority over the Laity: Which appears beyond all Contradiction, from their adding and foisting into the beginning of the 20th *Article* this Popish and Enslaving Clause, *The Church has Power to decree Rites and Ceremonies, and Authority in Controversies of Faith.* Which Clause was never establish'd by *Act* of *Parliament*, nor mention'd in the *Imprinted Book* to which the *Act* refers, nor to be found in the *Original Manuscript* of 1562, left by Archbishop *Parker* (who was President of that Convocation) to *Corpus Christi* College in *Cambridge*, there now to be seen, sign'd and subscrib'd by the Bishops of eleven *Diocesses*, and the whole lower House. Nor in another *Original Manuscript*, left by the same Archbishop to the same College, upon a Review of them made by him and ten Bishops of his *Province* in 1571, which was the Year the *Act* of *Parliament* pass'd: And yet, notwithstanding all this, the Ecclesiasti-



cal Governors of those Times had the confidence, to publish, and impose upon the World this scandalous piece of Forgery, contrary to most undeniable Testimony, to flagrant Notoriety of Fact, to the constant permanent Evidence of their own Manuscripts, and all the Publick Impressions of the Articles for twenty-two years together, from the first passing of the *Act*, and this in a Protestant Country, in a Nation that could boast so much of its thorow Reformation from Popery; and yet thus to be openly palm'd upon by these Religious Juglers, with a Clause that has been the chief occasion of all the Confusions and Distractions that *ENGLAND* has ever since felt and suffer'd; and this done at Noon-day, in the Face of the *SUN*, in Defiance of all Honesty, Truth, and common Ingenuity. Notwithstanding all which, they succeeded in this most audacious Attempt, and have impos'd it upon the Ignorant and Priestridden People of *ENGLAND* for above these hundred Years; so far beyond even the belief of a modest *Layman*, that very few of the most discerning amongst them were able so much as to suspect the Forgery; the open and shameless Perpetration of it being a sufficient Protection from all manner of Jealousie, amongst honest and well-meaning People; till it was at last most particularly laid open and detected by the Author of the before-mention'd Discourse. If this be not a sufficient Proof what the Laity is capable of suffering from the Priesthood, to whom they had wholly surrender'd up their Faith and Senses, (*Cui Credulitatem suam addixerat*, as is said of *Alexander* and his Priest *Aristander*, *Curt. Lib. 7.*) nothing surely will ever be able to convince us. In this as well as other respects, we find them true Followers or *Imitators* of their Popish Predecessors in the Reign of *Richard* the II. when they had  
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the Impudence to Forge an *Act* of *Parliament* for the destruction of *Hereticks*, said by them, in the Title, to be made in the *Parliament* at *Westminster* *Quinto Regis*; which Imposture was discover'd in the next Session of *Parliament*, and this *Act* of theirs declar'd to be *Null* and *Void*. We ought not therefore to be surpriz'd at the many Forgeries of Miracles, or any other Artifices of the Priests, in abusing the Credulity of the poor deluded Church and Flock of Innocent Christians, to serve the Interest of their Power, Avarice, and Luxury; since we find, that Popish Methods, tho' never so formally banish'd from the Church, will by insensible degrees insinuate it self into it, and bring along with it all its Artifices, and Tyrannous Projects; according to the Judicious Observation of a Learned Author, *Papatus inseparabilis ab Ecclesia*.

And now, *Sir*, having thus endeavour'd *destruere aliena*, by discovering and laying open the false *Arguments* and pernicious Designs of this *Author*, under the mask and pretence of *Zeal* for *Religion*, the next thing I shall set my self about, shall be *ponere nostra*, in setting forth in its full Light and Evidence the *System* I propos'd to your Consideration, which I take to be the only firm and solid Basis upon which the *Christian Religion* is founded, and by which alone we shall be able to oppose and elude the *Artifices*, and Subtilties of *Deists*, *Priests*, *Jews*, *Papists*, and all manner of *Gain-sayers*. This is what I promis'd, and shall, I doubt not, in a reasonable time perform, to  
your



your and all sincere Christians Satisfaction. Mean while, I am not without Apprehensions (as I hinted at the beginning) That, because the Book I have answer'd was professedly written against the *Deists*, I might by the Malicious Suggestions of some, and the two unwary Prejudices of others, be represented as one that either supports or favours the Principles of *Deism*. And tho' you have all along known me better, and your thorow acquaintance with my Conversation, and *Principles*, sufficiently secures me from any such Imputation in your Opinion, yet I will not expect to be altogether free from the rash and inconsiderate Censure of others, who reflect not, that tho' this Book is seemingly directed against the *Deists*, its true tendency and design is no less than the *Introduction*, and Establishment of *Papery* amongst us: and that his Argument would as well serve the purposes of ancient and modern *Gentilism*; to all which Impostures he betrays the Christian *Religion*, by telling us, that his four Marks cannot possibly meet in any Imposture at all; whereby he has wholly given up the cause of *Revelation* to the *Deists*, and so not made the *Deist*, but the true Christian Believer, his only proper Adversary: And this, no doubt, is the Reason why no *Deist* has all this while thought fit to answer the Arguments and Objections of this Book. And had he attempted it, he would without Question have taken another Course, and pursued a quite contrary Method than I have done. For, besides the comparing



ring the four Marks with Instances out of Heathen Histories, and Popish Legends, he would have set himself to the demolishing of every part of our Author's Fabric, and (according to his Custom and Principles) have deny'd, and endeavour'd to disprove the Evidence of all Miracles, either in the Mosaic, Christian, or any Religion whatsoever; which he would, to his best abilities, have represented as common Cheats and Impostures; and would so far have entred into a nice and critical Disquisition of the matter, weight, and authenticness of the Books of the *Old*, and *New Testament*, as to have rendred them, as far as in him lay, both spurious and incredible; and consequently no competent Witnesses of what they relate, either concerning Miracles, or any other extraordinary Accounts, or supernatural Occurrences contain'd in Reveal'd Religion. And tho' our most holy Faith be built upon an impregnable Rock, and sufficiently secur'd against all the Batteries of DEISM, or any other Infidelity; yet certainly he must have gain'd the better of our AUTHOR in this Argument, if he had only made it appear, That the Christian Religion is founded upon the same bottom with all other Religions that are universally acknowledg'd to be Impostures. But it is not his Business to have this Argument confuted, which more vilifies and exposes the Christian Religion than ever he was able to do himself.

And



And therefore, having gain'd his Point, he  
is contented to sit still, and inwardly smile, to  
see his Apish Adversary Dancing Naked in the  
Net of his own Ignorance and Self-conceit,  
where I shall for the present leave him, and  
subscribe my Self—

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**F I N I S.**

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*Postscript for Postscript,*  
By WAY of  
**ANSWER**  
TO *A Manuscript*  
**Dr. KENNET's**

Gentleman-like Treatment of the  
Person that Translated and Ex-  
plain'd his Sermon for him.

With some further Remarks on that Celebrated  
Piece, wherein Mr. Dean's great Learning, In-  
genuity, and Manners, are more fully consider'd,  
as well as the Fidelity of his own *Version*, by  
Way of Comparison, with that which he  
very modestly calls a *Bad One*.

---

In a Letter to that Reverend Doctor ; not forgetting his  
last *Ash-Wednesday Sermon*.

---

Behold thou art called a J E W, and reatest in the Law, and makest  
thy Boast of God : And knowest his Will, and approvest the things that  
are more excellent, being instructed out of the Law, and art confident  
that thou thy self art a Guide to the Blind, a Light of them that are  
in Darkness, an Instructor of the Foolish a Teacher of Babes, which  
hast the Form of Knowledge, and of the Truth in the Law. Thou  
therefore which teachest another, teachest thou not thy self ? Thou  
that preachest a Man should not Steal, dost thou Steal ? Rom. c. 2.  
v. 17, 18, 19, 20, 21.

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# Postscript for Postscript.

Reverend Sir,

**S**INCE you never appear in Print but on Purpose to be taken Notice of, I am loth to defeat the End you propose to yourself, and for this one Time more have an Hour at your Service, to let you know how much I am oblig'd to you for giving me fresh Matter to go upon, from your *perverting* your own *Meaning*, as well as that of the *Scriptures*, in your late *Miserable Translation*. You may call this *Ignorance* and *Perverseness* again, if you shall so think fit, explode my Version as a *Turbulent Way of turning about Sense and Words*, and call me the *Man*, the *Sham Scribler*, and what not ; but I must be plain with you, and tell you, that you are very much indebted to me, not only for my giving some Passages in your *Latin Sermon* a more Candid Interpretation than they could well bear, but omitting very many Things in the *REMARKS* upon it, that would have distinguished you after another manner than you are willing to make your Appearance in.

You and I may think what we will of ourselves, but the World will be our Judges ; wherefore since we are enter'd into a sort of a Controversie, it is but fitting the Matter in Dispute should be so laid before them, that at one View of the different Pretensions, they may form a *Judgment* adequate to the *Cause*. In order to this, I shall act with a Sincerity wholly Foreign to the Method you have taken ; and instead of taking Notice of what is mark'd amongst the *Errata*, or what is perplex'd by the *Printer's* Means for want of proper Pointing, bring the Two Versions upon the same Issue ; and having first given the Reader each respective Sentence that I shall *dip* upon in the Original Language, submit it afterwards to his Perusal, as it is render'd into *English* by the Two Contenders.

To begin, in Page 5, about the Middle, the *Original* runs thus, *Nas Patres, Fratresque, compositis animorum Affectibus,*  
A 2
*hanc*



*hanc Christi Pacem serio perpendamus, qualisnam sit, & quantorum commodorum Plena! Pax scilicet ista cœlitis data, certissimum amoris Divini Indicium, vitæque Æternæ Pignus est. Hec illa Dei Pax est, quæ sensum omnem exuperat, quæ corda Humana custodit, Societates continet, & tuetur.*

*The Reverend the Dean.*

*The Sham-Scribler.*

Let us, Fathers and Brethren, compose our Minds and the Affections of them, and then calmly and seriously consider this *P E A C E* of our Blessed Saviour; what it is, and how full of Content and Comfort of every kind. That Peace which descendeth from Above, as the most certain Token of Divine Love, and the surest Pledge of Eternal Life. That *P E A C E* of God, which *passeth all Understanding*, which warms and unites the Hearts of Men, and so is the Foundation and Defence of all Civil Societies.

O let us, Fathers and Brethren, weigh this *Peace* of Christ, and with a composed Temperament of Soul consider its Nature, and the many Advantages that accrue from it! A *Peace*, that is the Gift of Heaven, the most certain Token of Divine Love, and Pledge of Eternal Life. This is that *Peace* of God, which *passeth all Understanding*, which is a Safeguard to the Hearts of Mankind, and cements and de'ends Humane Societies.

Again, *Ceteræ Ecclesiæ Reformatæ Omnes, Fraternali Amoris Tesseræ Perpetuæ nobis dant, & à nobis Vicissim recipiunt: ut enim communem Fidem profitentur, ita communem Veritatis Hostem impugnant, & in communi Causâ Libertatis Asserendæ conveniunt. Quod siquid forsân in Externo non nullarum Regimine deesse videatur (quod dissimulare non possumus) id etiam Clementissimus Deus (ut speramus) tandem ipsis supplebit. Pacis interim & Benevolentie Vinculis colligati, Concrescamus in illo per Omnia, qui est Caput, ex quo totum Corpus compaciū facit Augmentum in Edificationem sui. Ephes. iv. 16.*

*The Reverend the Dean.*

*The Sham-Scribler.*

The other Reformed Churches in Europe do all give us the *Right Hand* of Fellowship, and receive all the Tokens of Brotherly Love from us. For as they profess the same Faith, so they oppose the Common Enemy of Truth,

The Reformed Churches abroad, not One of them excepted, are always giving us fresh Assurances of their Brotherly Love towards us, and taking the same reciprocally from us: For as they are Professors of the same Faith, so they



Truth, and are in Alliance to assert the same Cause of Liberty. And if any Thing seem wanting in the outward Administration and Government of some of them, (*which we cannot deny,*) the Wise and Merciful God will (we hope) in due Time supply that Defect. In the mean Time, being compacted together by the Ties of Peace and Charity, let us grow up into Him in all Things, which is the Head, even Christ, from whom the whole Body fitly joined together maketh Increase unto the edifying of itself in Love.

they are at *Open Hostility* with one and the same Enemy to Religion and Truth, and are confederated together in Defence of one Common Liberty. But if there be any Defects amongst these our Brethren, *i. e.* as to the outward Exercise and Form of Religious Worship, and they differ from us in some few Ceremonies (which we can by no Means part with,) God (as our Hope and Confidence is) will in his due Time be mercifully pleased that all these Things shall be added unto them.

In the mean Time, let us firmly, linked together in the Bonds of Peace and Good-will towards one another, grow up into Him in all Things, which is the Head, from whom the whole Body fitly joined together and compacted, maketh Increase unto the Edifying of itself. Eph. 4. v. 15, 16.

That you had no Thoughts of having your Sermon made English may be seen from this Paragraph, where in the Latin you make no mention of Christ, or in Love, and blend the Substance of Two Verses into one Quotation, when you refer only to one, on purpose to perplex those that should undertake it: The Right Hand of Fellowship likewise has nothing to do with the Original; but above all, Doctor, methinks you might have spared insisting in your Postscript upon any Proofs of your Falshood in Matter of Fact, when you give such an Instance of it here, since it is notorious, that neither your good Friends at Geneva, the Grisons, or Switz-Cantons, of the Reform'd Perswasion, Swedes or Danes, are in the Grand Alliance; and that there are more Protestants that are Neuters in this present War, than are engag'd in it.

But to pass over many other Escapes of this Nature, and omit multiplying Comparisons between the Two Versions, such, as when you would have the English of *Ministerium nostrum Illustrare*, be, to magnifie our Office, instead of giving full Proof of our Ministry, as the Sham Scribler has it; and for *INSTRUCTISSIMAS Classes in omnia maria distribuit*, say only, she has sent Her Fleets in every Sea without calling them *well-appointed*, as he renders it, because it would tacitly imply the Wise Administration of the present Lords of the Admiralty; an Expression that would wholly make you lose  
your



your Esteem with the Party, whose Service your *Steady, Steady Ship* is so deeply engag'd in. I shall proceed to Two other *Specimens*, one to shew that I have done you no Injustice in your Professions of Loyalty, and flourishes on your Countrymens Atchievements; the other, to manifest your Concern for the Pompous and Solemn Worship of God, which if you had dar'd to have shewn as Emphatically in *English* as in *Latin*, I perswade myself might have been more of a Piece with the Original.

The first asks Justice from you in these Words, *Sed nostræ Ceterarumque Gentium Fæderatarum laudes Bellicas celebrare non est Presentis Instituti. Germania sibi Restituta, Italia a Gallorum Incurfibus liberata; Gallia in suos fere Limites redacta; Hispania ab Alieno Domino tantum non erepta; Hæc vere admiranda Dei Optimi Maximi Opera, Annalibus nostris intexenda sunt, ut habeant Posterì, quod Fidem mereatur superetque.*

*The Reverend the Dean.*

*The Sham-Scribler.*

But it is not within our present Design to recount the *Victories and Glories* obtained to us and our *Allies*; *Germany* restored to her own Empire, *Italy* delivered from the Incurfions of the *French*, *France* well nigh reduced to her antient Bounds, *Spain* almost recovered from Foreign Usurping Powers; these Wonderful Works of Almighty God *will be* inserted in our *Annals of Time*, and *Posterity* will find many of these *Actions* deserving, and yet exceeding Belief.

But it is Foreign to our Purpose on this Solemn Occasion to commemorate the *Warlike Praises* of us and our *Allies*; *Germany*, that is now restored to the Exercise of its wonted Freedom, *Italy*, that is in no Fear of Incurfions from the *French*; *France*, that is almost reduced within its own Limits *Spain*, that is only not recovered out of the Hands of a Foreign Usurper; these Wonderful Works of Divine Providence, I say, are curiously to be interwoven and inserted in the *Annals of our Time*, that Ages to come may have *Actions* to dwell upon worthy of Belief, and yet incredible.

The last having not been very handsomely treated by you, appeals to the Publick, and runs thus, *Quam vere Christiano, ne dicam sacro Impetu, quantisque sumptibus Publicis Ecclesiæ fundantur, instaurantur, decorantur! Hujus Rei ut alia fere omnia Gentis Loca, ita maximè Urbs hæc nostra, Testimonia sua edunt, presertim vero hanc stupendam molem, Unius Ætatis & quidem Hominis Opus jam pene Absolutum. Quam*  
cultæ



*culta in his Ubique & pulchra Religionis Facies ! Quam continuis & repetitis Horis quantisque Hominum Cœtibus, Preces Publicæ Deo offerantur ! Quantâ Pietate Sacra Eucharistia celebrantur & frequentantur.*

*The Reverend the Dean.*

*The Sham-Scribler.*

With what truly Christian Zeal, I was going to say, With what impetuous Powers of Religion, have Churches and Chapels been everywhere founded and endowed, repaired and beautified ! Examples of this Piety and Publick Spirit are to be found in every part of this Nation, but more especially within this City, and the Suburbs of it; above all, We cannot forget the goodly Fabrick where we are now serving God ; This Stupendous Structure, the now finished Work of One Age, and in a manner of One Man; How decorous and amiable is the Face of Religion in these Houses of God ? How frequent, and almost without intermission, are the stated Hours of Prayer in them ? How full and how conformable are the great Assemblies ! How is the Holy Communion more often and more solemnly celebrated !

With what a truly Christian Zeal, not to say a Divine Impulse, and at what Publick Expences are Churches everywhere among us founded, rebuilt and beautified ! As almost all other Places of these Kingdoms give demonstrable Proofs of this Truth, so this our *Metropolis* more particularly makes it evidently undeniable ; especially this stupendous and amazing Pile, the Work of a Whole Age, but almost finished in little more than a third Part of a Century, (so rendred to make the Original speak Truth,) and by One Man : How decent and fair is the Face of Religion in all these Edifices ! After what a Devout manner are Publick Prayers offered in them to the most High God every Hour of the Day, and how often repeated by Multitudes of both Sexes ! With what Piety and Holy Reverence are these Religious Assemblies held and frequented !

So much by Way of Comparison ; though it may not be improper to take Notice of the Word *Eucharistia*, before I altogether part with this Paragraph, since the Reader must lean towards your Interpretation of Course, out of an Assurance that you best know your own Meaning : The Signification of the Word, as I take it, is an *Assembly* or *Congregation*, from *συν* & *ἄγω*, and so render'd by me ; but the *Holy Communion* being given in this Assembly, you introduce the *Sacraments* themselves for the Communicants. Besides, *Εὐχαριστία* is the Word that signifies the Lord's Supper, and *Eucharistia* being



being in 'the Plural Number, must include more than one Sacrament, (*viz.*) that of Baptism, which in our Liturgy is call'd *Πασιθεσπιτισμὸς*, wherefore your Interpretation of it, *Holy Communion*, cannot be right.

To proceed to your next Objection, which deserves no Notice, as being laid against a Poor Peccadillo of the Presb., to be found amongst the *Errata* at the Close of the Remarks; you think you have wonderfully expos'd me by saying, *what a Liberty of creating a Number of Archbishops, when there was but one present, and never but one to preside in ANY Provincial Assembly?* ---- *A very Ill Copy becomes itself an Original.* Now if I should tell you that I sent but one Archbishop to the Printer's House, how many soever you make return from it; and that I can charge you with another *Falshood in Fact*, (I hope you will not *despise* it,) because I can make it out. Whatever Ignorance may be laid at my Door, I find your Pretences to the Knowledge of Antiquities in your *Case of Impropropriations, &c.* cannot wholly keep it off from yours, because I can tell you of *SEVERAL* Provincial Councils that have been held in which more than one Archbishop has presided. To go no farther, if you'll give yourself the Trouble of looking into *Cave's Hist. Literar. Par. 2. P. 530, 533*, you'll find that in the first Council of *Avignon. A. D. 1326*, *THREE* Archbishops presided, (*viz.*) the Archbishop of *Arles, Acs, and Ambrun*, and *A. D. 1337*, in the second Council of *Avignon* *Three* Archbishops of the same Sees; so that from your Word *ANY*, which is limited to no particular Country, you are Debtor to Truth in the same manner as before, which may serve as a Reply to part of your first Observations on the Remarkers. What relates to your Inconsistence in Doctrine will appear in its Place, after I shall have more fully prov'd the Charge laid against you in my last, which you seem either to think not worth your Regard, or to give your Assent to, and was of setting the *Establish'd Church and the Dissenters upon the same Bottom*. In one Paragraph you have the Hardiness to affirm, even so as to be understood too, in your own Translation, *that the other Reform'd Churches in Europe, even those of Calvin's Perswasion, profess the same Faith with ours, when they have neither Bishop or Priest amongst them, and are no Churches on that very Account; for how can they have Christ for their Head that have neither follow'd his Dictates, or those of his Successors the Apostles, & conform'd to the Institutions and Appointments of the Fathers of the Church, who are theirs?* In another, *whatever one*

Member



Member therefore of the Catholick (Universal) Church shall rashly assume the Place and Dignity of Head, does but make a Schism in the Body; but it is not so among our Reform'd Churches, (now the Church of England is but one,) wherein, according to the Mind of the Apostles, the Body is rightly tempered together, they are many Members. The Dean of Peterborow, Debtor to Truth, and the Remarker, for setting him right once more. For those that profess the same Faith with the Catholick Church are Equal to it in Dignity; wherefore the Church of England can by no means have any Right of Preference over that of Geneva, or make any Pretensions to it without incurring the Guilt of Schism: Oh! tell it not in Gath, publish it not in Ascalon.

This might have fallen under the Article of *Inconsistence in Doctrine*, because you contradict it elsewhere; but since you may expect other Evidences of Matter of Fact, I shall oblige you in a very plain Contradiction of another Kind. *We may rather pity and despise* (says your own Version again) *than stay to refute some late Writers*, (whom you attempted to answer *Re infecta*;) *who have presum'd to impugn, and in a Manner to deny this Royal Supremacy, and would contend for a Church Self-sufficient, and Independent from the State, without any Head or Governour, but Christ in Heaven, and a CHRISTIAN PRIESTHOOD (Clerum) upon Earth*, Page 19. and in the next Paragraph but one, so short is the Preacher's Memory, sets down for your declar'd Opinion, *That Her Founder, Christ Jesus, did place his own Apostles in the Highest Order and Degree, to preside over the Subordinate Clergy and People. So that the Church is Subordinate to, and Dependent upon the State in one Place, and in another is invested with the Power and Prerogatives, if not, of the State, of being independent of it. Qui Color albus erat nunc est Contrarius albo*, *White is against Kennet, and Kennet against White*: A Practice you have been no ways a Stranger to, ever since you was first set at work to write *Pro and Con*, I might say, *write Booty*, (as *Will. Pate* has it,) for the Arch-Deaconry of *Huntingdon*; for none of your Friends that allow you can write tolerably well when you so please, can conclude, but that you gave up the Argument to the present Dean of *Carlisle*, who undoubtedly deserv'd rather to be refuted than pitied.

But I shall make you have Recourse to *Billingsgate* if I dwell much longer on Accusations of this Nature; therefore after I have given you one more to be utterly denied



by you in *General Terms* with the *Former*, I shall make it appear that I have more Respect for your Character, than not to give you Particular Answers to what is alledg'd against me. I remember I charg'd you in the beginning of that Letter with perverting the Scriptures, and I have just now dipp'd upon a Passage which enables me to make that Charge good. Those that are acquainted with Dr. Kennet, are too well satisfied that he is more a Master of the Genuine Sense of the Scriptures, and better vers'd in the various Interpretations and Glosses that are put upon them, than to give us a False Meaning of them by Way of *Mistake*: Yet notwithstanding the Curse that is entail'd upon such as shall any ways *add or diminish* from the *Contents* of this *Perfect and Holy Book*, you chuse rather to favour a very Erroneous Version, made on Purpose to Excuse, or rather Authorize *Lay Ordinations*, instead of those by the Hands of Bishops, otherwise you would have given us the Text as it really is understood by the best Explainers; and as the Design and Tendency of its being spoken makes appear: *Look you out among you Men of Honest Report, full of the Holy Ghost, and of Wisdom, to be appointed*, say you, even to the lowest Order, that of *Deacons*; when the Verse in the Original Language, and the Common Translations in *English* run thus. *Wherefore Brethren, look you out from among you Seven Men of Honest Report, full of the Holy Ghost, and of Wisdom, whom WE may appoint, Καταστήσωμεν, over this Business.* So that you are prepar'd (like the Roman that Taught his Bird against any Events in the Civil War betwixt *Augustus* and *Anthony*, to have both their Names ready,) either to say, upon the prevailing Power of the Dissenters (which God prevent) whom ye shall appoint, *i. e. Elders*, or upon the Continuance of the Church's Flourishing Condition, (which God of his Infinite Mercy grant) *whom we*; that is, WE the *Apostles, and our Successors, the Bishops, without whose Imposition of Hands there can be no Ordination*; since *to be appointed* relates to the one as well as t'other, and you are from thence neither under the Necessity of losing your Interest at *Salter's* and at *Pinner's-Hall*, nor at *Lambeth*, because you are at Liberty from them to take Part with any Scheme that is the most *Feisable*: Though it's very odd, methinks, in a Person of your Prudence, and Caution, to affirm in one Place, that *The Episcopal Authority in this Church is so far from exceeding its just Bounds, that it seems rather restrain'd within narrower Limits*



than those that were set by Christ and his Apostles, and infundate in another, that the Power of their Successors may be impair'd and retrench'd, and the Exercise of the Prerogatives that solely devolve upon them be suffer'd to be put into the Hands of Laymen that cannot be either full of the Holy Ghost, or Divine Wisdom.

Fresh Matter of this Nature crowds in so upon me, that I find it Difficult to keep my Word with you, and abstain from other Articles of the same Criminal Appearance ; yet, that I may not provoke you to such a Degree as to make you forget your Bookseller's Sign again, by Advertizing the *Black Raven* for the *Black Swan*, I shall quit the further Pursuit of your Faults, to make Answer to what I am charg'd with as my own, which I am perswaded is much sooner to be done of my Side than your's : For, a Word in your Ear, let me Desire you, as you are a Christian, and a Clergyman, never Talk of having no Intentions, directly, or indirectly, of sitting in the Prolocutor's Chair, after the Discourse that you and another Gentleman of the same Order had upon that Subject not long before ; when you was pleas'd, like a Speaker of the House of Commons, that Excuses a pretended Want of Abilities when Chosen, to declare your Unfitness for that Post, on Account of a Real one, and had the Misfortune very much against your Will to be believ'd : Besides, I was told so at Child's Coffee-house, and so may you too, if you can bear it, any Noon or Evening, when you shall descend to keep Company with such as you very Magisterially call the Inferior Clergy ; for that you was to be a Candidate for the Prolocutorship was the Table-talk there ; and if you think it of Moment enough to get the A—— to give it under his Hand, that you was not made Choice of to Preach before the Convocation for that Purpose, I give you all manner of Assurance of my being your Convert ; but till then you must Pardon me, and at least Two Dozen more of your own Cloth there, that are very heartily glad of your being baulk'd of your Intentions.

You tell the World likewise, with abundance of Concern too, as if you deserv'd more for Preaching and Reading of Prayers than you have ; that you are possess'd of but *One Living* ; but if you reflect that a Man may have *Two Livings*, and yet but One Cure of Souls, One in *London*, and One in the Country, besides some other Adventitious Emoluments arising from Deaneries, Prebends, and Lectureships, pretty Things to keep Coaches with, you may reasonably conclude



clude that it is possible for you to be *envied* for your *Possessions*, though not for your *Principles*. To this may be added, that if any Thing further should happen by Way of *Bene-  
fice* you are sure to stand Fair in the Eye of the *Law*, Foul howsoever you may stand in that of the *Gospel*, since a *Dis-  
pensation* from *L——th* will do your *Butiness*; and you have found so much Favour in a Great Man's Eye there, which I am too much a Christian to Envy you for, as not to be denied any Thing within the Compass of a Request.

The next Passage that occurs presents me with a Mistake of mine about your *Dedicating* Pliny's Panegyrick to the Late King James; which I am ready to own, having been led into it through some Remarkable Expressions of *Loyalty* and *Unalienable Obedience* made use of in your Preface, which you say was adapted to the then receiv'd Opinion of King James being a Just and Good Prince; and which any one might call from the Fine Strokes of Panegyrick, and Flourishes that abound in it, rather a *Dedication* than a *Preface*. For Instance, what can carry the Air of a Dedication more with it than? *We have a Monarch so indulging, that our only Yoke is a Pressure of Inability* (which is Nonsense by the By) *to raise him a deserved Commendation: And would our Supreme Master be as Patient to a Just Harangue, as he once was to the most Insolent Libels? Would he put up a seeming Compliment with as much Unconcern, as he oft dispenc'd with the most Substantial Affronts? No Question but somewhat of this Nature had been attempted.* Or, than this; *There is no One Virtue here ascrib'd to a Roman Emperor, but what we can completely match in a British Monarch; nay, the Odds would be vastly ours: For in the Experience of Afflictions, in the Fortitude of Sufferance, in Lenity, Prudence, and other Royal Ornaments, most signally in Justice above Interest, or Importunities, in Veracity beyond Inconstancy or Provocation, we want a Precedent of Past Ages, and can dare the longest Posterity to produce and offer a Comparison. A Monarch, who by Submission, while a Subject, taught others to Obey, and himself to Command. Whose Patience, Generosity, and Courage, were never more the Envy of the Faction, than the Amazement of the IMPARTIAL, and the Transport of the LOYAL; whose Auspicious Entrance to a Throne, assures the Happiest Progress, and merits the longest Establishment on it. A Monarch, whose Accomplishments are in each Respect so Admirable, that they surmount Flattery, and defie the rankest Malice: Whose Vertues are every*



every Way so Illustrious, that they dazzle no less than enlighten : And (what his Piety abhors) they almost threaten to Eclipse the Glories of his Royal Predecessors. 'Twould be an Injury, methinks to you, not to let the World be appriz'd of what pretty Embellishments of Fancy and Stile you have been Eminent for, and what Excellent Positions you have formerly laid down, because they may in some Measure atone for the Tenets you now hold ; wherefore I must ask your Patience for one Quotation more from the same Place, and proceed to fresh Matter. These are your Words. For if Subjects must in Truth no longer submit than they confess themselves unoppress'd, and honestly dealt with, but as soon as a little seiz'd with any imaginary Wrong (for they themselves are to be Sole Judges, or the Principle has no Consequence) may fly in the Face of that Authority which gives them the Affront, and depose that Power which they suspect will be too hard for them, is so rank a Tenet, that Treason, Tumult, Anarchy, Confusion, and all the Licentious Mischiefs of Earth and Hell, would be its damning Inference, the Prince being crush'd into the most helpless of Slaves, and every Peevish Incendiary preferr'd to his Supreme Lord. But this is a Doctrine to be found amongst the Thoughts and Expressions of your Juvenile Studies, and from the Import of which you excuse yourself by saying you found Reason to put away as Childish Things: So that the Injunctions of Obedience and Loyalty to the Supreme Magistrate, so often recommended by Christ and his Apostles, are Childish Things. Good God ! Is it possible for a Priest and Dignitary of the Church of England, who has Two such Reverend Prelates for his Friends and Patrons as the A—— of C——, and B—— of S——, to give into Opinions that are utterly Inconsistent with its Principles, and Destructive of its very Being ! The worst of Invectives are too good for a Monster of this Prodigious Impiety ; and the Worthy Member of Parliament has something in his Excellent Poem, lately call'd, The MODERATE C A B A L, so much of a Piece with a Man of this Character, that I am apt to believe you may see yourself through it : The Lines are as follow.

That has a Sable Patch in Front impress'd,  
To shew his Head with a Soft Place is bless'd ;  
Black as that gloomy Prince, whose Mask he wears,  
Foul as the P——r, whose Monument he rears.

Some



*Some say 'tis Silver underneath, some say  
 It's Brass, tho' hidden from the Beams of Day ;  
 A Proud, Aspiring, Factionous, SHAM Divine,  
 Fit to promote the Devil's worst Design ;  
 Values distinguish'd Sense, and Judgment, more  
 Than Heav'nly Grace i'th Pious Humble Poor.  
 Tho' that distinguish'd Sense and Judgment lye  
 Only in Lewdness, Dice, and Blasphemy :  
 A Priest who for a Hundred Pieces dares  
 Revive the Tricks of Old Idolaters :  
 Fix Whores and Rogues above the rouling Skies,  
 And Pathicks, Rebe's, Athiests, Canonize :  
 Should but the Poor believe him, they'd despair,  
 As wanting Judgment to assist their Care :  
 Should Kings or Lords believe him, they'd be damn'd,  
 And Hell with Coronets and Garters cramm'd. P. 20.*

Though you should disown any Alliance to the foregoing  
 Character, because your Name is not affix'd to it, it will  
 be out of your Power to do it by what follows, which is  
 taken from Page 61 of the same Poem.

*KENNET, my Soft-crown'd Friend, whose Talent lyes  
 In Panegyricks, and Antiquities.  
 KENNET, who fears a Popish Tyrant more,  
 Tho' Trajanniz'd and Deified before,  
 Than a sharp Shrew's shrill never-ceasing Bell,  
 Than Pagans, Turks, and all the Devils in Hell ;  
 Who'd like an Honest, Mod'rate Priest believe  
 None could the Nation's Liberties retrieve ;  
 None could prevent Rome's forward Hopes so well,  
 As one who first had Pawn'd his Soul to Hell ;  
 He only Safety to the Realms could bring,  
 Who Worshipp'd Belial, but Renounc'd the King.*

You likewise aim at excusing what the Remarker says  
 in relation to your opposing the Motion that was made for a  
 Sermon to be preach'd before them on the last 30th of  
*January* ; but do it after such a manner as not to seem over-  
 solicitous whether you are excus'd or no. That you op-  
 pos'd it you acknowledge, and chim'd in with such of the  
 Pretenders to Moderation, who said, *There was no Necessity*  
*of keeping up that Modern Practice, which was really taken*  
*up in a Long Parliament, 1640, and was dropt upon the Re-*  
*staurati*



eration of Monarchy and Episcopacy, but did not insist upon  
 Irregularity in it; the main Stress of the Objection being  
 laid against, having a Sermon before you as a House, on a Day  
 wherein you should not be a House: It is enough to provoke  
 any one to Mirth, even upon this Melancholy Subject, to  
 think of it in the first Place, that Dr. Kennet was against  
 observing this Anniversary, by a Sermon on the Mournful  
 occasion, because the Whig Party, in Parliament 1640,  
 were the first that observ'd Solemn Fasts, and it would be an  
 argument of the Convocation's Inclination to Whiggism  
 to take Patterns from them; and in the second, to ima-  
 gine, that a Gentleman of your Knowledge and Abilities,  
 of your Comprehensive Genius, should, *Tricis inherere*, to use  
 your own Words, insist upon Trifles, and raise Scruples by  
 Distinctions between a House, and the Members of the House,  
 is a Piece of very great Difficulty. Certainly you forgot your-  
 self when you said you had put away your *Childish Things*,  
 and have it to do yet; since you could not be so weak to  
 think the World could be so impos'd upon, as not to believe  
 the first Part of your pretended Objection to be the only  
 prevailing Reason with you to be of a quite contrary Opini-  
 on; and the second to have so little Weight with it, as  
 not to be able to support itself without some stronger Motive  
 or Opposition; though you have done as much as I could  
 have desir'd, nay, more than I expected, by owning that  
 you, the Dean of Peterborough, did join with such as were  
 for having no Sermon; and I have a Gentleman of great  
 Veracity, and a Member of Convocation too, no less than  
 one of your own Dignity, that heard Dr. S—— reply to  
 you after the Manner set down by the Remarker, which  
 might be of Force with a Person of a less harden'd Consti-  
 tution to acknowledge his Fault, rather than add to the  
 Guilt of it, by a Peremptory Denial.

The Consideration of your next Apology for yourself  
 from the Charge of *Witily exploding Hereditary Right*,  
 brings me of Course to break my Word with you, and en-  
 ter into the Merits of the Cause depending between the Two  
 Translations again, which I presume will not only make  
 your Equivocation appear, but your Disingenuity likewise.  
*Ne qua autem de Christi Vicario inter Apostolos de futura sua  
 in Ecclesia Dignitate contendere solitos Questio oriretur; nam  
 scilicet ex ipsorum Collegio delectus Aliquis. An Hereditario  
 quodam Jure Jacobus! An denique Johannes praeter ceteris De-  
 lectus,* which should have been DILECTUS, & quam ex  
 ipsis



*ipsis Christi Verbis perperam è intellectis, non moriturum crediderunt, Ecclesiae toti Praeficiendus erat.*

*The Reverend the Dean.*

But of this promised Vicar or Deputy of Christ, a new Question was likely to arise amongst the Disciples, who had been already too apt to dispute about their future Precedency in their Master's Kingdom; they seem'd to be now Questioning whether such a Governour of the Church should be chosen out of the Apostolical Colledge: Or, whether *James* might claim that Station by a Sort of Hereditary Right: Or, lastly, Whether *John*, the Beloved Disciple, whom, their Master's Words not rightly understood, they believed should never die, might not be set over all the Churches.

*The Sham-Translator.*

But that no Dispute concerning this Vicar of Christ should arise amongst the Apostles, who might be apt to contend about His future Precedency in the Church; for Instance, Whether this Vicar was to be chosen out of their Number? Whether, in the first Place, it should be *James*, by Vertue of a certain Divine Right, (by the Printer's Mistake for Hereditary.) Or, in the last, *John* the Beloved among the Twelve, and whom they believed from a wrong Notion of Christ's Words, Never to see Death, that was to preside over this Church wheresoever it should extend itself.

Now for a Gentleman of your approv'd Talent in Satyr, not to hint at Hereditary Right, one of the Motives that made you dissent from your Brethren, the *London Clergy*, in the late Address, when you had an Opportunity to do it, acutely too, but rather at Mr. *Dodwell*, without so much as an Asterism to point him out, can never obtain with Men of Sense and Capacity. Wherefore you had done better to have taken no manner of Notice of it, as you have done by the Charge of *Arrogance and Presumption*. The Dispute between Mr. Dean *Atterbury* and you, your Desires of seeing us brought over to the Dissenters Communion than them reconcil'd to ours, your insinuating the Church to be in no Danger from *Atheists*, &c. than to expose not only the Falshood of your Translation, but the *English* of it; but giving me an Opportunity to examine into it, and tell you that *whom they believ'd should never Die*, can never rank you amongst the Best of our *Grammarians*.

But a Temper like yours may be too much inflam'd by what has been already said, and divested of every Thing like Moderation, should I dwell much longer on what you will call *Accusing the Brethren*; I shall therefore only vindicate my



myself from taking it ill, that the Church is not Independent of the State, reviling you, by saying, King William is extremely indebted to you, being out of Patience at your mentioning, with Respect, the Queen's General, the Duke of Marlborough, or insulting the Preacher, and all his Followers, for being amongst the Ruin'd Party, and then take my Leave of you till another Opportunity.

In the first Place, you are very unfair in your Quotation, and (what is no ways becoming of a Man of your Holy Office and Character in the Church) seem to endeavour to render me Obnoxious to the Government, by making me say, *the Church is Independent of the State*, when my Words run thus, *Now by giving our Saviour this Headship over the Church, you have irrecoverably given up the Argument; for by so doing the Civil Magistrate is excluded from it, and the Government, in Ecclesiastical Affairs, seems wholly to be lodg'd in the Hands of the Bishops, since you, your self, own they have their Commission and Authority delegated to them from the Apostles, who had theirs from our Saviour.* Vid. Remarks, P. 2. which will make appear to any Candid Reader, that tho' I may be a greater Enemy to *Erastianism* than you, that I am not chargeable with derogating from the just Authority of the Prince.

But if you can bear reading over Mr. Lesly's Incomparable Preface to his *Case of the Regale and Pontificate*, which neither you, nor any Journey-man you have, can reply to, you'll find a very near Relation of yours, has declar'd the Reasons that mov'd him to write a Certain Answer to Dr. Atterbury, were, to assert the Nature of the Christian Church, as a Society endow'd with FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS to preserve its own Being; and among these, a Right for the Governours to assemble, and agree upon the common Measures of Faith and Unity, as at first Independent on the Heathen, so even now with the Christian Magistrate, when the Necessities of Desertion or Persecution so require; Pref. p. ix. In such a Case, (says he in his Book, p. 98.) let the Church be true to Christ, and to the Powers she receiv'd from him; this is the Original Right which we assert. And, p. 109. The Bishop of each Diocess had an Original Right to convene his own Clergy, and with their Advice and Consent to ordain such Rules and Orders as were proper to declare the Doctrine, and regulate the Discipline of their own Body. And, p. 197. That the Christian Church was endowed, as a Society, with a Divine Right of preferring the Faith, and securing the Discipline that should be necessary



sary to hinder the Gates of Hell from prevailing against her. In order to this End, the Church Governours had Authority to meet and consult of all urgent Affairs; and when so assembled, their Resolutions and Decrees were thought Declaratory of the Sense of Scripture, and of Sound Traditions, and were so far binding to the Inferior Priests and People. And, p. 201. That it was so in England as in other Churches; That, from the Time that Church Government was here establish'd, our Bishops had a Right of calling their own Clergy to a Synod, and to enter upon Debates, and draw up Rules and Orders that should be binding within that Special Jurisdiction.

Who would imagine from hence that I should be angry with you for not making the Church Independent of the State, or that you should have any Room for insinuating, that I, myself, was liable to Censure for so doing? Since you are so apparently set down in the List of those, *Qui Ecclesiam sibi sufficere contendunt*, and are *negligendi potius quam Redarguendi*; Thou that abhorrest Idols, dost thou commit Sacrilege? Thou that makest thy Boast of the Law, by breaking the Law dishonourest thou God?

In the Second, my Assertion of saying King William is indebted to you, is not to be found fault with, because you have done more for him than any one besides Dr. Oats, (who profanely call'd him the *Saviour of the Nation*;) by investing him with the Title of REDEEMER of Great Britain. Eng. Sermon, Page 22.

In the 3d, if I take Notice of your High Encomium on the Duke of Marlborough, which is greater than that of the Queen Herself, a Practice that is grown into Request with the Party ever since the Dissolution of the last Parliament, I am authoriz'd so to do by your next Paragraph, that affirms, *it is not within your Design*, which is as much as to say nothing to the Purpose.

In the fourth and last Place, I neither insult you nor your Followers, and Well-wishers, for being of the Ruin'd Party, (a Practice wholly belonging to that Party when Uppermost;) but to shew you that I, myself, am one of those Followers and Well-wishers, can tell you that the Text you made Choice of for your last Ash-Wednesday Sermon, as one of the Lent-Preachers, was taken out of the Eleventh Chapter of Matthew, Verse 21, 22. *Wo unto thee Chorazin, wo unto thee Bethsaida: For if the Mighty Works which were done in you had been done in Tyre and Sidon, they would have repented long ago in Sackcloth, and Ashes: But I say unto you, it shall be more tolerable for Tyre and Sidon at the Day of Judgment*



*Judgment than for you*; and applied it to the Nation's Ingratitude to the late Ministry, and our Treatment of our General, &c. which I would by no Means have you to *Print*; for, as I take it, the Queen has it *only* in Her Donation to *bestow Bishopricks*, (you know my Meaning,) an Advice I hope that will prove me as much your *Well-wisher*, as the other does your *Follower*.

I had ended here, but a Bookseller of your Acquaintance, one that was Partner in your *History of England*, in which you betray'd a good Cause out of Inclination to a bad one, will engage me to discover from his Testimony, that the first and last Lines of your Postscript make you guilty, both directly and indirectly, of a Notorious Falshood. I was willing to let it pass, not only out of Deference to the Habit you wear, but Respect to your Judgment, it being impossible in my Opinion, though you might be brought to approve of, that you could be wholly concern'd in so Miserable a Translation and Postscript. My Letter indeed is directed to you, on Account of your Solemn *Imprimatur* at the End of the Postscript; because I have some Acquaintance with you, though none with your pretended Author.

*I think this Translation and Postscript may be Printed, for I can assert the Truth of whatever is contain'd in them.*

Feb. 16. 1710.

WHITE KENNET.

Had you consulted me I should have advis'd you to have forbidden their Entrance into the World at all; for, believe me, it is as much beneath an Honest Man to make Use of such an Artifice of imposing upon the World, as it is for one of your Condition and Figure *to engage with such a Champion as I am*. The *Forward Wit* that *Printed an Answer to one of your Sermons* dealt Ingenuously in saying, *He had neither seen nor heard it*; but the Method you take carries another Face with it, and is little better than what some Ill-bred People call downright Knavery: For unless you transcrib'd both the Translation and Postscript, (as some Men do Celebrated Pieces, thereby to impress them more strongly on the Memory,) you are most certainly the Author of them; the Bookseller above-mention'd having declar'd to more Persons than me, that he saw both under your own Hand-writing.

To this may be added another Instance of the same Complexion, which may serve to attest your Veracity when call'd in Question. *This Translation (say you) was thought Necessary to Vindicate the Original from a very bad Version, that*



*without Leave or Knowledge of the Preacher, was lately Publish'd under the Pretence of being made English for the Benefit of the Dissenting Teachers. Now suppose the World should pass Sentence in Favour of this very bad Version, and hold it preferable to your very good one, if I should be able to make appear that yours was actually in the Press before half a Sheet of mine was wrought off, should I be under any Obligation of Silence on that Subject without your Leave or Knowledge? No, Good Doctor, I'll e'en break through that Formality for once, and tell you, that as your Postscript Begins with an Untruth, it Ends with a Jesuitical Evasion; and if your *Steady, Steady Ship* does not take in more Ballast against your next Voyage into the Ocean of Errors and Inconsistencies, it's your *Deanery* to a *Reader's Place*; but it turns Keel upmost, which your Pretences to justify the Revolution, (by asserting the Principles of Resistance,) to Honour the Memory of King William, (by giving him Christ's Attributes,) to Serve Her Present Majesty to the utmost of your Duty and Ability, (while you Ridicule Her Hereditary Right to the Throne,) to promote the Credit and Interest of the Church by Law Establish'd, (while you Side with the Dissenters,) to Preserve the Security of the Protestant Succession——(while you are of a Party that has left out the House of Hannover in all their Addresses,) can never prevent.*

Having clear'd my Hands of you in Relation to all your Objections against me or my Version, I may be expected to say something by Way of return to you for your Calumnies and Threats bestow'd upon the Reverend Dr. Hicks: But since many of our Readers may not be fully appriz'd of the Grounds of your *seeming* Displeasure, and may think him that *Ill-manner'd, Ingrate* Person you point him out for, I shall give it in that Gentleman's own Words, who (as you ought to remember in your High Post of the Church) was a *Dean* when you was not so much as a *Curate*. They run thus in the Preface to his Letters, 'I am concern'd to set down the Series of this Controversie; because the Author of the Life of King Charles II. and King James II. in the Third Volume of the Compleat History of England, after his usual manner of concealing Truths, speaks of Mr. Johnson's Book in such Sort, as would make a Reader, who is not Old enough to remember those Times, think that no Answer was given to it. Saith he, p. 414. Another Information had been preferr'd against Mr. Johnson, a Clergyman, of good Parts and CHARACTER, for Writing and Publishing,



Publishing, what they termed, a very Scandalous and Seditious Book, call'd, JULIAN the Apostate, wherein the Author had only confuted those Notions of Passive Obedience and Non-resistance, which some Writers, and those especially of his own Order, had carried up to a Consequence of Tyranny and Slavery. So, p. 452. the Man who most provoked the Government was Mr. Samuel Johnson, a Minister of the Church of England, who had been Author of a very Rational Treatise, under the Title of Julian the Apostate: But to say nothing here of his Character of that Book, this is but one of the least Partialities of this Historian, whose Art and Design apparently is, by concealing, disguising, and misrepresenting, to give his Readers wrong Views, and mislead them from the Truth.

In another Place of the said Preface may be found. ' But besides the Doctor, there is another Writer, the Author of a Book, Entituled, *A Vindication of the Church and Clergy of England*, who hath done me the Honour to write against me by Name, for asserting the Christian Priesthood, and Christian Sacrifice, which, he saith, is one of the New Notions which have been lately coin'd without the true Image of our Church upon them. I am so far from making any Answer to what he has written against those Doctrines, and me for them, that I desire all Learned Men, who have read my *Discourse of the Christian Priesthood*, to read and consider what he hath said as an Adversary to so little Purpose against me, from the 101st to the 110th Page of his despicable Piece, they will find, to use his own Words, That he looks like one of the little Folks set up to peck against me; and that he is to cast off, as he says Mr. Hoadly did the Reader of S——y, with Indignation, and that I should do him too much Honour to return an Answer to him. Mr. Sharp, whom he means by the Reader of Stepney, doth as plainly, as by Name, assure the World that Dr. Kennet, Dean of Peterborough, is the Author of that Book, calling him Dr. K——t, and Dean of P——; and the Dean, and Dear Mr. Dean, and Honest Mr. Dean, about Forty Times in his Defence, Entituled, *The Would be Bishop*; and if the Doctor is indeed the Author of it, it was Prudence in him not to put his Name to it, which for its whole clumisie and rude Structure, and Composure, as well as for the Materials of it, is utterly unsuitable to his Character, (I must not say as a Christian Priest, but) as a Christian Minister, and unworthy of his Great Name. I confess



confess there are some remarkable *Fioocos* in it that would  
 make one suspect Mr. *Dean* to be the Author of it, but then  
 there are other Passages therein which one would hope  
 were impossible for him to write. For my own Part,  
 could I believe him to be the Author of it, I could  
 then believe him to be the Author of the Scandalous Hi-  
 stories of the later Reigns in the *Historical Collections*,  
 which common Fame lays to his Charge ; but there are  
 several Special Reasons why I cannot, why I would not,  
 easily believe him to be the Writer of it, besides the Ge-  
 neral Matters in it, and the manner in which he treats of  
 them. It is difficult for me to believe, that so *Wise a Man*  
 should, so contrary to his *known Prudence*, and *specious Pi-*  
*ety*, write so many gross Untruths in it to defame Mr.  
*Sharp*, as he hath shewn that Author hath done ; or that  
 he would call him *Judas*, and *Shimei*, and *the Son of Satan*,  
 and treat him, as indeed that Author hath treated all  
*Readers and Curates*, and sometimes upon the Account of  
 their Poverty, with so unbecoming an Air of Insolence  
 and Contempt. Could the *Dean* so forget himself as to  
 write against the *Hereditary Succession*, and *Passive Obedi-*  
*ence*, in the manner as that Author has done ; the *Dean*,  
 I say, who wrote so High for both in his Preface to his  
 Translation of *Pliny's Panegyrick to Trajan*, or be so Im-  
 prudent as to declare himself *no Friend to PLURALI-*  
*TIES*, who is one of the greatest, if not, the Greatest  
 PLURALIST of his Time ? Besides, this incoherent  
 Writer, though he taxes me with *coining a New Nation of the*  
*Christian Priesthood*, *without the true Image of our Church*  
*upon it*, yet he aggravates the Address of Mr. *Sharp* to the  
 Archbishops, and Bishops, and Dignified Clergy, in that  
 he being a *True and Real Priest of the Church of England*,  
 should thereby *expose the whole Function*, (*i. e. the true and*  
*real Priestly Function*,) and *betray the Church to the Scorn*  
*of Unbelievers* : It is impossible for so Eminent a Man as  
 Dr. *Kennet* to write in this unthinking Manner without  
 common Prudence or Reflection ; or to plead in that vile Man-  
 ner as he hath done for the corrupt and irregular Practices  
 of the Clergy, in *taking Money for Visiting the Sick*, in *Admini-*  
*string Private Baptism by the Publick Form*, in *Churching*  
*Women at Home*, &c. and in ridiculing the Observation of  
 the Vigils, which the Church hath commanded to be observed.  
 Could Dr. *Kennet*, who drew up his Reasons for which he  
 could not for some Time take the Oath, and found it so  
 difficult



difficult to overcome his Scruples, so spitefully treat the  
 Deprived, who with Interest on their Side, and all the  
 Pains they took with themselves, could not overcome  
 theirs? Or could he, as this Pamphleteer hath done, call  
 them JACOBITES with Mobbish Scorn, and in Mobbish  
 Contempt of that very Prince JACOBUS II. who once  
 was his Admired, as well as Lawful, Sovereign; and  
 whom, in his Preface to *Pliny's Panegyrick*, he praised to  
 such a Degree, as few Panegyrist's ever magnified any  
 Prince Good or Bad, from whom they fear'd Punishment,  
 or courted Preferment or Reward?

Furthermore, could Dr. Kennet, who hath so great an  
 Understanding, argue in that *False, Sophistical, and Loose*  
*Way of Reasoning*, in justifying or excusing the *Irregula-*  
*rities of the Clergy* against the Doctrine of *Passive Obedience*,  
 and of the *Christian Sacrifice*, as I can shew (if I could do it  
 without swelling this Preface into a Book) that wretch-  
 ed Author had done? &c. For this Author hath written  
 against my *Discourse of the Christian Priesthood*, and  
 the Doctrines of it, I mean the *Christian Priesthood*,  
 and *Christian Sacrifice*, as New Notions, which is my last  
 Argument to prove that the Doctor is not likely to be the  
 Man, because he not only highly commended the whole  
 Work, of which that is one Part, at its first Publication, to  
 some of his Friends, in Expressions not fit for me to re-  
 cite, but also did me the Honour to write the following  
 Letter of Approbation to me, &c.

Reverend Sir,

I Did not return from my Visitation before Monday  
 Night, when I found your Excellent Book, a kind  
 Present to me. I have since read over the *Two Letters and*  
*the Preface* with great Satisfaction, and thank you heartily  
 for the great and seasonable Service you have done to the  
 Christian Church and Religion against the common Ene-  
 my of them; I will come and return my Thanks in Per-  
 son as soon as my Business will admit. In the mean  
 Time I heartily pray for your Health and Happiness.

Dear Sir,

Your Oblig'd Friend and Humble Servant,

Aldgate, May  
28. 1707.

WHITE KENNET.

But



' But if after all this it shall appear that Mr. Dean did  
 ' write the *Vindication* of the Church and Clergy of England,  
 ' he must be content to bear the Shame and Reproach of  
 ' it, and the Penance of his own Reflections; and let  
 ' him assure himself, that what Reverence soever Good and  
 ' Great Men may have for his Character, they can have  
 ' none for his Person. No Apologies will ever justify or  
 ' excuse him for writing of it, no present or future Titles  
 ' or Promotions can support the Credit of a *Divine*, who  
 ' will not *abide in Honour*, but wilfully expose himself, for  
 ' what I will not name, and thereby dishonour his Vene-  
 ' rable Characters as a *Dignitary*, a *Doctor*, and a *Priest*.

' If Dr. Kennet, as I wish, be not the Author of that  
 ' Book, the Publishing of his Letter, which contains nothing  
 ' but what becomes his Character and Profession, cannot  
 ' hurt him, or cause the least Reflection upon him. But,  
 ' if he is the Author of it, as Mr. *Sharp* tells the World  
 ' he is, then he ought not to blame me, but himself, who  
 ' hath obliged me to produce it, or a Summary Account  
 ' of it, in Evidence against him for my *Vindication*; and if  
 ' he calls this, as perhaps he will, *betraying the Secrets of*  
 ' *Private Conversation*, let him remember that he hath can-  
 ' celled all the Obligations I had to keep it Private, and  
 ' broken the Laws of Honour and Friendship, by first se-  
 ' cretly writing, not only in *Contradiction* to himself, but  
 ' with the Air of an Enemy, against a Man that never  
 ' did him Wrong.

Thus far the abovementioned very Reverend Author,  
 who will scarce give himself the Trouble of calling or send-  
 ing for the Letter you threaten him with: What I have far-  
 ther to acquaint you with, is, that I am,

Reverend Sir,

Your very Humble Servant,

SHAM-SCRIBLER.

F I N I S.

### ERRATA in the Sermon.

Page 1, from *Which*, in l. 9, ending with People; l. 10, make a  
 Parenthesis after *Calamity*; l. 12, put; p. 2, l. 34, for *Resi-*  
*dence* r. *Precedency*; l. 37, for *Divine* r. *Hereditary*; p. 8, l. 5,  
 for *Words* r. *Signification*; p. 17, l. 1, after *Foot* r. *the Papists*; l. 3,  
 dele from.



A N  
ACCOUNT  
O F  
Two MOTIONS  
Made in the  
Lower House  
O F  
CONVOCATION,  
Concerning  
*The Power of Remitting Sins.*

---

B Y  
R. CANNON, D. D. Arch-deacon of  
NORFOLK.

---

L O N D O N:  
Printed for E. Sanger, at the *Middle-Temple-Gate*,  
in *Fleet-street*. 1712. Price Six-pence.



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AN  
ACCOUNT  
OF TWO  
MOTIONS  
Made in the  
LOWER HOUSE  
OF  
CONVOCATION.

**I**T is now six Weeks since I first saw  
a Letter in Print to Dr. *Brett*, giving  
Account, That on *Friday, Feb. 22.* in  
the Chapel of *Henry VII.* One Arch-  
deacon, Dr. C——, said a great deal on  
Occasion of a Sermon of Dr *Brett*, concern-  
ing Remission of Sins, In reading the Let-  
A 2 ter



ter I observed many Passages there set down, as spoken by Dr. C. which I did not speak ; nor indeed did use any Words to the same Effect. I contented my self at that time with marking those Passages, and on *Friday, March 7.* took Occasion to observe in the House, That what I had said was greatly misrepresented in the Letter.

But the Writer of the *Political State of Great-Britain*, for the Month of *February*, having transcrib'd from that Letter, what is there said to have passed in the Lower House of *Convocation*, Feb. 22. with relation to Dr. *Brett's* Sermon, and having put down my Name at length ; and the Writer of the 2d Part of *The Nation vindicated*, &c. having quoted from that Letter a Passage, which, as I hear, goes generally for my Words, I can't but think it proper, *First*, To rectify some of the Mistakes made in those Books, as far as concerns me. *Secondly*, To give the Substance of another Motion I made, pursuant to the former, on *March 7.* And, *Thirdly*, To lay down more distinctly the main Grounds of both those Motions.

On *Feb. 22.* as soon as it was known Prayers were over in the Upper House, the Lower House went up with a Paper,



to acquaint their Lordships with our Opinion, *That it was more adviseable and unexceptionable, to begin the Business de novo, than to proceed where the Synod left off at the Close of last Session of Parliament* ; and the Prolocutor then deliver'd back to their Lordships the Papers of Business, which they had sent down.

The Prolocutor and Members being return'd to their House, and sitting silent for some time, I offer'd to the Consideration of the House a Matter, (*viz. the Doctrine of Remission of Sins*) which, I thought, had relation to, and being well considered, would be a good Preparation toward regulating Proceedings in Excommunication ; which, as being the first and most important Business before them, I conceiv'd the House would enter upon, when they should think fit to proceed. So I express'd my self. And then I produced Dr. Brett's Sermon of *Remission of Sins*, observing at the same time, that it had been of late preach'd to several great Congregations in Town, and that much Offence had been taken at it.

Having read the Title and the Text, I first read, out of the Sermon, those Passages, which shew how sensible the Doctor was, that the Doctrine he was delivering  
was



was very extraordinary ; p. 13. ‘ What  
 ‘ indeed they had very seldom, but should  
 ‘ frequently have heard from their Pastors  
 ‘ and Ministers, whose Duty it is, says he,  
 ‘ to *declare unto you all the Council of God,*  
 ‘ *and to keep back nothing that is profitable*  
 ‘ *for you,* Acts xx. 27, 20. And sure no-  
 ‘ thing can be more profitable for you,  
 ‘ than to teach you where, how, and  
 ‘ from whom you are to receive *Remission*  
 ‘ of your Sins. Here I declar’d, that I  
 entirely agreed with Dr. B. that no Do-  
 ctine could be more profitable, or of grea-  
 ter Importance, than his Doctrine, if true.  
 And I declar’d farther, That it became  
 the Clergy, (who could not but know  
 what Powers or Authority they had com-  
 mitted to them) freely and explicitly to  
 declare what were their Powers ; and  
 as explicitly to disclaim and utterly re-  
 nounce what did not belong to them, re-  
 lating to a Matter of so great Concern to  
 all Christians, as the *Remission* of their Sins  
 most certainly is.

Having made these Observations, I be-  
 gan to read the Heads and *main Assertions*  
 of the Sermon, not indeed without ma-  
 king farther Observations, as I went on ;  
 but without any of those Expressions of  
 Wit, which the Author of the Letter has  
 been



been pleased to make me use. I made no Jest or Sarcasms on the Church of Rome, or her Priests. I spake of no *Precious Somethings*, no *Useful Knack*, no *Political Engine*, no *Popish Tricking*, no *Pick-lock*, no *Mumpsimus*. I never said, nor so much as intimated, that the Doctor had carried the Point of *Absolution* beyond what he had Ground for from the Words of our Church. Nor was it in Opposition to me, that one who is no inconsiderable Member, said what is mentioned, p. 22. That as to the Powers of the Church and Clergy in the *Absolution* of Sinners, Dr. B. had carried that Doctrine no higher, than the Liturgy and other Acts of the Church had done. I cannot say he us'd those very Words, or Words of quite the same Import; but I took particular Notice of them, as being very remarkable, and I think his Words were not much short of those I have transcribed from the Letter.

I express'd no doubt of Dr. B's printing his Sermon exactly as he preach'd it: I did not express my self so improperly as to say, The *Remission* of Sins by God alone was *declared* to the People in *Deprecatory* Words. Nor did I mention Dr. *Nichols*, having indeed never look'd into his Book.

It



It would tire the Reader, if I should set right all the Misrepresentations of the Letter-Writer, who, I am perswaded, had no ill Intention in writing and publishing it. But if he was a Member then present in the House, is it not strange, that one, who had this Matter so much at Heart, should not speak on the Occasion in the House? nor acquaint those, who did speak with his writing.

To proceed now to give the main of what I said, as far as I can recover it, by the Help of the Marks I had made in the Margin of the printed Sermon, which I produced in the House; and those I made in the Letter, presently after it was published.

I first read the three Heads of the Doctor's Discourse: ' 1. That our Saviour  
' did leave with his Apostles a Power to  
' remit or retain Sins.

' 2. That this Power was transmitted  
' by them to their Successors, and continues in the Church to this Day.

' 3. How useful and expedient it is, that  
' there should be such a Power in the  
' Church; and the great Benefit it may  
' be to the People, if rightly used and  
' applied.



I observed, that in the very beginning of his Discourse on the 1<sup>st</sup> Head, he took care to explain what was meant by the Power, left with the Apostles, *to remit or retain Sins*; 'That is, says he, to pardon 'or forgive Sins, or else to bind them more 'closely, so as the Sinner should not be released from his Sin, or pardoned by God, 'till they had released him also. And, that soon after he thus explains our Lord's Words to the Apostles; *John 20. 21. As my Father hath sent me, so send I you.* 'The 'same Power which my Father has committed to me, the same do I now confer 'upon you. I observ'd, that he rightly explains the Words, *ver. 22. He breathed on them, and saith unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost.* 'Whereby, says the Doctor, He furnished them with Ability, 'or Capacity, to execute that Power and 'Authority, which he had given them. Where I took notice in how few Words he dispatched this great Point in the first part of his Sermon: And that, when he comes to enlarge on the other Heads, and labours to shew, *That the Bishops and their Presbyters have now the same Power the Apostles had; and the Usefulness of that same Power,* He says not one word of the Clergy's having now also the same Ability

B

or



or Capacity to execute that Power; where-  
 as I thought the *same Power* required the  
*same Capacity*, and that it must be suppo-  
 sed, they are convey'd together, or, that  
 neither of them is convey'd at all. I read  
 from p. 16. the following Words: ' That  
 ' his Church might not suffer in his Ab-  
 ' sence for want of Pastors and Governors  
 ' to take care of it, he committed all his  
 ' Power and Authority, as Head of the  
 ' Church, to his Apostles. This the Text  
 ' expressly shews, *as my Father sent me,*  
 ' says Christ, *so send I you.* As if he had  
 ' said, With the same Power and Authori-  
 ' ty that my Father sent me into the  
 ' World to constitute and govern my  
 ' Church, I send you and your Successors,  
 ' &c. I find some more Passages marked  
 by me in the Printed Sermon, under the  
 first Head, which I can't say I read to the  
 House.

P. 24. The Doctor comes to his 2d Head,  
 to shew, that *the Apostles were to have*  
*Successors in this, as well as the other Parts*  
*of their Office.* Hence I read the Words  
 following: ' If Bishops and their Presby-  
 ' ters, the Successors of the Apostles, have  
 ' a Right to pardon Sins, by the *Ministra-*  
 ' *tion of the Word and Sacraments*; they  
 ' must have a Right to pardon them by  
 ' Ab-



' *Absolution*, and to retain them also by  
 ' *Excommunication*, and other spiritual Cen-  
 ' fures, as the Apostles had; and their  
 ' Censures also are ratified in Heaven, as  
 ' those of the Apostles were, so that no  
 ' Power on Earth can release them, but  
 ' only he that bound them. I also ob-  
 serv'd, that having given the Detail of  
 the Story of *Ambrose* and *Theodosius* the  
 Great, the one an Archbishop, and the  
 other an Emperor, he concludes, ' That  
 ' this Act was agreeable to the present Do-  
 ' ctrine of our Church, and consequently,  
 ' that our Bishops have the Authority  
 ' which St. *Ambrose* exercis'd, and by the  
 ' Law of God may execute it when there  
 ' is just Occasion, even upon the *Greatest*;  
 ' there being no Person on Earth so great,  
 ' as to be exempted from this Power, p. 31.  
 Here I did Dr. B. the Justice to read what  
 he quoted from the *Ordination* Service and  
 the *Visitation of the Sick*, to shew, that  
 his Doctrine was no *Popish* Doctrine. And  
 I observ'd to the House, that two of the  
 Ablest *Popish* Writers on the Sacrament of  
 Penance, *Morinus* and *Martene*, freely  
 own'd, that the Priests adding the *Autho-*  
*ritative* Words, *I absolve thee*, &c. to the  
*Precatory Part*, in the Form of *Absolution*,  
 began to be in use in the Church in the



13<sup>th</sup> Century. Tho' the Doctor had taken occasion, p. 20. to slide in this notable Assertion; 'When Men fell into Sin after Baptism, they [the Apostles] then *authoritatively* pronounced the *Remission* of Sins, to such as they found penitent, saying, *I forgive, or absolve, thee from thy Sins in the Person of Christ*; or to that effect. 'Tis not hard to guess with what particular View he made this Assertion, nor what Texts of Scripture he must produce to support it, tho' he refers to none, and had rather, I fancy, not be call'd on to shew any.

From his Discourse on the last Head, concerning the Usefulness of the Power, I only read this Passage, p. 39. 'And if upon Examination of your Consciences, you find your selves guilty of particular Sins, which may require a particular Repentance, you ought then to go to the Priest in private, and make a particular *Confession*, and desire a particular *Absolution*; And his Reference to the *Exhortation* to the Holy Communion. With respect to this Passage, I observ'd to the House, that Dr. B. had published an Advertisement before another of his Sermons; *Of the Honour of the Christian Priesthood*: To set it in the true Light.

' By



‘ By which Words, says he, I under-  
 ‘ stand some Persons think I would intro-  
 ‘ duce *Auricular Confession*, which I am  
 ‘ sure was ever very far from my Thoughts:  
 ‘ For I meant no more by *particular Sins*  
 ‘ *which might need a particular Repentance*,  
 ‘ than such Sins as *ought* to burden a Man’s  
 ‘ Conscience to that Degree, that he can-  
 ‘ not quiet it without further Comfort or  
 ‘ Counsel, as it is expressed in the *Exhorta-*  
 ‘ *tion to the Holy Communion*, to which I  
 ‘ there refer the Reader. And I should  
 ‘ have printed that Passage in the very  
 ‘ Words of that Exhortation, had I not  
 ‘ been obliged to print it as I preach’d it.

And here I could not but observe a want  
 of Ingenuity, in drawing in the Reader  
 to conclude, that at least in the *Advertise-*  
*ment* he had exprest himself according to  
 the Sense of the Church in its *Exhortation*,  
 wherein the People are not moved to apply  
 to the Priest on account of the Heinous-  
 ness of their Sins, (for even Blasphemy and  
 Adultery being confess’d to God, and re-  
 pent’d of, are there supposed to be par-  
 don’d by God) but solely, *in case any one*  
*cannot quiet his Conscience*. Whereas the  
 Doctor supposes some Sins *ought so to bur-*  
*den a Man’s Conscience*, &c.



I would now further observe, that if this Doctrine once prevails, that some particular Sins *ought* to be privately confess'd to a Priest, and his *Absolution* desir'd, the Obligation might soon be extended to Sins in general, and what even Dr. *Brett* allows to be *Popish*, *Auricular Confession*, might soon be required by an Ecclesiastical Law, of the People of this Land.

I declar'd at the same time, that I apprehended the only Reason, why our first *Reformers* left the *Authoritative* Form of *Absolution* in the Liturgy, was, the hope of bringing many superstitious Persons to conform, who would have adhered to the discarded Popish Priests, if those of the Established Church had been destitute of Power *so* to *Absolve*. That this their Hope was answer'd by the Conformity of many *Romanists* for a time: And therefore the Method then taken may be thought to have been Prudent.

This was the most I could say in Excuse of what our first *Reformers* did in this matter. For I had seen, and consider'd, and knew not how to answer a *Query* laid before King *Henry* the 8th, by Archbishop *Cranmer*, in the Year 1536. in the following Words: ' If the Clergy know that  
' the common sort of Men have them in a  
' higher



‘ higher Estimation, because they are per-  
 ‘ swaded, that it lyeth in the Will and  
 ‘ Power of Priests to remit or not remit  
 ‘ Sins at their pleasure, Whether in such  
 ‘ case the said Clergy offend, if they wink  
 ‘ at this, and voluntarily suffer the People  
 ‘ to continue in this Opinion?

I concluded with a Motion, that the Sermon might be referr’d to a Committee, to examine it, and report their Opinion of the Doctrine deliver’d in it, to the House; declaring, That, as I had no Knowledge of, so I had not the least ill Will to Dr. Brett.

After this, in Reply to something said by a Reverend Member, for whom I often in Convocation have expressed a very particular Respect, I spoke a second time to this effect; That it was not my Aim to pick out the most offensive Passages; but to read the *main Assertions* in the Sermon, and offer them to the Consideration of the House. That asserting to a Priest the same Authority to forgive Sins, as our Blessed Lord had, as Head of the Church, or the same, as He exercis’d here on Earth, a Power to bind Sins, so as the Sinner should not be released from his Sin, or pardoned by God till the Priest, or his Bishop, or the College of Bishops, had released



leafed him, could not but be very *shocking* to me, how *agreeable* soever it might be to *others*. That however, I was no way concern'd, that the House should directly take the Sermon into Consideration, provided They would make it the Occasion of doing what they could to prevent the spreading of pernicious Errors in a matter of so great Concern to all Christians, as that of *Remission* of Sins, by declaring what was the true Christian Doctrine, of which the Clergy of the Church of *England* could not be Ignorant. That I could not but differ intirely from what had been said, from the other side of the House, That it became Us *rather* to take notice of those who depress'd the Authority of the *Church* and *Clergy*, particularly, the Author of *the Rights of the Church*, &c. I being clear in Opinion to the contrary; That it more became such an Assembly as we were; was more for our Honour and our Interest; tended more to the Promoting true Religion, and all the good Ends for which we were Assembled, to take notice of, and labour to remove the just Offence given by Persons of our own Order, in superstitiously straining the *Authority* of the Clergy too high; than to meddle with those of the Laity, who attempted in their

Wri-



Writings to lessen the Clergy's *Authority*, or prejudice their *Rights*.

I said nothing of Offences given, or of ill Books written, by Clergy-men, nor did I say any thing else of what is transcribed from the Letter into the 36th Page of the 2d Part of *the Nation vindicated*, &c. Yet am willing on this occasion to declare, that I never gave Assent or Approbation to that *Representation of the present State of Religion*, &c. which came from the Committee of both Houses of Convocation. When I have told the Reader I said nothing of *Reverence due to the Chair*, I have no more to say with relation to what passed in the Lower House of Convocation, *Feb. 22*. Only, I desire it may be observed, that in disclaiming my having said, or intimated, as if Dr. B. had carried the Point of Absolution beyond what he had ground for from the Words of our Church, I meant only the first time I spoke.

But a Fortnight after, when I had read the Letter about this Motion, not discourag'd by the Misrepresentation of what I had said, from laying hold of the first Opportunity which might offer, I resolved to make in few Words a 2d Motion, with the same View I had in making the first; and Friday, *March the 7th*, finding the House again in a state of Silence, and unemploy'd,



employ'd, I spoke to this Effect :

That I hoped the Members had consider'd what was formerly said on occasion of Dr. *Brett's* Sermon of *Remission of Sins*, and were prepar'd to do what was proper to remove the Offence and Inconvenience, which had risen from the Preaching and Publishing it : That I would but just mention the main Grounds of what I had to move, and then make the Motion. Here I repeated, as well as I could, out of the Form of *Ordering of Priests*, the *Rubric* immediately foregoing, and the main Words used by the Bishop in the very Act of *Ordaining* ; thus : ' The Bishop, ' with the Priests present, shall lay their ' Hands severally upon the Head of every ' one that receiveth the Order of Priest- ' hood,—the Bishop saying, *Receive the ' Holy Ghost for the Office and Work of a ' Priest in the Church of God, now commit- ' ted unto thee by the Imposition of our Hands. ' Whose Sins thou dost forgive, they are ' forgiven ; and whose Sins thou dost retain, ' they are retained.* I also repeated out of the Form of *Absolution* in the *Visitation of the Sick*, these Words ; *By his [i.e. our Lord Jesus Christ] Authority committed to me, I absolve thee from all thy Sins, In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.* Then I said ; The Use of  
the



the Words; *Receive the Holy Ghost*: and of the Words; *Whose Sins thou dost forgive they are forgiven, and whose Sins thou dost retain, they are retained*, in Ordaining a Priest; and also the Use of Words, like to those I had read to them in *absolving* Sins, began, in the 13<sup>th</sup> Century, whereas all the erroneous Doctrines and Practices which our Church condemns in the Church of *Rome* had prevail'd before that time. I also touched on the Reason why I conceiv'd our first *Reformers* retain'd the Use of the latter part of the Form of *Absolution* in the Visitation of the Sick, and of the Words, *Receive the Holy Ghost*, &c. in Ordaining Priests; the same in effect I gave *Feb. 22d.*

Then I concluded with a Motion, That the House would do what might be thought proper to obtain a Publick Declaration, from the whole Synod, to explain and determin the Sense of both Forms. My Motion was seconded. No one directly oppos'd it. But a way was found to avoid putting the Question in order to know the Sense of the House, this day, as well as the former; of which, tho' I was immediately aware, yet I did not think fit to press the putting the Question, because I saw the House dispos'd to decline it.



Having thus given an Account of the Motions I made, I am now to lay down more distinctly the main Grounds of them.

When I made the first, I had observ'd, that Dr. Comber in his *Companion to the Temple*, Part 4. p. 128. having affirm'd, That the Form [of *Absolution* in the Visitation of the Sick] it self is *very antient*, consisting now, as it did of old, of two Parts, the first Deprecative, the second Indicative; the one *intreating* for Pardon, the other *dispensing* it, produces one single Authority in Support of his Assertion; *Alex. Hales*, a Schoolman, who lived in the 13<sup>th</sup> Century, and who speaks only of what was practis'd in his own time. And I had ready to produce for the Satisfaction of the House, the Testimonies of *Morinus* and *Martene*, as I here set them down; adding that of *Goar*, which I saw soon after. I would also refer the Reader to *Daille's* *Treatise de Sacramentali sive Auriculari Latinorum Confessione*, particularly to the 40<sup>th</sup> and 42<sup>d</sup> Chapters of his 4<sup>th</sup> Book.

Before I made the 2<sup>d</sup> Motion, I had collected the Testimonies of the two first relating to the Words used in Ordaining Priests, which I now also give. *Morin. de Sacramento Pœnitentiæ, lib. 8. cap. 8. Formulam ordinariam Absolutionis, sive reconciliationis*



*conciliationis Pœnitentium, fuisse Deprecatoriam, testantur quotquot hætenus legi, aut relata audiui, antiquitatis Ecclesiasticæ monumenta, ad annum salutis 200 supra 1000. In Ritualibus antiquis prope omnibus explicantur ritus Visitationis & Confessionis infirmorum; & separatim eorum qui proximi sunt morti. Sed in utroque Ritu omnia, quæ ad reconciliationem pertinent, deprecatoria sunt.— Verum post seculum 12 legere capi quosdam Doctores docentes Indicativum modum Deprecatorio subjungendum esse; cum autem in illis initiis omnes deprecatoriâ uterentur formulâ, paucos quosdam homines obniti & repugnare, nec erat prudentiæ, nec tutum; ideo deprecatoriæ indicativam addere satis illis fuit. Paucis annis ita invaluit hæc sententia, ut vulgatum esset apud Doctores, utrumque modum esse coniungendum. Tandem à nonnullis definitum est Deprecatoriâ illam formulam ad substantialem Absolutionis formam nihil pertinere, sed solam Indicativam. Quo factum, ut omnes ordinariis Precibus formulam adderent Indicativam, ne saltem Sacramentum dubium conferrent, quod ante Annum Christi 1300 non obtinuit. Inveterascente autem istâ consuetudine, Doctores celebres & multi definierunt, Absolutionem deprecativo modo datam non valere; Meâ quidem sententiâ rectè. Thus Morinus, as a good Catholick, who wrote*



wrote 50 Years ago. See the whole Chapter, with the 4 following ones, 9, 10, 11, 12. The Sum of the 12th Chapter is, *Græci hæcenus in Absolutione à peccatis nullâ aliâ formulâ usi sunt quam deprecativâ, &c.* Martene, de Antiquis Ecclesiæ Ritibus, Libri quatuor. Rotomagi. 1700. l. 1. P. 2. c. 6. Art. 5. n. 12. p. 33, 34. *Absolutionis formulam, indicant sancti Patres, non indicativam, sed deprecativam prorsus extitisse; eam precis aut orationis nomine vulgo indigentes.—— Unde S<sup>r</sup> Radulfus Ardens, qui seculo 12 florebat.—— Non dicimus, inquit, Ego dimitto tibi peccata tua; sed dicimus orando, misereatur tui omnipotens Deus. Simili fere modo loquitur Gulielmus Parisiensis, c. 19. de Sacramento Pœnitentiæ: Neque more judicum forinsecorum pronunciat Confessor absolvimus te; non condemnamus, sed orationem faciat super eum, ut Deus absolutionem S<sup>r</sup> remissionem atq; gratiam sanctificationis tribuat, &c. His consonant omnes antiqui libri Rituales MSS. utriusquæ Ecclesiæ, in quibus variæ piæq; orationes ad reconciliandos pœnitentes descriptæ leguntur.—— Ceterum forma deprecatoria post medium seculum 13 desinere cæpit.—— Deniq; tantos progressus brevi fecit forma absoluta, ut de deprecativæ validitate circa eadem tempora dubitari cæperit.*



Goar *Ritualement Græcorum*. Par. 1647. p. 676. Equidem, si ex Ecclesiastica Historiâ, ritualibus antiquis, traditione, aut aliis non excipiendis testimoniis conicere licet, antiquam, in Ecclesiâ Latinâ Pœnitentiæ Sacramenti sive Absolutionis formam deprecativis verbis compositam fuisse; eamq; indicativam & judicativam, ut ita loquar, quâ nunc utimur, Absolve te a peccatis tuis; quatuor circiter seculorum ætatem forsitan non superare, nec ullatenus in Sacramentariis reperiri, aut ab antiquioribus scriptoribus referri; proindeq; recentius, æquo tamen rationum pondere, motam Ecclesiam illam, ut communem, & ab omnibus recipiendam induxisse, plures jam sunt, qui liberrime asserunt, tenaciter propugnant, clare docent, & feliciter scribunt.

With relation to the use of the Words, *Receive the Holy Ghost, &c.* in ordaining Priests, Morinus de Sacris Ordin. P. 3. Ex. 7. C. 2. Tota illa ceremonia, & secundum materiam, & secundum formam mille ducentis annis incognita fuit in Ecclesiâ Dei: Nulli rituales ante hoc tempus illius meminerunt, licet copiosi sint, & singulos ritus pauci momenti describant. Imò nonnulli sunt eo tempore longe recentiores, & diffusi admodum, qui illam prætereunt. In codice Rhemensi, qui est annorum circiter 400 habetur



betur illa formula, sed in margine addita, caractere tamen ad textus antiquitatem accedente. — Autores quoq; qui ante quingentos annos de his scribebant, nullam istius manus impositionis mentionem faciunt, & ita sermonem suum distribuunt, ut nullibi in ritu Ordinationis illis cognito locum habere possit.

Martene, Art. 9. n. 12. p. 316. xii. Præter hanc manus impositionem, aliam describit editum Pontificale Romanum ab Episcopo faciendam hæc proferente verba: [Accipite Spiritum Sanctum, quorum remiseritis peccata, remittuntur eis; & quorum retinueritis, retenta sunt.] — Verum antiqui ordinationum Ritus nullam prorsus illius mentionem faciunt; nullam Pontificale Egberti, Anglicanum monasterii Gemmeticensis, antiqua Sacramentaria, Regium, Remense, Noviomense, Gellonense annorum 900. Caturcense, Turonense, Noviomense Radbodi Pontificale annorum 800. Suesionense 700. Lugdunense, Salisburgense, Bisuntinum, Noviomense tertium annorum 600. Remense S. Remigii duplex, Cameracense, Apamiense, Constantinopolitanum, annorum 500. Moguntinum duplex, Romanum duplex, & Aquense, annorum 400. — Quibus addas antiquos scriptores omnes, eos præsertim qui ecclesiasticos ritus referendos enucleandosq; in se susceperunt, Isidorum, Ama-



*Amalarium, Rabanum, Micrologum, Ivonem Carnotensem, Hugonem Victorinum, aliosq; non paucos, apud quos altum ubiq; de hac manuum impositione silentium.*

In the Beginning of the Thirteenth Century, at the same *Lateran* Council, which first declared *Transubstantiation*, held under Pope *Innocent* III. A. D. 1215. *Private Confessing* of Sins to a Priest, at least once in the Year, was also first required of all, who were of Years of Discretion.

Toward the latter end of that Age, in a great National Council held at *London*, under *Othobon*, the Pope's Legate, *A. D.* 1268. it was ordered, That all Confessors should absolve *Confitentes*, in the Form of Words following; *Ego te a peccatis tuis, autoritate quâ fungor, absolvo.*

I find no Ecclesiastical Law or Canon, in the Thirteenth or Fourteenth Century, directing the Use of the Words, *Receive the Holy Ghost*, &c. in *ordaining* a Priest; but the Use of them did by degrees obtain in the Course of that time, and the Words were inserted in the Rituals or Pontificals of the Church of *Rome*, before the Council of *Trent*.

By that Council, Sess. 14. c. 6. we are Nov. 25.  
taught: *Sacerdotes, qui peccato mortali te-* 1551.  
D *nentur,*



nantur, per virtutem Spiritus sancti in ordinatione collatam, tamquam Christi ministros, functionem remittendi peccata exercere; eosq; pravè sentire, qui in malis sacerdotibus hanc potestatem non esse contendunt. Quamvis autem Absolutio Sacerdotis alieni beneficii sit dispensatio, tamen non est solum nudum ministerium, vel annunciandi Evangelium, vel declarandi remissa esse peccata; sed ad instar actus judicialis, quo ab ipso, velut a iudice, sententia pronuntiatur.

Suitable to this their Doctrine are their Canons. Can. 3. runs thus: *Si quis dixerit, verba illa Domini Salvatoris, Accipite Spiritum Sanctum; quorum remiseritis peccata, remittuntur eis; & quorum retinueritis, retenta sunt: non esse intelligenda de potestate remittendi & retinendi peccata in Sacramento Pœnitentiæ, sicut Ecclesia Catholica ab initio semper intellexit; detorsit autem, contra institutionem hujus Sacramenti, ad auctoritatem prædicandi Evangelium; anathema sit.* See also Can. 9, 10, 15.

Jul. 15.  
1563.

Sess. 23. *De Sacramento Ordinis, c. 1.* this is laid down for the true and Catholick Doctrine: *Sacerdotium à Domino Salvatore nostro institutum esse, atq; Apostolis, eorumq; successoribus in sacerdotio, potestatem traditam consecrandi, offerendi, & ministrandi Corpus*



*Corpus & Sanguinem ejus, necnon & peccata dimittendi, & retinendi, sacræ literæ ostendunt, & Catholicæ Ecclesiæ traditio semper docuit.* Their first Canon is suited to this Doctrine; and the 4th runs thus: *Si quis dixerit, per sacram ordinationem non dari Spiritum sanctum; ac proinde frustra Episcopos dicere: Accipe Spiritum sanctum; aut per eam non imprimi characterem; vel eum, qui sacerdos semel fuerit, laicum rursus fieri posse; anathema sit.*

In the Catechism for the Parochial Clergy, put out by virtue of a Decree of this Council, in Part the 2d. which is *de Sacramentis*, under the Title *de Pœnitentiæ Sacramento*, n. 19. the Words, *Ego te absolvo*, are declar'd to be evidently the perfect Form. And, n. 20. the Prayers which accompany it are said to be *non quidem ad formam necessariam, sed ut ea removeantur, quæ Sacramenti vim, & efficientiam, illius culpâ, cui administratur, impedire possent. Quamobrem peccatores Deo ingentes gratias agant, qui tam amplam potestatem in Ecclesiâ sacerdotibus tribuerit.* Accordingly under the Title, *de Ordinis Sacramento*, n. 50. where the Consecration of the Priest is explain'd, it is set forth, that at last the Bishop, with the Priests who are present, laying Hands on him who receiveth the



Order of Priesthood, saith, *Accipe Spiritum sanctum, quorum, &c. ei; coelestem illam, quam Dominus Discipulis suis dedit, peccata retinendi, ac remittendi potestatem tribuit.*

I observe, First, That when in the beginning of the Thirteenth Age, Private Confession to the Priest was first imposed in the Council of *Lateran*, it was not thought advisable to require it directly, in order to obtain the Absolution of the Priest, who is chiefly consider'd as a Spiritual Physician by that Council; nor is any Form of Absolving intimated there,

I observe, Secondly, That the Form, *Ego te absolvo*, was probably first introduced into Ecclesiastical Courts, to take off some disabling Sentence before pass'd by an Ecclesiastical Judge.

This Observation is but conjectural; for it appears, that although the Sentence of *Excommunication* was *Judicial*, and pronounced accordingly, yet the *Absolution* from that Sentence, even in the time of *Innocent III.* was given in Deprecatory Words; and, perhaps, for this Reason, because the Absolved Person was supposed to have the Pardon of God, when he had that of the Church; but it was certainly more natural to use *Judiciary* Words, when

an



an Ecclesiastical Judge was to *take off* what he had laid on by such Words. *Morinus* was not able to clear the Practice; but he argues rightly when he says, *Ch. 21. n. 4. Formula deprecativa Absolutioni Sacramentali aptius conveniet quàm Absolutioni ab Excommunicatione.* See that whole Chapter.

I observe, Thirdly, That for some time after the *Lateran Council*, all Pretension to the use of Authoritative Words was generally disclaim'd by Confessors, or to do any thing more, than pray to God, That he would give to the Penitent Absolution, and his sanctifying Grace.

I observe, Fourthly, That though for so many Ages no Man had offer'd to do any thing, that look'd like authoritatively loosing the Bands of Sin; yet when some Confessors had ventur'd to add the Authoritative Form of Words to their Prayer for God's Pardon to the penitent Sinner, the Innovation soon spread, and, like a Torrent, bore down all Opposition. The new Form first had its Sanction from a Pope's Legat, with a Council under him, in this City. And it was found to answer Purposes so well, that the main Words of it were by *private Writers first*, and after by Authority of the Council of *Trent*, declar'd to be the only essential ones. I ob-



I observe, Fifthly, That the Use of the Words, *Receive the Holy Ghost*, &c. in ordaining Priests, took much the same Course, and for the same Reason, though the Council of *Trent* was the first Council that declar'd them essential to the Ordination of a Priest.

These, and such like Considerations, were the first and main Ground of the Motions I made in the Lower House of Convocation.

The other Ground was, the Consideration of the Reason, which, as I apprehended, satisfied our first Reformers, in leaving Place to the two Forms in their Liturgy.

It's well known, That in the Reign of King *Edward VI.* within the Compass of 3 Years, two Books of Common-Prayer, &c. were put out by publick Authority.

With the first, which was publish'd, *A. D.* 1549. no Form of *Ordaining* was provided; so that therein we have only to look into the *Communion Service*, and the *Visitation of the Sick*. And after having several times consider'd what is there to be found relating to Absolution, I am perswaded, That although the Church therein required the Priest to make use of the  
Form



Form of Absolution, which was then placed in the *Visitation of the Sick*, (and it continues the very same to this Day) *in all private Confessions*, particularly, such as were made before coming to the Holy Communion; yet it was order'd to be used purely for the satisfying *scrupulous* Minds; and that the Sense of those who framed that Book, in the *Exhortation* appointed to be used by the Parish-Priest, when the People were negligent to come to the Communion, is sufficiently declared to be, That the Absolution of a Priest is of no avail toward the Pardon of Sin.

In the first part of the *Exhortation* it is declared, That, as we have obteigned Remission of our Sinnes, and are made Partakers of the Kyngdom of Heaven, by the Passion of Christ, so we are assured thereof, yf we come to the Sacrament with heartie *Repentance* for our Offences, stedfast Faith in Goddes Mercye, and earnest Minde to obeye Goddes Will, and to offend no more. Soon after, the Waies and Meanes to be found worthy Partakers, are declar'd to be, first, that we be truly repentaunt of our former evyll Lyfe, and that we *confesse* with an unfained Heart to *almightie God*, our Sinnes towardes his Majestie committed: and that with inward Sorrow we  
bewaile



bewaile our Offences, and *require* of al-  
 mightie God, *Mercie and Pardon*, promising  
 to him the Amendment of our former Lyfe.  
 Then, that we be reconciled to, and in  
 charitie with all the Worlde. Lastly, that  
 we make Satisfaction and due Restitution  
 to those we have wronged, or at least be  
 in full mind and purpose so to do, as soon  
 as we are able, or els not come to the ho-  
 ly Table, thinking to deceive God, who  
 seeth all Mennes Heartes : For neyther the  
 Absolution of the Priest can any thing a-  
 vaile us, nor the receiving of this holy Sa-  
 crament doth any thing but increase our  
 Damnation.

We have now seen all the *Waies* and  
*Meanes* of becoming *worthy Receivers* of  
 this Holy Sacrament, *whereby* we are as-  
 serteigned that we have *obteigned Remission*  
*of our Sinnes* ; and neither the *Absolution* of  
*a Priest*, nor *Confession* of Sins *to a Priest*, is  
 to be found among them. Therefore our  
 first Reformers thought neither of them of  
 any *Availe* toward the Pardon of Sin.

*What follows*, is purely in order to *satis-*  
*fy scrupulous Mindes*. See it in P. S.

In the Rubric, before the Absolution,  
 in the Visitation of the Sick, it was or-  
 der'd, That the same Form of Absolution  
 should be used in all *private Confessions* ;  
 but



but that Order was left out in the 2d Book; and so were all those Passages in the Exhortation before the Holy Communion, which mention *any confessing* of Sins to a Priest, or indeed suppose any *sacerdotal Absolution*: So that throughout the whole Book there is *no mention* any where of *confessing Sins to a Priest*; nor of the *Priest's Absolving*, except once in the Visitation of the Sick.

In the small Book of Homilies published by Authority in the Reign of K. Edward, there is little to be found that may help us to discern the Sense of our first Reformers, concerning Confession to a Priest; but, in the Book published in Q. Elizabeth's Time, we have *An Homily of Repentance, and of true Reconciliation unto God*: In the 2d Part of which, Repentance is declared to consist of four Parts. Contrition of the Heart. An unfeigned Confession of our Sins unto God. Faith. Amendment of Life. What is set forth under the 2d Head, discovers the Sense of our Church in those Days, and deserves to be read. I'll transcribe only the most material Words: " Being therefore not led  
 " with the Conscience thereof [of Auricu-  
 " lar Confession] let us with Fear and  
 " Trembling, and with a true contrite  
 " Heart, *use that kind of Confession that*  
 E " God



“ God doth command in his Word, and then,  
 “ doubtless, as He is faithful and righte-  
 “ ous, He will forgive us our Sins, and  
 “ make us clean from all Wickedness. I  
 “ do not say, but that if any do find them-  
 “ selves *troubled* in Conscience, they may  
 “ repair to their learned Curate or Pastor,  
 “ or to some other godly learned Man, and  
 “ *shew the Trouble and Doubt of their Con-*  
 “ *science to them, that they may receive at*  
 “ *their hand the comfortable Salve of God's*  
 “ *Word.*

As I take it, such Persons, as *find them-*  
*selves troubled*, may *shew the Trouble and*  
*Doubt of their Conscience*, or, as cannot by o-  
 ther Means *quiet their own Conscience*, but  
 require further Comfort or Counsel, may o-  
 pen their Grief to a discreet and learned  
 Minister of God's Word, without confessing  
 to that Minister the Sins, which were the  
 Cause of their Grief and Trouble.

And a discreet Parish Priest may, by the  
 right Application of God's Word, admini-  
 ster not only Comfort, but the *Benefit of Ab-*  
*solution* also, without using any authorita-  
 tive Form of Absolving, to such as come  
 and open their Grief to him for Comfort or  
 Counsel: Or to use the Words, as they  
 stand in our present Exhortation, *The Be-*  
*nefit of Absolution together with ghostly*  
*Counsel and Advice.* Such



Such a Minister may from the Word of God assure and satisfy the Penitent, that he certainly has the *Benefit* of God's *Absolution*; and that this was the Intention of the Compilers of this 2d Book, I am the more satisfied, by observing, That in this very Book they first prescrib'd a Way and Form of doing it. For whereas in the first Book the Morning and Evening Prayers began with the Lord's Prayer; in the 2d, before that Prayer, first a Sentence of Scripture was order'd to be read; next an Exhortation to Confession of Sins before God, then a general Confession. After which, the *Absolution*, as it is call'd, *was to be pronounced by the Minister alone*; which is to declare to the People from God's Word, That he desires the Conversion and eternal Happiness of a Sinner; that as *he* pardoneth and absolveth all true Penitents, who believe his Gospel, so he has given Power and Commandment to his *Ministers*, to declare and pronounce to them the *Absolution* and Remission of their Sins.

In the same Book, the Rubric, in the Visitation of the Sick, by making a *special Confession if he feel his Conscience troubled with any weighty Matter*, seems to require the confessing the particular Sin that troubles;



bles ; yet even here is nothing of *private* or *auricular* Confession. The *general* Confessions in other Parts of this Book, are certainly directed to be made only to *Almighty God* ; whereas in the first Book, tho' the Repentance was to Almighty God only, yet the Confession in the Communion-Service (and there was no other general one in that Book) was made to be to Almighty God, and to *his holy Church*. Those are called *general* Confessions, this is called a *special* Confession ; and I profess I cannot discern Reason enough for thinking that *this* was intended to be made to any other than Almighty God ; or that more was meant than this : If the sick was troubled in Mind, on account of any great Sin or Sins, he should *then* make a special Confession to God, &c. Weighty Sins will be allow'd to require a particular Confession, and the Monition to be seasonable.

The Form and Manner of making and consecrating Bishops, Priests and Deacons, was first published with the 2d Book of Common Prayer, *A.D.* 1552.

In *ordaining* the Priest, the Words *Receive the holy Ghost* were retained as before in the *Romish* Pontifical.

They still continue with these Words inserted after *Holy Ghost* : *for the Office and*  
*Work*



*Work of a Priest, in the Church of God, now committed unto thee by the Imposition of our Hands.*

I shall only observe, that the Words, *Whose Sins thou dost forgive they are forgiven; and whose Sins thou dost retain, they are retained;* stand as if they were *thought essential Words*, as they are *declared to be* by the Church of Rome. Yet in all the foregoing Parts of the Office, even where the whole Duty of the Priest seems to be declared, no mention is made of forgiving, or of retaining Men's Sins.

Before I conclude, I humbly ask this Question.

If there be not good Reason why a public Declaration should be made by the Bishops and Clergy, to *remove the Offence* taken by some at the very scandalous Doctrine of late industriously taught concerning Remission of Sin; to prevent its getting into the Minds of such well disposed and religious, but weak Persons, as are yet clear of the Infection; and to root out of the Minds of others that Superstition which moves them to believe, That a Christian Priest has Authority to absolve Men from their Sins, and, in consequence of that Belief, to apply to a Priest, in order to obtain by private Confession of their Sins to him,  
an



an authoritative Absolution from him?

I am not minded to write Books of Controversy: but having consider'd all the Passages in the New Testament, which set forth, or have respect to the Christian Doctrine concerning Remission of Sins, I freely declare my Opinion, That *no Christian Priest has Authority to absolve any one from his Sins.* That for a Priest to pretend to such Authority is great Presumption: And that to think, such authoritative Absolution is of the least Efficacy for the Pardon of Sin, is gross Superstition.

I shall be ready, when call'd on, farther to explain and support these *Assertions*, which are now delivered, without Ambiguity, in the properest Words I could think of. I only desire, that whoever finds himself dispos'd to *censure*, would first well consider and *examine*, and then be *clear* and explicit in what he thinks fit to *assert* himself.

Apr. 16. 1712.

R. CANNON.

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POST-



# POSTSCRIPT.

*The latter part of the Exhortation in the Communion-Service, which is briefly consider'd in the foregoing Papers, as it was*

*In the first Book of Common Prayer, A.D. 1549.*

**A**ND yf there bee any of you, whose Conscience is troubled and greved in any thing, lackyng Comforte or Counsaill, let him come to me, or to some other discrete and learned Priest, taught in the Law of God, and confess and open his Sinne and Grief secretly, that he maie receive such Ghostly Counsaill, Advise, and Comfort, that his Conscience may be releved, and that of us (as of the Ministers of God, and of the Church) he may receive Comforte and Absolution, to the Satisfaction of his Mind, and avoiding all Scruple and Doubtfulness: [Requiring suche as shall be satisfied with a generall Confession, not to be offended with them that do use, to their further satisfying the auricular and secrete Confession to the Prieste: nor those also which think needful or convenient



venient for the Quietness of their own Consciences, particularly to *open their Sins* to the Priest, to be offended with them that are satisfied with their humble Confession to God, and the generall Confession to the Church. But in all things to follow and kepe the Rule of Charitie, and every Man to be satisfied with his own Conscience, not judging other Mennes Mindes or Consciences: whereas he hath no Warrant of Goddes Word to the same.]

N.B. All within Hooks is omitted in the second Book, which reduced the Exhortation in a manner to what it now is; only a new Clause was inserted, in 1661. immediately before what I have transcribed from the 2d Book, *viz. Therefore if any, &c.*

*In the Second Book, 1552.*

AND because it is requisite that no Man should come to the Holy Communion but with a full Trust in God's Mercy, and with a quiet Conscience: therefore if there be any of you which by the meanes aforesayd, cannot quiet his own Conscience, but requireth further Comfort or Counsell: Then let him come to me, or some other discrete or  
learned



learned *Minister of God's Word*, and open his *Griefe*, that he may receive such *Ghostly Counsaile, Advice, and Comfort*, as his *Conscience* may be releived, and that by the *Ministers of God's Word*, he may receive *Comfort*, and the *Benefite of Absolution* to the quieting of his *Conscience*, and avoiding of all *Scruple and Doubtfulness*.

The Rubric before the general Confession was the same in both Books: thus;

“ Then shall this *general Confession* be  
 “ made in the Name of all those that are  
 “ mynded to receyve the Holy Communi-  
 “ on, eyther by *one of them*, or els by *one*  
 “ of the *Ministers*, or by the Priest him-  
 “ self, all kneeling humbly upon theyr  
 “ Knees. The Exhortation before this  
 Rubric, in the first Book was thus: “ You  
 “ that do truly and earnestly repent you  
 “ of your Sinnes to *almightie God*,—make  
 “ your humble Confession to *almightie*  
 “ God, and to his *holy Church* here ga-  
 “ ther'd together in his Name, mekely  
 “ knelyng upon your Knees. The second  
 Book left out to *almightie God* in the first  
 part; and instead of, and to his *holy Church*,  
 read, before this *Congregation*.



The Rubric after the general Confession was thus:

“ Then shall the Priest [or the Byshop  
 “ being present] stand up, and turning  
 “ hymself to the People, *say thus*; Al-  
 “ mighty, &c. N. B. The Words with-  
 in Hooks are added in the second Book.  
 After the Restoration of K. Charles the 2d.  
 instead of the Words, *say thus*; the Words,  
*pronounce this Absolution*, were put at the  
 close of this Rubric. At the same time,  
 in the Rubric before the Absolution in the  
 Visitation of the Sick, instead of *make a*  
*special Confession*; *be moved to make a spe-*  
*cial Confession OF HIS SINS.* And after  
 the Words; *Absolve him*, this Parenthe-  
 sis (if he humbly and heartily desire it.)  
 I leave it to be enquired, in what Age of  
 the Church, such a Form of Words, as is  
 used in the first Part of the Absolution in  
 the Visitation of the Sick, and in the Com-  
 munion Service (which was in the Year  
 1661. first called an *Absolution* to be *pro-*  
*nounced*) was introduced; a Form, where-  
 in the Direction of the Priest is to the Peo-  
 ple, and yet his praying to God for Par-  
 don is preserv'd, at least virtually. I look  
 on it as a *Medium*, between pure *Prayer to*  
*God for his Pardon* of the Peoples Sins, and  
 the Priest's *Absolution* of them by an *Au-*  
*thority*



*thority committed to him; which I have not been able to trace very high.*

The Rubric before the Absolution in the Visitation of the Sick was thus :

“ Here shall the sicke Person make a  
 “ speciall Confession, yf he fele his Con-  
 “ science troubled with any weightie  
 “ Matter. After which Confession the  
 “ Priest shall absolve hym after this *Form* :  
 “ [and the same Form of Absolution shall  
 “ be used in all pryvate Confessions.]

*N. B.* The Words within Hooks were left out in the 2<sup>d</sup> Book, and the word *Forme* was changed into *Sorte*.

The Reader, who will be at the Pains of considering the several Alterations above, will, I think, readily agree with me, in the Observation drawn from them : That great Care was taken to discourage the Confessing of Sins to a Priest ; and some, to discountenance the Priests using Words, which carried an Appearance of Authority, in Absolving.

*F I N I S.*



thority committed to him; which I have  
not been able to trace very high.

The Rubric before the Absolution in  
the Visitation of the Sick was thus:

"I shall the like Person make a  
perfect Confession, if he be so  
troubled with any weighty  
Matter. After which Confession the  
Priest shall absolve him after this form:  
"I and the same Form of Absolution shall  
be used in all private Confessions."  
W. R. The Words within Hooks were left  
out in the 2d Book, and the word "I" was  
was changed into "he".

The Reader, who will be at the pains  
of considering the several Alterations a-  
bove, will, I think, readily agree with  
me, in the Observation drawn from them:  
That great Care was taken to diminish  
the Consoling of him to a Priest; and  
some, to disengage the Priests using  
Words, which carried an Appearance of  
Authority, in Absolving.



14  
SEVERAL  
LETTERS

TO THE  
Reverend Dr. CLARKE,

FROM A  
Gentleman in Gloucestershire,

Relating to the  
FIRST VOLUME  
Of the SERMONS

Preached at  
Mr BOYLE's Lecture;

WITH THE  
DR'S ANSWERS  
THEREUNTO.

---

L O N D O N,  
Printed for James Knapton, at the Crown  
in St Paul's Church-Yard. 1716.



JAN 22

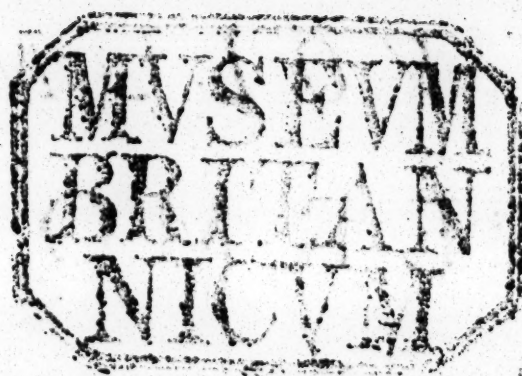
LETTERS

THE

AMERICAN

AND

ANTIQUARIAN



OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN

AND ANTIQUARIAN

LETTERS

OF THE

OF

OF THE

OF THE



# The FIRST LETTER.

Reverend Sir,

“ I Suppose you will wonder at the present  
“ trouble from one who is to you a perfect  
“ Stranger, tho’ you are not so to him; but  
“ I hope the Occasion will excuse my  
“ Boldness. I have made it, Sir, my Business  
“ ever since I thought my Self capable of such  
“ sort of Reasoning, to prove to my Self the  
“ Being and Attributes of God; And being  
“ sensible that it’s a matter of the last conse-  
“ quence, I endeavoured after a demonstrative  
“ Proof; not only more fully to satisfy my own  
“ Mind, but also in order to defend the great  
“ Truths of Natural Religion, and those of the  
“ Christian Revelation which follow from  
“ them, against all Opposers: But must own with  
“ concern, that hitherto I have been unsuccess-  
“ ful; and tho’ I have got very probable Argu-  
“ ments, yet I can go but very little way  
“ with Demonstration in the proof of those  
“ things. When at first your Book on those  
“ Subjects (which by all, whom I have dis-  
“ coursed with, is so justly esteemed,) was re-  
“ commended to me; I was in great hopes of  
“ having all my Enquiries answered: But since  
“ in some places, either thro’ my not under-  
“ standing,



## The first Letter.

“standing your Meaning, or what else I know  
 “not, even *That* has failed me; I almost de-  
 “spair of ever arriving to *such a Satisfaction* as  
 “I aim at, unless by the method I now use.  
 “You can’t but know, Sir, that of *two* diffe-  
 “rent *expressions* of the *same* thing, tho’ equally  
 “clear to *some* Persons, yet, to *others*, *one* of  
 “them is sometimes very obscure, tho’ the o-  
 “ther be perfectly intelligible. Perhaps this  
 “may be my Case here; and could I see those  
 “of your Arguments, of which I doubt, dif-  
 “ferently proposed, possibly I might yield a  
 “ready assent to them. This, Sir, I cannot  
 “but think a sufficient Excuse for the present  
 “Trouble; it being such an one as I hope may  
 “prevail for an Answer, with one who seems  
 “to aim at nothing more than that good Work  
 “of instructing others.

\* pag. 45, “  
 Edit. 4th. “ *In your Demonstration of the Being and Attri-  
 butes of God, Prop. VI.\* [Edit. 2d. p. 69 and  
 70,] you propose to prove the Infinitude and  
 “Omnipresency of the Self-existent Being. The  
 “former part of the proof, seems highly proba-  
 “ble; but the latter part, which seems to aim  
 “at Demonstration, is not to me convincing.  
 “The latter part of the Paragraph is, if I  
 “mistake not, an entire Argument of it self,  
 “which runs thus;” *To suppose a Finite Being  
 to be Self-Existent, is to say that it is a Contradic-  
 tion for That Being not to exist, the absence of  
 which may yet be conceived without a Contradicti-  
 on; which is the greatest absurdity in the World.*  
 “The Sense of those Words [*the absence of which*]  
 “seems plainly to be determined by the follow-  
 “ing Sentence, to mean its absence from any  
 “particular place: Which Sentence, is to  
 “prove it to be an Absurdity; and is this:”  
 For if a Being can, without a Contradiction, be  
 absent*



## The first Letter.

5

absent from one place; it may, without a Contradiction, be absent from another place, and from all places. " Now, supposing this to be a " Consequence; all that it proves is, that if " a Being can without a Contradiction be " absent from one place at one time, it may " without a Contradiction be absent from a- " nother place, and so from all places, at dif- " ferent times; (for I cannot see, that if a Be- " ing can be absent from one place at one time, " therefore it may without a Contradiction be " absent from all places at the same time, i. e. " may cease to exist.) Now if it proves no " more than this, I cannot see that it reduces " the Supposition to any Absurdity. Suppose " I could demonstrate, that any particular Man " should live a Thousand Years; this Man " might without a Contradiction be absent from " one, and from all places, at different times; but " it would not from thence follow, that he " might be absent from all places at the same " time, i. e. that he might cease to exist. No; " this would be a Contradiction, because I am " supposed to have demonstrated that he should " live a Thousand Years. It would be exactly " the same, if instead of a *Thousand Years*, I " should say, *for ever*; and the proof seems the " same, whether it be applied to a *Self-Existent* " or a *Dependent Being*.

" What else I have to offer, is in relation to " your proof of the *Self-Existent Being*, that " he must of necessity be but One. Your proof " is as follows, in *Prop. VII*, \* [Edit. 2d. \* pag. 48, " p. 74,] " To suppose two or more different Natures Edit. 4th. " existing of themselves, necessarily and independent from each other, implies this plain Contradiction; that each of them being independent from the other, they may either of them be supposed to exist Alone; so



## The first Letter.

So that it will be no Contradiction to imagine the other not to exist, and consequently neither of them will be necessarily existing. " The Supposition  
" indeed implies, that since each of these Beings  
" are Independent from the other, they may either  
" of them exist Alone, i. e. without any relation to or dependence on the other: But  
" Where is the third Idea, to connect this Proposition and the following one, viz. so that it  
" will be no Contradiction to imagine the other not to Exist? Were this a Consequence of the former Proposition, I allow it would be Demonstration, by the first Corollary of Prop. III, \*  
" [2d Edit. p. 26.] But since these two Propositions, [they may either of them be supposed to exist alone,] and, [so that it will be no Contradiction to imagine the other not to exist,] are  
" very widely different; since likewise it is no immediate Consequence, that because Either  
" may be supposed to exist independent from the other, therefore the other may be supposed  
" not to exist at all; how is what was proposed, proved? That the Propositions are different, I think it plain; and whether there be an immediate connexion, every body that reads yours must judge for themselves. I must say, for my own part, the Absurdity do's not appear at first sight, any more than the Absurdity of saying that the Angles below the Base in an Ilosceles Triangle are unequal; which tho' it is absolutely false, yet I suppose no one will lay down the contrary for an Axiom; because, tho' it is true, yet there is need of a Proof to make it appear so.

" Perhaps it may be answered, that I have not rightly explained the words, to exist alone; And that they do not mean only, to exist independent from the other; but that existing  
" Alone,

\* pag. 16,  
17. Edit.  
4th.



" Alone, means that *nothing exists with it*. Whe-  
 " ther this or the other was meant, I cannot  
 " determine: But, which ever it was; what  
 " I have said, will hold. For if this *last* be  
 " the Sense of those Words, [*they Either of them*  
 " *may be supposed to exist alone;*] it indeed implies  
 " that it will be no Contradiction to suppose  
 " the other not to exist: But then I ask, How  
 " come these two Propositions to be connected;  
 " that to suppose *two different Natures existing*  
 " *of themselves necessarily and independent from*  
 " *each other*, implies that *each* of them may be  
 " supposed to *exist Alone in This Sense*? Which  
 " is exactly the same as I said before, only ap-  
 " plied to different Sentences. So that if *Ex-*  
 " *isting Alone*, be understood as I *first* took it;  
 " I allow it is implied in the *Supposition*; but can-  
 " not see that the *Consequence* is, that it will be  
 " no Contradiction to suppose the other not to  
 " exist. But if the Words, *Existing Alone*, are  
 " meant in the *latter* Sense; I grant that if  
 " either of them may be *supposed* thus to *exist*  
 " *Alone*, it will be no Contradiction to suppose  
 " the other not to exist: But then I cannot see,  
 " that to suppose *two different Natures existing of*  
 " *themselves necessarily and independent from each*  
 " *other*, implies that *either* of them may be  
 " supposed to *exist Alone in This Sense* of the  
 " Words; but only, that *either* of them may be  
 " supposed to exist *without* having any *relati-*  
 " *on* to the other, and that there will be no  
 " *need of the existence of the One in order to the*  
 " *existence of the other*. But tho' upon this  
 " account, were there no other Principle of  
 " its existence, it might cease to exist; yet on  
 " the account of the necessity of its own na-  
 " ture, which is quite distinct from the other,  
 " 'tis



*The first Letter.*

" 'tis an absolute Absurdity to suppose it not  
 " to exist.

" Thus, Sir, I have proposed my Doubts,  
 " with the reason of them. In which if I have  
 " wrested your Words to another Sense than  
 " what you designed them, or in any respect  
 " argu'd unfairly; I assure you it was without de-  
 " sign. So I hope you will impute it to mistake.  
 " And, if it will not be too great a Trouble, let  
 " me once more beg the favour of a Line from  
 " you, by which you will lay me under a par-  
 " ticular Obligation to be, what, with the rest  
 " of the World, I now am,

*Reverend Sir,*

*Your much Obliged Servant, &c.*

*November the 4th*

*1713.*

THE



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The A N S W E R  
TO THE  
*First Letter.*

S I R,

**D**ID Men who publish controversial Papers, accustom themselves to write with that Candour and Ingenuity, with which you propose your Difficulties; I am perswaded almost All Disputes might be very amicably terminated, either by Mens coming at last to agree in Opinion, or at least finding Reason to suffer each other friendly to differ.

Your *Two Objections* are very ingenious, and urged with great Strength and Acuteness. Yet I am not without hopes, of being able to give you *Satisfaction* in *Both* of them. To your *first* therefore, I answer. Whatever may, without a Contradiction, be absent from any one Place at *any one Time*; may also, without a Contradiction, be absent from *all Places* at *all Times*. For, whatever is *absolutely necessary* at all, is absolutely necessary in *every part* of *Space*, and in *every point* of *Duration*. Whatever can at any time be conceived *possible to be absent* from *any One part* of *Space*, may for the same reason, [*viz.* the implying no Contradiction in the nature of Things,] be conceived *possible to be absent* from *every Other part* of *Space* at the *same time*: either by *ceasing to be*, or by supposing it *never to have begun to be*.

B

Your



## The Answer to

Your Instance about *demonstrating* a Man to live 1000 Years, is what (I think) led you into the Mistake ; and is a good Instance to lead you out of it again. You may suppose a Man shall live 1000 Years, or God may reveal and promise he shall live 1000 Years ; And upon That Supposition, it shall not be possible for the Man to be absent from all Places in any part of that time. Very true : But why shall it not be possible ? Only because 'tis contrary to the Supposition, or to the Promise of God ; but not contrary to the absolute Nature of Things ; which it would be, if the Man existed necessarily, as every part of Space does. In Supposing you could demonstrate, a Man should live 1000 Years, or one Year ; you make an impossible and contradictory Supposition. For though you may know certainly, (by Revelation suppose,) that he will live so long ; yet This is only the Certainty, of a thing True in Fact, not in itself necessary : And Demonstration is applicable to nothing but what is necessary in itself, necessary in all Places and at all Times equally.

To your second Difficulty, I answer. What exists necessarily, not only must so exist Alone, as to be independent of any thing else ; but (being Self-sufficient,) may also so exist Alone, as that every thing else may possibly (or without any Contradiction in the Nature of Things) be supposed not to exist at all ; And consequently, (since That which may possibly be supposed not to exist at all, is not necessarily existent,) No other thing Can be necessarily existent. Whatever is necessarily Existing, there is Need of its existence in order to the supposal of the existence of any other Thing ; so that nothing can possibly be supposed to exist, without presupposing and including antecedently the existence of that which is necessary.

For



*the First Letter.*

11

For instance: The Supposal of the existence of *any thing whatever*, includes necessarily a *Presupposition* of the existence of *Space and Time*; and if any thing could exist *without Space or Time*, it would follow that *Space and Time* were not necessarily-existing. Therefore, the supposing any thing *possibly to exist Alone*, so as not necessarily to include the *presupposal* of some Other Thing; proves demonstrably that That Other thing is not *Necessarily-existing*; because, *Whatever has Necessity of existence*, cannot possibly, in Any conception whatsoever, be supposed *Away*. There cannot possibly be Any Notion of the *existence of any Thing*, there cannot possibly be Any Notion of *existence at all*, but what shall necessarily *præinclude* the Notion of *That which is Necessarily-existent*. And consequently the *Two Propositions* which you judged *independent*, are really *necessarily connected*. These sorts of things are indeed very difficult to *express*, and not easie to be *conceived* but by very *attentive Minds*: But to such as *can and will attend*, nothing (I think) is more demonstrably convictive.

If any thing still sticks with you in This, or any Other Part of my Books; I shall be very willing to be informed of it; who am,

S I R, Your assured Friend,

Nov. 10.

and Servant, S. C.

1713.

P. S. Many Readers, I observe, have misunderstood my *Second General Proposition*; as if the Words [*Some One unchangeable and independent Being*,] meant [*One Only—Being*.] Whereas the true Meaning, and all that the Argument there requires, is, [*Some One at least*.] That there can be *But One*, is the thing proved afterwards in the *Seventh Proposition*.



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# The SECOND LETTER.

*Reverend Sir,*

“ I Have often thought that the *chief* Occa-  
 “ sions of Mens so much differing in their O-  
 “ pinions, were, either their not understanding  
 “ each other ; or else, that instead of ingenu-  
 “ ously searching after *Truth*, they have made  
 “ it their Business to find out Arguments for  
 “ the Proof of what they have once asserted.  
 “ However, it is certain there may be *other*  
 “ Reasons for Persons not agreeing in their  
 “ Opinions: And where it is so, I can’t but  
 “ think with you, that they will find reason  
 “ to suffer each other to *differ* friendly; every  
 “ Man having a way of Thinking, in some re-  
 “ spects, peculiarly his own.

“ I am sorry I must tell you, your Answers  
 “ to my Objections are not satisfactory. The  
 “ Reasons why I think them not so, are as fol-  
 “ lows.

“ You say ; ” *whatever is absolutely necessary at*  
*all, is absolutely necessary in every part of Space,*  
*and in every point of Duration.* “ Were this evi-  
 “ dent, ’twould certainly prove what you bring  
 “ it for ; ” *viz. that whatever may without a*  
*Contradiction be absent from one place at one*  
*time, may also be absent from all places at all*  
*times.* “ But I do not conceive, that the Idea  
 “ of Ubiquity is contained in the Idea of Self-Ex-  
 istence.



## The Second Letter.

13

“istence, or *directly* follows from it ; any other-  
“wise, than as, whatever exists, must exist  
“somewhere. You add; ” *Whatever can at any*  
“*time be conceived possibly to be absent from any one*  
“*part of Space, may for the same reason [viz. the*  
“*implying no Contradiction in the nature of things,]*  
“*be conceived possibly to be absent from every other*  
“*part of Space at the same time.* “ Now I cannot  
“see, that I can make these two Suppositions for  
“the same reason, or upon the same account.  
“The reason why I conceive this Being may  
“be absent from one place, is because it doth  
“not contradict the former Proof [drawn from  
“the nature of things,] in which I only proved  
“that it *must necessarily exist*. But the other  
“Supposition, viz. that I can conceive it  
“possible to be absent from every part of Space  
“at one and the same time, directly con-  
“tradicts the Proof that it *must exist*  
“**SOMEWHERE** ; and so is an Ex-  
“press Contradiction. Unless it be said, that  
“as when we have proved the three Angles  
“of a Triangle equal to two Right ones, That  
“relation of equality to two Right ones, will  
“be *where-ever* a Triangle exists ; so, when  
“we have proved the necessary Existence of a  
“Being, this Being must exist *Every where*.  
“But there is a great difference between these  
“two: The one being the Proof of a certain  
“relation, upon Supposition of such a Being’s  
“Existence, with such particular Properties ;  
“and consequently where-ever this Being and  
“these Properties exist, this relation must  
“exist too : But from the Proof of the *necessa-*  
“*ry Existence* of a Being, ’tis no evident con-  
“sequence that it exists *Every where*. My u-  
“sing the Word *Demonstration*, instead of *Proof*  
“which leaves no room for doubt, was thro’ neg-  
“ligence,



## The Second Letter.

"ligence; For I never heard of strict demon-  
 "stration of Matter of Fact.

"In your Answer to my Second Difficulty, you  
 "say; "whatever is necessarily-existing, there is  
 "Need of its Existence in order to the supposal of the  
 "Existence of any other thing." All the Consequen-  
 "ces you draw from this Proposition, I see pro-  
 "ved demonstrably; and consequently, that the  
 "two Propositions I thought independent, are  
 "closely connected. But how, or upon what ac-  
 "count is there Need of the Existence of what-  
 "ever is necessarily-existing, in order to the  
 "Existence of any other thing? Is it as there  
 "is Need of Space and Duration, in order to the  
 "Existence of any thing; or is it needful only  
 "as the Cause of the Existence of all other  
 "things? If the former be said, as your In-  
 "stance seems to intimate: I answer; Space  
 "and Duration are very abstruse in their Na-  
 "tures, and I think can't properly be called  
 "Things, but are considered rather as Affections  
 "which belong, and in the order of our Thoughts  
 "are antecedently necessary, to the Existence of  
 "all Things: And I can no more conceive how  
 "a necessarily-existent Being can, on the same  
 "account, or in the same manner as Space and  
 "Duration are, be needful in order to the Ex-  
 "istence of any other Being; than I can con-  
 "ceive Extention attributed to a Thought: That  
 "Idea no more belonging to a Thing existing,  
 "than Extention belongs to Thought. But if the  
 "latter be said, that there is Need of the Exist-  
 "ence of whatever is a necessary Being, in or-  
 "der to the Existence of any other thing; on-  
 "ly as This necessary Being must be the Cause of  
 "the Existence of all other things: I think this  
 "is plainly begging the Question; For it sup-  
 "poses that there is no Other Being exists, but  
 "what



## *The Second Letter.*

15

“ *what is Caused, and so not necessary: And on*  
“ *what Other account, or in what Other manner*  
“ *than one of these two, there can be Need of*  
“ *the Existence of a necessary Being in order to*  
“ *the Existence of any thing else, I cannot*  
“ *conceive.*

“ *Thus, Sir, you see I entirely agree with*  
“ *you in all the Consequences you have drawn*  
“ *from your Suppositions, but cannot see the*  
“ *Truth of the Suppositions themselves.*

“ *I have aimed at nothing in my Stile, but*  
“ *only to be intelligible; being sensible that*  
“ *'tis very difficult (as you observe) to express*  
“ *ones self on these sorts of Subjects, especi-*  
“ *ally to one who is altogether unaccustomed*  
“ *to write upon them.*

“ *I have nothing at present more to add,*  
“ *but my sincerest Thanks for your Trouble*  
“ *in answering my Letter, and for your pro-*  
“ *fessed readiness to be acquainted with any*  
“ *other Difficulty that I may meet with in*  
“ *any of your Writings. I am willing to in-*  
“ *terpret this, as somewhat like a Promise of*  
“ *an Answer to what I have now written, if*  
“ *there be any thing in it which deserves one.*

*I am,*

*Reverend Sir,*

*Your most Obliged Humble Servant.*

Nov. 23,  
1713.



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The ANSWER

TO THE

## Second Letter.

S I R,

**I**T seems to *Me*, that the Reason why you do not apprehend *Ubiquity* to be necessarily connected with *Self-Existence*, is, because in the order of your Ideas, you *first* conceive a *Being*, (a *Finite Being*, suppose;) and *then* conceive *Self-existence* to be a *Property* of *That Being*; as the *Angles* are *Properties* of a *Triangle*, *When* a *Triangle* exists: Whereas, on the contrary, *Necessity of Existence*, not being a *Property* *Consequent* upon the Supposition of the Thing's existing, but *Antecedently* the *Cause* or *Ground* of *That Existence*; 'tis evident This *Necessity*, being not *limited* to any *Antecedent Subject*, as *Angles* are to a *Triangle*; but being itself *Original*, *Absolute*, and (in order of Nature) *antecedent* to *all Existence*; cannot but be *every where*, for the same Reason that it is *any where*. By applying this Reasoning to the Instance of *Space*; you will find that by Consequence it belongs truly to *That Substance*, whereof *Space* is a *Property*, as *Duration* also is. What you say about a *Necessary Being* existing *Some-where*, supposes it to be *Finite*; and being *Finite*, supposes some *Cause* with determined that such a *certain Quantity* of *That Being* should exist, neither more or less: And *That Cause*, must either be a *Voluntary Cause*; or  
else



*e'se such a necessary Cause, the Quantity of whose Power must be determined and limited by some Other Cause. But in original absolute Necessity, antecedent (in order of Nature) to the existence of any thing ; nothing of all This, can have place ; but the Necessity is, necessarily every where alike.*

Concerning the *Second Difficulty*, I answer, *That which exists necessarily, is Needful to the existence of any other thing ; Not considered Now as a Cause, (for That indeed is begging the Question,) but as a sine qua non ; in the Sense as Space is necessary to every thing, and nothing can possibly be conceived to exist, without thereby presupposing Space : Which therefore apprehend to be a Property of the Self-existent Substance ; and that, by being evidently necessary itself, it proves that the Substance, of which it is a Property, must also be necessary ; Necessary both in itself, and needful to the existence of any thing else whatsoever. Extension indeed does not belong to Thought, because Thought is not a Being ; But there is Need of Extension to the existence of every Being, to a Being which has or has not Thought, or any other Quality whatsoever.*

*I am, Sir,*

*Your real Friend and Servant.*

*London, Nov.*

*28. 1713.*

**The**



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# The THIRD LETTER.

Reverend Sir,

“ I Don’t very well understand your Meaning,  
 “ when you say that you think, *in the order*  
 “ of my Idea’s I first conceive a Being, (finite sup-  
 “ pose,) to exist, and then conceive Self-ex-  
 “ istence to be a Property of That Being. If you  
 “ mean, that I first suppose a finite Being to  
 “ exist I know not why; affirming necessity of  
 “ Existence, to be only a consequent of its Ex-  
 “ istence; and that, when I have supposed it Fi-  
 “ nite, I very safely conclude it is not Infinite;  
 “ I am utterly at a loss, upon what Expres-  
 “ sions in my Letter this Conjecture can be  
 “ founded. But if you mean, that I first  
 “ of all prove a Being to Exist from eternity,  
 “ and then, from the reasons of things, prove  
 “ that such a Being must be eternally Necessary;  
 “ I freely own it: Neither do I conceive it to  
 “ be irregular or absurd; for there is a great  
 “ difference between the order in which things  
 “ exist, and the order in which I prove to my  
 “ self that they exist. Neither do I think my  
 “ saying a necessary Being exists Somewhere,  
 “ supposes it to be finite; it only supposes that  
 “ this Being exists in Space, without determi-  
 “ ning whether here, or there, or every where.

“ To my second Objection, you say: That  
 “ which exists necessarily, is needful to the Exist-  
 “ ence.



## The Third Letter.

91

“ence of any other thing, as a *sine qua non*; in the  
“sense Space is necessary to every thing: Which  
“is proved (you say) by This Consideration, that  
“Space is a property of the Self-existent Substance;  
“and, being both Necessary in it self, and need-  
“ful to the Existence of every thing else, conse-  
“quently the Substance, of which it is a property,  
“must be so too. Space, I own, is in one Sense  
“a property of the Self-existent Substance;  
“but, in the same Sense, 'tis also a property  
“of all other Substances. The only difference  
“is in respect to the Quantity. And since e-  
“very part of Space, as well as the whole,  
“is necessary; every Substance consequently  
“must be Self-existent, because it hath this  
“Self-existent property. Which since you will  
“not admit for true; if it directly follows  
“from your Arguments, they cannot be con-  
“clusive.

“What you say under the *first* Head, proves  
“ (I think) to a very great probability, tho'  
“not to Me with the evidence of *Demonstra-*  
“*tion*: But your Arguments under the *second*,  
“I am not able to see the force of.

“I am so far from being pleased, that I can  
“form Objections to your Arguments; that,  
“beside the *Satisfaction* it would have given  
“me in my own Mind, I should have thought  
“it an *Honour* to have entred into your Rea-  
“sonings, and seen the force of them. I can-  
“not desire to trespass any more upon your  
“better employed Time; so shall only add  
“my hearty Thanks for your Trouble on my  
“account, and that I am with the greatest re-  
“spect,

Reverend Sir,

Dec. the 5th  
1713.

Your most Obliged Humble Servant.  
The



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The ANSWER

TO THE

## Third Letter.

S I R,

**T**Hough, when I turn my Thoughts every way, I fully persuade my self there is no defect in the *Argument it self*; yet in my *manner of Expression* I am satisfied there must be some want of clearness, when there remains any Difficulty to a Person of your Abilities and Sagacity. I did not *mean*, that your saying a necessary Being exists *Somewhere*, does necessarily suppose it to *be finite*; but that the *manner of Expression* is apt to excite in the Mind an Idea of a *Finite Being*, at the same time that you are thinking of a *Necessary Being*, without accurately attending to the *Nature of That Necessity* by which it exists. Necessity *absolute*, and *antecedent* (in order of Nature) to the Existence of Any Subject, has nothing to *limit* it; but, if it operates at all, (as it must needs do,) it must *operate* (if I may so speak,) *every where* and *at all times* alike. *Determination of a particular Quantity*, or particular *Time* or *Place* of Existence of any thing, cannot arise but from somewhat *external* to the thing itself. For Example: Why there should exist just such



such a small determinate Quantity of *Matter*, neither *more* nor *less*, interspersed in the immense Vacuities of Space; no reason can be given: Nor can there be any thing in Nature, which could have *determined* a thing so indifferent in it self, as is the *Measure of that Quantity*, but only the *Will* of an *Intelligent* and *free Agent*. To suppose *Matter*, or any Other Substance, *necessarily-existing* in a *Finite determinate Quantity*; in an Inch-cube, for instance; or in *Any* certain number of Cube-Inches, and *no more*; is exactly the same Absurdity, as supposing it to exist *Necessarily*, and yet for a *Finite Duration* only: Which every one sees to be a plain Contradiction. The Argument is likewise the same, in the Question about the Original of *Motion*. *Motion* cannot be *necessarily-existing*; because, it being manifest that *All Determinations* of *Motion* are *equally possible* in themselves, the Original *Determination* of the *Motion* of any particular Body *this way* rather than the *contrary way*, could not be *necessary in it self*, but was either caused by the *Will* of an *Intelligent* and *Free Agent*, or else was an *Effect* produced and determined without *Any Cause at all*; Which is an express Contradiction: As I have shown in my *Demonstration of the Being and Attributes of God*, pag. 24. [Edit. 4th.]

To the *Second Head* of Argument, I answer. *Space*, is a Property of the Self-existent Substance; but not of any other Substances. All Other Substances are *I N Space*, and are *penetrated by it*; but the Self-existent Substance is not *I N Space*, nor *penetrated by it*, but is it self (if I may so speak) the *Substratum* of *Space*, the *Ground* of the Existence of *Space* and *Duration it self*. Which [*Space and Duration*]



*The Answer to the Third Letter.*

ration] being evidently *necessary*, and yet  
 'Themselves not *Substances* but *Properties*; show  
 evidently that the *Substance*, without which  
 these *Properties* could not subsist, is itself  
*much more* (if that were possible) *Necessary*.  
 And as *Space* and *Duration* are *needful*, (i. e.  
*sine quâ non*,) to the Existence of *every thing*  
*else*; so consequently is the *Substance*, to which  
 'These *Properties* belong in that peculiar man-  
 ner which I before mentioned.

*I am, Sir,*

*Your Affectionate Friend*

*Decem. 10.*

*1713.*

*and Servant.*

THE



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# The FOURTH LETTER.

Reverend Sir,

“ **W**Hatever is the Occasion of my not  
“ seeing the Force of your Reasonings,  
“ I cannot impute it to (what you do) the want  
“ of *Clearness* in your Expression. I am too  
“ well acquainted with my self, to think my  
“ *not understanding* an Argument, a sufficient  
“ Reason to conclude that it's either impro-  
“ perly expressed, or not conclusive; un-  
“ less I can clearly *Show* the *Defect* of it. 'Tis  
“ with the greatest Satisfaction I must tell  
“ you, that the more I reflect on your *first* Ar-  
“ gument, the more I am convinced of the  
“ Truth of it; and it now seems to me alto-  
“ gether unreasonable to suppose *Absolute*  
“ *Necessity* can have any Relation to *one Part*  
“ of *Space* more than to *Another*; and if so,  
“ an *Absolutely-necessary Being* must exist *every*  
“ *where*.

“ I wish I was as well satisfied in respect to  
“ the other. You say; all *Substances*, except the  
“ *Self-existent one*, are *In Space*, and are penetra-  
“ ted by it. All Substances doubtless, whether  
“ Body or Spirit, exist *in Space*: But when I  
“ say that a *Spirit* exists *in Space*, were I put  
“ upon telling my meaning, I know not how  
“ I



## The Fourth Letter.

“ I could do it any other way than by say-  
 “ ing, such a particular quantity of Space  
 “ terminates the *Capacity of acting* in finite Spi-  
 “ rits *at one and the same time*; so that they can-  
 “ not act beyond that determined Quantity.  
 “ Not but that I think there is *somewhat* in the  
 “ manner of Existence of *Spirits* in respect of  
 “ Space, that *more directly answers* to the manner  
 “ of the Existence of *Body*; but *what That is*, or  
 “ of the *Manner of their existence*, I cannot  
 “ possibly form an Idea. And it seems (if  
 “ possible) much *more* difficult to determine  
 “ what relation the *Self-existent Being* hath to  
 “ Space. To say he exists *In Space*, after the  
 “ *same manner* that *other Substances* do, (some-  
 “ what like which I too rashly asserted in my  
 “ last,) perhaps would be placing the *Creator*  
 “ too much on a level with the *Creature*; or  
 “ however, it is not *plainly and evidently*  
 “ *true*: And to say the *Self-existent Substance*  
 “ is the *Substratum* of Space, in the *common*  
 “ *sense* of the Word, is scarce intelligible, or  
 “ at least is not evident. Now tho’ there may  
 “ be an hundred Relations *distinct* from *either*  
 “ of these; yet how we should come by *Ideas*  
 “ of them, I cannot conceive. We may  
 “ indeed have *Ideas to the Words*, and not al-  
 “ together depart from the *common sense* of  
 “ them, when we say the *Self-existent Substance*  
 “ is the *Substratum* of Space, or the *Ground* of  
 “ its existence: But I see no Reason to think  
 “ it *True*; because Space seems to me to be as  
 “ *absolutely Self-existent* as ’tis possible any thing  
 “ can be: So that, make what *other* Supposi-  
 “ tion you please, yet we cannot help sup-  
 “ posing *Immense Space*; because there must  
 “ be either an *Infinity of Being*, or (if you’ll  
 “ allow the Expression) an *Infinite Vacuity of*  
 “ *Being*.



" *Being.* Perhaps it may be objected to this,  
 " that tho' Space is really Necessary, yet the  
 " reason of its being Necessary, is its being a  
 " Property of the Self-existent Substance; and  
 " that It being so manifestly Necessary, and its  
 " dependence on the Self-existent Substance not so  
 " evident, we are ready to conclude it absolutely  
 " Self-existent, as well as necessary; and that  
 " this is the reason why the *Idea of Space*  
 " forces itself on our Minds antecedent to,  
 " and exclusive of, as (to the Ground of its  
 " existence) all other things. Now this, tho'  
 " it is really an *Objection*, yet is no direct *An-*  
 " *swer* to what I have said; because it *sup-*  
 " *poses* the only thing to be proved, viz. that  
 " the reason why Space is necessary, is its be-  
 " ing a Property of the Self-existent Substance.  
 " And supposing it not to be evident that Space  
 " is absolutely Self-existent, yet, while it is  
 " doubtful, we cannot argue as tho' the contra-  
 " ry were certain, and we were sure that Space  
 " was only a Property of the Self-existent  
 " Substance. But now, if Space be not abso-  
 " lutely Independent, I don't see what we can  
 " conclude is so: For 'tis manifestly Necessary  
 " *Itself*, as well as antecedently needful to the ex-  
 " istence of all other Things, not excepting (as  
 " I think) even the Self-existent Substance.

" All your Consequences I see follow de-  
 " monstrably from your Supposition; and  
 " were *That* evident, I believe it would serve  
 " to prove several other things as well as what  
 " you bring it for. Upon which account,  
 " I should be extremely pleased to see it proved  
 " by any one. For as I design the Search  
 " after Truth as the Business of my Life,  
 " I shall not be ashamed to learn from any  
 " Person;



*The Fourth Letter.*

“ Person; tho’ at the same time I can’t  
“ but be sensible, that Instruction from  
“ some Men, is like the Gift of a Prince,  
“ it reflects an Honour on the Person on whom  
“ it lays an Obligation.

*I am, Reverend Sir,*

*Your most Obliged Servant.*

Decem. the 16th,  
1713.

THE



# The ANSWER

TO THE

## Fourth Letter.

S I R,

**M**Y being out of Town most part of the Month of *January*, and some other accidental Avocations, hindred me from answering your Letter sooner. The Sum of the Difficulties it contains, is (I think) this: That 'tis difficult to determine, what Relation the Self-existent Substance has to Space: That to say It is the Substratum of Space, in the common Sense of the Word; is scarce intelligible, or, at least, is not evident: That Space seems to be as Absolutely Self-Existent, as 'tis possible any thing can be: And that its being a Property of the Self-Existent Substance; is supposing the thing that was to be Proved. This is entring indeed into the very bottom of the matter, and I will endeavour to give you as brief and clear an Answer as I can.

That the Self-Existent Substance is the Substratum of Space, or Space a Property of the Self-Existent Substance, are not perhaps very proper Expressions; nor is it easy to find such. But what I mean, is This. The Idea of Space, (as also of Time or Duration,) is an Abstract or Partial Idea; An Idea of a certain Quality or Relation, which we evidently see to be necessarily



*The Answer to the Fourth Letter.*

*rily-existing*; and yet which (not being itself a *Substance*;) at the same time necessarily *presupposes* a *Substance*, without which it could not exist; Which *Substance* consequently, must be itself (much more, if possible,) *necessarily-Existing*. I know not how to explain this so well, as by the following Similitude. A *Blind* Man, when he tries to frame to himself the *Idea* of *Body*, his *Idea* is nothing but that of *Hardness*. A Man that had *Eyes*, but no power of *Motion*, or sense of *Feeling* at all; when he tried to frame to himself the *Idea* of *Body*, his *Idea* would be nothing but that of *Colour*. Now as, in these cases, *Hardness* is not *Body*; and *Colour*, is not *Body*; but yet, to the Understanding of these Persons, those Properties necessarily *infer* the Being of a *Substance*, of which *Substance* itself the Persons have no *Idea*: So *Space* to *Us*, is not itself *Substance*, but it necessarily *infers* the Being of a *Substance*, which affects none of our *present* Senses; And being itself *Necessary*, it follows that the *Substance* which it *infers*, is (much more) *Necessary*.

I am, Sir,

Your affectionate Friend

Jan. 29.  
1713.

and Servant.

THE



# The FIFTH. LETTER.

Reverend Sir,

“ YOU have very comprehensively ex-  
 “ pressed in six or seven Lines, all the  
 “ Difficulties of my Letter; which I should  
 “ have endeavoured to have made Shorter,  
 “ had I not been afraid an improper Expression  
 “ might possibly occasion a mistake of my  
 “ Meaning. I am very glad, the Debate is come  
 “ into so narrow a Compass; For I think  
 “ now it entirely turns upon This, whether  
 “ our *Ideas* of *Space* and *Duration* are *partial*,  
 “ so as to *presuppose* the existence of some  
 “ other Thing. Your Similitude of the Blind  
 “ Man, is very *apt*, to explain your Meaning,  
 “ (which I think I fully understand;) but  
 “ do’s not seem to come entirely up to the  
 “ Matter. For, what is the reason that the  
 “ Blind Man concludes there must be *Some-*  
 “ *what external*, to give him the Idea of *Hard-*  
 “ *ness*? ’Tis because he supposes it impossible  
 “ for him to be thus affected, unless there  
 “ were some Cause of it; which Cause, should  
 “ it be removed, the Effect would immediately  
 “ cease too, and he would no more have the I-  
 “ dea of *Hardness*, but by Remembrance.  
 “ Now to apply this, to the Instance of *Space*  
 “ and *Duration*. Since a Man, from his having  
 “ these *Ideas*, very justly concludes that there  
 “ must be *somewhat External*, which is the



*The Answer to the Fourth Letter.*

*rily-existing*; and yet which (not being itself a *Substance*;) at the same time necessarily *presupposes* a *Substance*, without which it could not exist; Which *Substance* consequently, must be itself (much more, if possible,) *necessarily-Existing*. I know not how to explain this so well, as by the following Similitude. A *Blind* Man, when he tries to frame to himself the *Idea* of *Body*, his *Idea* is nothing but that of *Hardness*. A Man that had *Eyes*, but no power of *Motion*, or sense of *Feeling* at all; when he tried to frame to himself the *Idea* of *Body*, his *Idea* would be nothing but that of *Colour*. Now as, in these cases, *Hardness* is not *Body*; and *Colour*, is not *Body*; but yet, to the Understanding of these Persons, those Properties necessarily *infer* the Being of a *Substance*, of which *Substance* itself the Persons have no *Idea*: So *Space* to *Us*, is not itself *Substance*, but it necessarily *infers* the Being of a *Substance*, which affects none of our *present* Senses; And being *itself Necessary*, it follows that the *Substance* which it *infers*, is (much more) *Necessary*.

I am, Sir,

Your affectionate Friend

Jan. 29.

1713.

and Servant.

THE



# The FIFTH. LETTER.

Reverend Sir,

“ YOU have very comprehensively ex-  
 “ pressed in six or seven Lines, all the  
 “ Difficulties of my Letter; which I should  
 “ have endeavoured to have made Shorter,  
 “ had I not been afraid an improper Expression  
 “ might possibly occasion a mistake of my  
 “ Meaning. I am very glad, the Debate is come  
 “ into so narrow a Compass; For I think  
 “ now it entirely turns upon This, whether  
 “ our *Ideas* of *Space* and *Duration* are *partial*,  
 “ so as to *presuppose* the existence of some  
 “ other Thing. Your Similitude of the Blind  
 “ Man, is very *apt*, to explain your Meaning,  
 “ (which I think I fully understand;) but  
 “ do’s not seem to come entirely up to the  
 “ Matter. For, what is the reason that the  
 “ Blind Man concludes there must be *Some-*  
 “ *what external*, to give him the Idea of *Hard-*  
 “ *ness*? ’Tis because he supposes it impossible  
 “ for him to be thus affected, unless there  
 “ were some Cause of it; which Cause, should  
 “ it be removed, the Effect would immediately  
 “ cease too, and he would no more have the I-  
 “ dea of *Hardness*, but by Remembrance.  
 “ Now to apply this, to the Instance of *Space*  
 “ and *Duration*. Since a Man, from his having  
 “ these *Ideas*, very justly concludes that there  
 “ must be *somewhat External*, which is the



## The Fifth Letter.

“ Cause of them; consequently, should This  
 “ Cause (whatever it is) be taken away,  
 “ his Ideas would be so too: Therefore, if  
 “ *what is supposed to be the Cause* be removed,  
 “ and yet the *Idea* remains, *That Supposed*  
 “ *Cause* cannot be the *Real one*. Now, grant-  
 “ ing the Self-Existent Substance to be the  
 “ *Substratum* of these Ideas; could we make  
 “ the *Supposition* of its *ceasing to be*, yet Space  
 “ and Duration would still remain *unaltered*:  
 “ Which seems to show, that the Self-Exist-  
 “ ent Substance is not the *Substratum* of Space  
 “ and Duration. Nor would it be an Answer to  
 “ the Difficulty, to say that *every Property* of  
 “ the Self-Existent Substance, is *as necessary*  
 “ as the Substance itself; since That will on-  
 “ ly hold, *While the Substance itself exists*: For  
 “ there’s implied in the Idea of a *Property*, an  
 “ impossibility of subsisting without it’s *Sub-*  
 “ *stratum*. I grant, the *Supposition* is *absurd*:  
 “ But *how otherwise* can we know whether  
 “ any thing be a *Property* of such a Substance,  
 “ but by examining whether it would *cease to*  
 “ *be*, if its supposed Substance should do so?  
 “ Notwithstanding what I have now said, I  
 “ cannot say that I believe your Argument  
 “ *not conclusive*; for I must own my Ignorance,  
 “ that I am really at a loss about the nature  
 “ of Space and Duration. But did it plainly  
 “ appear that they were *Properties* of a *Sub-*  
 “ *stance*, we should have an *easy* way with the  
 “ Atheists: For it would at once prove de-  
 “ monstrably an *Eternal, Necessary, Self-existent*  
 “ *Being*; that there is *but One* such; and that  
 “ he is *needful* in order to the existence of all  
 “ other Things. Which makes me think, that  
 “ tho’ it may be *true*, yet ’tis not *obvious* to  
 “ every Capacity: Otherwise ’twould have  
 “ been



## The Fifth Letter.

31

“ been generally used, as a fundamental Ar-  
“ gument for a proof of the Being of God.  
“ I must add one thing more ; that your Ar-  
“ gument for the *Omnipresency* of God, seemed  
“ *always* to me *very probable*. But being very  
“ desirous to have it appear *demonstratively*  
“ *conclusive*, I was sometimes forced to say  
“ what was *not altogether my Opinion* : Not  
“ that I did this for the sake of *disputing*,  
“ (for besides the particular disagreeableness  
“ of this to my own Temper, I should surely  
“ have chosen another person to have trifled  
“ with ;) but I did it to set off the Objection  
“ to Advantage, that it might be more fully  
“ answered. I heartily wish you as *fair Treat-*  
“ *ment* from your Opponents in Print, as I  
“ have had from you : Tho', I must own, I  
“ cannot see, in those that I have read, That  
“ unprejudiced Search after Truth, which I  
“ would have hoped for.

*I am, Reverend Sir,*

*Your most Humble Servant.*

Feb. 3.  
1713.

C 4

The



## The ANSWER

TO THE

*Fifth Letter.*

S I R,

**I**N a multitude of Business, I mislaid your last Letter; and could not answer it, till it came again to my Hands by Chance. We seem to have pushed the Matter in question between us, as far as it will go; and upon the whole, I cannot but take notice, I have very seldom met with Persons so reasonable and unprejudiced as your self, in such Debates as these.

I think, all I need say in Answer to the Reasoning in your Letter, is; that your granting the *Absurdity* of the *Supposition* you were endeavouring to make, is consequently granting the *necessary Truth* of my *Argument*. If

\* Ut partium *Temporis* ordo est immutabilis, sic etiam Ordo partium *Spatii*. Moveantur hæ de locis suis, & movebuntur (ut ita dicam) de seipsis. NEWTON. Princip. Mathemat. Schol. ad Definit. 8.

† Deus non est *Æternitas* vel *Infinitas*, sed *æternus* & *infinitus*; non est *Duratio* vel *spatium*, sed *Durat* & *Adest*. *Durat semper*, & *Adest ubique*; & *existendo*

\* *Space* and *Duration* necessarily remain, even after they are supposed to be taken away; and be not (as 'tis plain they are not) *Themselves Substances*; then the † *Substance*, on whose Existence they depend, will necessarily remain likewise, even after it is supposed to be taken away: Which shows it to be an impossible and contradictory *Supposition*.

As



As to your Observation at the End of your Letter; that the Argument I have insisted on, if it were obvious to every Capacity, should have more frequently been used as a Fundamental Argument for a Proof of the Being of God: The *True Cause* why it has been seldom urged, is, I think, This: That the Universal Prevalency of Cartes's absurd Notions, (teaching that *Matter* is necessarily Infinite and necessarily Eternal, and ascribing all things to mere *Mechanick* Laws of Motion, exclusive of final Causes, and of all Will and Intelligence and Divine Providence from the Government of the World;) hath incredibly blinded the Eyes of Common Reason, and prevented Men from discerning Him in whom they live and move and have their Being. The like has happened in some Other Instances. How universally have Men for many Ages believed, that *Eternity* is no Duration at all, and *Infinity* no Amplitude? Something of the like kind has happened in the matter of *Transubstantiation*, and (I think) in the Scholastick Notion of the *Trinity* &c.

semper & ubique, *Duratio-*  
*nem* & *Spatium*, æternitatem  
& infinitatem, *constituit*. Cum  
unaquæq; *Spatii* particula,  
sit *Semper*; & unumquodq;  
*Durationis* indivisibile mo-  
mentum, *Ubique*; certe re-  
rum omnium Fabricator ac  
Dominus, non erit *Nunquam*  
*Nusquam*. Omnipresens est,  
non per *Virtutem* solam, sed  
etiam per *substantiam*: nam  
*virtus* sine *substantiâ* subsis-  
tere non potest. In ipso  
continentur & moventur *Uni-*  
*versa*, &c. NEWTON.  
*Princip. Mathemat. Schol.*  
*general. sub finem.*

|| Puto implicare *contradicti-*  
*onem*, ut *Mundus* [meaning  
the *Material World*] sit *Fini-*  
*tus*. Cartes. *Epist. 69. Par-*  
*tis primæ.*

I am, Sir,

Your Affectionate Friend and Servant.

Apr. 8.

1713.

THE



Part of a

# LETTER

Writ to *Another Gentleman*,  
who had propoed several  
of the same Objections with  
the foregoing.

S I R,

YOU will give me Leave, without any Preface or Apology, to propose directly the best *Answer* I can, to the Objections you have offered.

There are but *Two* ways, by which the Being, and *All* or *Any* of the *Attributes* of God can possibly be proved. The one, *a priori*; the other, *a posteriori*. The Proof *a posteriori*, † is level to *All* Mens Capacities: Because there is an endless gradation of wise and useful phænomena of Nature, from the most obvious to the most abstruse; which afford (at least a moral and reasonable) Proof of the Being of God, to the several Capacities of *All* unprejudiced Men, who have any Probity of Mind. And this is what (I suppose) God expects (as a Moral Governour,) that *Moral Agents* should be determined by.  
† Rom. 1, 20; The invisible things of Him from the Creation of the World are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made; even his Eternal Power and Godhead.

The



The Proof *a priori*, is (I fully believe) strictly *demonstrative*; but (like numberless *Mathematical Demonstrations*;) capable of being understood by only a few *attentive Minds*; because 'tis of *Use*, only against *Learned and Metaphysical Difficulties*. And therefore it must never be expected, that this should be made obvious to the *Generality* of Men, any more than *Astronomy* or *Mathematicks* can be.

This being premised in general, I proceed to the Particulars.

Concerning the Notion of *Self-existence*, I explain my self Thus. Of every thing that *Is*, there is a *Reason* which Now does, or Once or Always did, *determine* the *Existence* rather than the *Non-existence* of That Thing. Of That, which derives not its Being from Any Other thing, this *Reason* or *Ground* of Existence, (whether we can attain to any *Idea* of it, or no,) *must* be *In* the Thing itself. For though the bare proof by Ratiocination, that *there cannot but exist such a Being*; does *not* indeed give us any distinct *Notion* of Self-existence, but only shews the *Certainty* of the thing: Yet when once a thing is known, by reasoning *a posteriori*, to be *Certain*; it *unavoidably follows* that there *Is in Nature* a Reason *a priori*, (whether we can discover it or no,) of the Existence of That which we know cannot but exist. Since therefore, in That which derives not its Being from any Other Thing, the *Ground* or *Reason why* it *exists* rather than *not exists*, must be in the thing it self; and 'tis a plain Contradiction to suppose its own *Will*, by way of *efficient Cause*, to be the reason of its Existence; it remains that *absolute Necessity* (the same Necessity that is the Cause of the un-



unalterable *Proportion* between 2 and 4,) be by way of *Formal Cause*, the *Ground* of That Existence. And this Necessity, is indeed *antecedent*, though not in *Time*, yet in the *Order of Nature*, to the Existence of the Being itself: Whereas on the contrary, its own *Will*, is, in the *Order of Nature*, *subsequent* to the Supposition of the Existence of the Being; and therefore cannot be the *formal Cause* of that Existence.

Nothing can be more *absurd*, than to suppose that any thing (or any Circumstance of any thing) *is*; and yet that there be absolutely *no reason Why* it is, rather than *not*. 'Tis easy to conceive, that *We* may indeed be utterly ignorant of the *reasons*, or *grounds*, or *causes* of many things. But, that any thing *is*, and that there is a *real reason* in nature *why* it is, rather than *is not*; these two are as necessarily and essentially connected, as any two *Correlates* whatever, as *Height* and *Depth*, &c.

The Scholastick way of proving the Existence of the Self-existent Being, from the *absolute perfection* of his Nature; is ὁσπερ ἀπὸ τέλει. For *All* or *Any Perfections*, *præsuppose* Existence; Which is *Petitio Principii*. But *bare Necessity* of Existence, does not *præsuppose*, but *infer*, Existence. That which exists by *absolute Necessity* of Nature, will always (whether you will or no) be *supposed* or *included* in any possible Idea of Things, even where you never so expressly *indeavour* to *exclude* it: Just as the *Proportion* between 2 and 4, remains *included* in the very Terms, wherein any Man would *indeavour* expressly to *deny* it.

To *exist at all*, and to *exist every where*, are the very same thing, where the Cause or  
Ground



*Ground* of the Existence, is not either *confined* to, or *operates on y in*, some *particular Place*. For 2 and 4 to have *at all* a certain proportion to each other, and to have That same Proportion *every where*; is the very same thing. And the like is true, of every thing that is *necessary in itself*. To suppose (as you suggest) that the Self-existent may be *limited* by its *own Nature*; is *presupposing* a *Nature*, or *limiting Quality*: Whereas in this case, here must nothing be *presupposed*; *no Nature*, *no Quality* whatsoever, but what *arises* (and consequently *everywhere alike*) from a *Necessity absolute in itself*, and antecedent (in the Order of our Ideas) to any *Nature, Place, Quality, Time* or *Thing* whatsoever.

When I say, that *Necessity absolutely such in itself, has no relation to Time or Place*: My meaning is, that it has no relation to, or dependence upon, any *particular Time or Place*, or *any thing in any particular Time or Place*; but that it is the same in *All Time* and in *All Place*. What you mean by *Time* and *Place* being *finite*, I understand not. The Schoolmens Notion of *Time's* depending on the *Motions* or *Existence* of the Material World, is as *Senseless*, as the supposing it to depend on the *turning* or *not turning* of an *Hour-glass*. The same also is true of *Place*.

Infinite *Space*, is infinite *Extension*: and *Eternity*, is infinite *Duration*. They are the Two first and most obvious and simple Ideas, that every Man has in his mind. *Time* and *Place*, are the *sine qua non* of all other things, and of all other *Idea's*. To suppose Either of them *Finite*, is an express *Contradiction* in the Idea itself. No Man *does* or *can* possibly *imagine* Either of them to be *finite*; but only, either  
by



by *non-attention*, or by *choice*, he attends perhaps to *Part* of his *Idea*, and *forbears attending* to the remainder. All the Difficulty that has ever arisen about this matter, is nothing but *Dust* thrown by mens using *Words* (or rather *Sounds only*) in their Philosophy, instead of *Ideas*. And the Arguments drawn from the *Fargon* of the Schoolmen. will equally prove every *Axiom* in *Euclid*, to be *uncertain* and *intelligible*.

They who remove the *Idea* of *Infinity*, (or of a *Being* whose Attribute *Infinity* is,) by supposing *Space* to be nothing but a *relation between two Bodies*; are guilty of the *Absurdity* of supposing That, which is *Nothing*, to have *real Qualities*. For the *Space* which is between *two Bodies*, is always unalterably just what it was; and has the very same *Dimensions*, *Quantity*, and *Figure*; whether *These* or any other *Bodies* be *there*, or *any where else*, or *not at all*:

Just as *Time* or *Duration* is the same, whether you turn your *Hour-Glass*, or no; or whether the *Sun* moves, or stands still; or whether there was, or was not *Any Sun* or any *Material World* at all.

\* Eadem est Duratio seu perseverantia Existentiæ rerum; five Motus sint celeres, five tardi, five nulli. NEWTON. Princip. Mathem. Schol. ad Definit. 8.

The Schoolmens Distinctions, about *Spirits* existing in *Ubi*, and not in *loco*; are mere empty *Sounds*, without any manner of *signification*.

To set *Bounds* to *Space*, is to suppose it bounded by something which itself takes up *Space*; And That's a *Contradiction*: Or else that 'tis bounded by *Nothing*; and then the *Idea* of *That Nothing*, will still be *Space*: Which is another *Contradiction*. Beings which exist in *Time* and in *Space*, (as every finite thing must needs do,) presuppose *Time* and *Space*: But *That Being*



ing, whose Existence makes Duration and Space, must be infinite and eternal, because Duration and Space can have no Bounds. Not, that Duration and Space are the Formal Cause of That Existence; but, that necessary Attributes do necessarily and inseparably infer, or show to us, a Necessary Substance; of which Substance itself we have no Image, because 'tis the Object of none of our Senses: But we perceive its Existence by its Effects; and the Necessity of that Existence, by the Necessity of certain Attributes, and by other Arguments of Reason and Inference. To suppose Space removed, destroyed, or taken away; amounts to the absurd Supposition of removing a thing away from itself. That is: If in your imagination you annihilate the Whole of Infinite Space, the Whole Infinite Space will still remain; and if you annihilate any Part of it, That Part will still necessarily remain; as appears by the unmoved situation, of the Rest. And to suppose it divided or Divisible, amounts to the same Contradiction.

The Objection, of Immensity being inconsistent with Spirituality and Simplicity; arises merely from the Jargon of the Schoolmen: Who (in order to help out Transubstantiation) have used themselves to speak of This and of many Other things, in Phrases which had no Meaning or Ideas belonging to them. By denying the real Immensity and the real Eternal Duration of God, they in true Consequence (though 'tis reasonable to suppose they saw not That Consequence,) denied his Being. The Immensity of Space, (it being throughout absolutely uniform and essentially indivisible,) is no more inconsistent with Simplicity; than the uniform successive flowing of the Parts of Duration,



*ration*, (as you most rightly observe,) are inconsistent with *Simplicity*. There is no Difficulty at all in This Point, but a mere *Prejudice*, and *False Notion* of *Simplicity*.

As to *Spirituality*: The Individual Consciousness of the One Immense Being, is as truly *One*; as the present Moment of Time is *individually One*, in all places at once: And the One can no more properly be said to be an *Ell* or a *Mile* of *Consciousness*, (which is the Sum of your Objection,) than the Other can be said to be an *Ell* or a *Mile* of *Time*. This Suggestion, seems to deserve *particular* consideration.

To the Objection, that the supposing God to be really and *substantially* Omnipresent, is supposing him to be the *Soul of the World*: I answer; This is a great Mistake. For the Word, *Soul*, signifies a *Part* of a *Whole*, whereof *Body* is the *Other Part*; And they, being united, *mutually affect* each other, as *Parts* of the same *Whole*. But God is present to every part of the Universe, not as a *Soul*, but as a *Governour*; so as to *act upon* every thing, in what manner he pleases; himself *being acted upon* by Nothing.

What you suggest about *Space* having *no Parts*, because 'tis *Infinite*; is a mere *Quibble* indeed, and has nothing in it. The meaning of *Parts*, (in Questions of This Nature,) is, *separable, compounded, un-united Parts*, such as are the *Parts of Matter*: Which, for That reason, is always a *Compound*, not a *simple Substance*. Nor *Matter* is *One Substance*, but a *Heap of Substances*. And That I take to be the Reason, why *Matter* is a Subject *incapable of Thought*. Not because 'tis *extended*; but because it's *Parts are distinct Substances, un-united, and independent on each other*. Which (I suppose) is not the Case of *Other Substances*. The  
Kinds



## the Sixth Letter.

41

*Kinds of Substance* may perhaps be *more* and *more different* from each other, than we (at present,) for want of *more Senses*, are aware of. *Matter and Spirit*, is no other Division, than *Matter and not-Matter*: Just as if one should divide the Species of Animals, into *Horses* and *not-Horses*.

As to the Question, why *absolute Necessity* will not admit of the Existence of *Two distinct Independent Beings*, as well as of *different Attributes and Properties in One Independent Being*: I answer; *Absolute Necessity*, in which there is no where any *Variation*, cannot be the *Ground of Existence* of a *Number of Finite Beings*, however agreeing and harmonious; because That (viz. *Number*, or *Finiteness*), is itself a manifest *Difformity* or *Inequality*. But it may be the *Ground of Existence* of *One Uniform infinite Being*. The *different Attributes* of which *One Uniform Being*, are not a *Variety of Parts*, or an *un-Uniformness* (if I may so speak) of the *Necessity* by which it exists; but they are *All* and *Each* of them *Attributes* of the *Whole*, *Attributes* of the *One simple infinite Being*: Just as the *Powers of Hearing and Seeing*, are not *Inequalities* or *Difformities* in the *Soul of Man*; but each of them, *Powers* of the *Whole Soul*.

As to the *Last Argument* you refer to: My Meaning therein is This; that 'tis a Contradiction to suppose *Two* (or more) *necessarily-existing Beings*; because *Each* of them, by the *Supposition*, being independent, and *sufficient* to itself, tho' the *Other* were supposed *not to exist*; they thereby *Each* of them *mutually destroy* the *supposed necessity* of the *Others Existence*; and consequently *Neither* of them indeed will be *necessary* or *Independent*. For instance: If *Matter*, or *Spirit*, or any *Other Substance*,

D

stance,



## The Answer to the Sixth Letter.

stance, could as possibly be conceived to exist without *That in which they all exist*, as *That in which they all exist* can be conceived to exist without *Them*; then there would be necessary-*Existence on Neither part.*

As to the Question concerning the possible *Plurality of Infinites*: 'Tis certainly true that the Infinity of Space, neither excludes *finite Bodies* nor *finite Spirits*, nor *infinite Body* nor *infinite Spirit*. But it excludes every thing of the *same Kind*, whether *finite* or *infinite*. Which is all that my Argument requires. There can be but *One Infinite Space*, and but *One Infinite Time*, and but *One Infinite Spirit*, (taking *Spirit* to mean a particular *positive distinct Substance*, and not the mere negative *non-matter*, of which there may be innumerable *Kinds*;) And (if *Matter* could be infinite) there could likewise be but *One infinite Body*; and so on. For *One Infinite* in all dimensions, exhausts always the whole possibility of *That Kind*, though it excludes not Others.

The *Ubi* of *Spirits*, being their *Perception* only; and the *Omnipresence* of God, being his *infinite Knowledge* only; are mere Words, without any *Sense* at all. And by the like Confusion, any thing may be said to be any thing; and we have in us no Principles of Knowledge at all, nor any Use either of Words or Ideas.

I am, Sir,

Your assured Friend

and Servant, &c.

F I N I S.



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A Declaration of TRUTH  
TO

*Benjamin Hoadly.*

**B**E it known unto thee, Friend *Benjamin*, that albeit we, who are the People of the Lord, own thee not in thy proud Titles, neither in thy Office, as thou exercise the same ; neither can we treat thee with that Distinction wherewith Men distinguish thee, forasmuch as we do not acknowledge the same (as thou dost) to be of God : Nevertheless I shall treat thee respectfully in this thing, whereof I am now to commune with thee, seeing thou hast uttered much Truth with thy Mouth, and therefore hast moved much Wrath of wicked Men against thee.

And would'st thou, *Benjamin*, faithfully pursue the Light which I perceive is in thee, and which shineth abroad far and nigh ; I say, would'st thou act according to the Light which I plainly see is in thee, thou should'st have Praise ; for thou hast verily *done worthily*, in that thou hast restored the Kingdom



dom to them to whom it solely appertaineth, and hast dethroned the Usurpations of wicked Men, who have unrighteously set themselves up in the Throne of Jesus.

Verily, *Benjamin*, thou hast done worthily, in that thou hast appeared for the Cause of our God against the Unrighteousness of Men; and hast not been afraid, neither discouraged, when they have risen up against thee with great Wrath: And I am sent unto thee to declare in words of Seriousness, that thou should'st not faint, neither be dismay'd, for that many of the Faithful Servants of God are with thee in this thing, and do say unto thee *God speed*, which thou knowest we are forbidden to say unto the ungodly, and unto Men who are not led in the right way.

Having thus given my Testimony to thy good Works, I communicated my Intentions to Friends: Among these, *Aminadab*, a righteous Man, fearing not the Face of Men, but fearing God only, *saith unto thee*, that his Heart is likewise with thee in the thing which thou hast said; *to wit*, That the Power of Men, or the Laws of Men, have no Authority to interfere with, or to join their Power with the Right Hand of Jesus, who allows no Partners in the Throne of his Glorious Kingdom on Earth, any more than he will admit Partners in the Throne of his  
Glorify'd



Glorify'd Kingdom in Heaven. Moreover, he hath sent Messengers unto me, saying, Speak thou *Ebenezer* in the Ears of *Benjamin Hoadly*, and say unto him, Fear not the Face of Men, tho' many rise up against thee, saying, Thou lyest, thou lyest; for verily thou lyest not *Benjamin*, but hast spoken the Truth, and it shall prevail.

*Aaron*, a Man filled with Knowledge, and a Teacher of Wisdom, sent also unto me, saying, *Ebenezer*, the things which *Aminadab* our Friend hath communicated unto thee concerning *Benjamin Hoadly*, are things which favour of Truth; and thou wilt do well to speak unto the said *Benjamin*, saying, Fear not *Benjamin*, for wise Men are with thee, and good Men are with thee; and verily they be better Men, and more in number, that are with thee than those that be against thee.

I might name unto thee many Friends, endowed with Wisdom and Knowledge, who speak well of thee, for that thou hast spoken the Truth with great boldness, and hast not feared to utter it, even in the hearing of the King, and we may not doubt but that our Lord the King will be thy strong Helper against all thine Enemies, and will assist thee to silence the Gain-sayers of thy Doctrine; for verily, the King is an unfeigned Friend unto the Truth, and would be willing that  
all



all Men should walk in the path to Heaven, howbeit he may not be inlightned equal to our Friends, which nevertheless we hope he may hereafter be, if God seeth it good to bring his Heart over unto us.

And albeit Friend *Benjamin*, thou art not yet joined unto the faithful Servants of God our Friends, but that thou for a little while remainest, as to some things, in the Darkness of the World ; yet forasmuch as thou joinest with us in the Truth, we embrace thee willingly, nothing doubting but that the Heavenly Light which has shone out in thy Word, will hereafter shine in thy Heart, and thou wilt come over more perfectly unto us Friends, who are already established in the Truth.

And I am the farther confirm'd in the truth hereof, in that thou hast so boldly acknowledged the Truths of God, being the same professed by us, and for the sake whereof we are inclin'd to think well of thee ; and seeing I have informed thee that thou hast so exactly taught what we in Principle believe, and closely adhere to in Practice, I shall let thee know, *Benjamin*, how exactly thou agreeest with us who have received the Truth, and that we hold and believe all the Truths that thou hast taught, and that also even in the same words in which thou hast declared them, or but with small variation thereof,



thereof, as thou wilt farther be informed, when thou shalt read the following Heads, which are a part of the Principles of Truth, or of those things about Doctrine, which we Friends do most surely believe and receive; to wit,

Concerning Religion, we believe, that it is only the Spirit of the Lord that makes Men truly Religious; and no Man ought to be compelled to or from any exercise or practice in Religion, by any outward Law or Power, but every Man ought to be left free, as the Lord shall perswade his own mind, in doing, or leaving undone this or the other practice in Religion; and every Man of what Profession in Religion soever, ought to be protected in Peace; provided himself be a Man of Peace, not seeking the wrong of any Man's Person or Estate.

And we believe, That to reprove false Opinions and unsound Doctrines and Principles seeking to convince them that oppose themselves, by Exhortation or sharp Reproof, by word or writing, ought not to be counted a breach of the Peace; or to strive about the things of the Kingdom of God, by Men of contrary Minds or Judgments, this ought not to be punished by the Magistrates and their Laws: for we believe that the outward Laws and Powers of the Earth are only to preserve Mens Persons and Estates, and not to preserve Men in Opinions: neither ought the Laws of the Nation to be laid upon Mens

Cor-



*Consciences, to bind them to or from such a Judgment or Practice in Religion.*

*And we believe, That Christ is, and ought only to be Lord and Exerciser of Mens Consciences, and his Spirit must only lead into all Truth.*

*And we believe, That Obedience and Subjection in the Lord belongs to Superiors, and that Subjects ought to obey them [in the Lord] that have rule over them: and that Children ought to obey their Parents, and Wives their Husbands, and Servants their Masters in all things, which is according to God, which stand in the exercise of a pure Conscience towards God: But where Rulers, Parents or Masters, or any other, command or require Subjection in any thing which is contrary to God, or not according to him, in such cases all People are free, and ought to obey God rather than Man; and we believe, that herein God will justifie them, being guided and led by his Spirit in all that which is good, and out of all that which is evil.*

*Herein, Friend Benjamin, thou mayest see, as in a Vision of clear Light, that thou art in the same way of Truth with us, and I have Freedom to own thee therein; for verily thou hast clearly testified unto the Truth which we believe, in that thou hast likewise said, even in our Words, That every Man ought to be left free as the Lord shall perswade his own Mind.*

Now



Now *Benjamin* let it not seem strange unto thee, that I say unto thee, that these are our own Words ; for I speak therein with Truth and Soberness, referring thee for Testimony thereof unto a little Book published more than Forty and Five Years since, by a Body of our Friends, and Signed by *John Crook*, a Man endowed with a Spirit of a sound Mind, and also by three other Ancients, who were likewise Men of true Wisdom. This Book is Entituled, *Truth's Principles*, &c. in which Book the Words which I have written unto thee above, are to be found.

Searching likewise thy Book, *Benjamin*, which thou hast made Publick, by the Command of the King, I find these Words, which I hope thou hast learned from our Friends above written ; to wit, That the Language of the Word is, *That knowing the Terrors of the Lord, we should perswade Men* ; but that the Language of the Mens Conduct, who profess to succeed Him that Taught the other, is, That having the Terrors of this World in their power, they do not perswade Men, but *force their outward Profession against their inward Perswasion*.

Verily thou hast spoken, *Benjamin*, as one having the Light of the Spirit ; and this is a Truth which the Men of the World cannot be able to resist. Verily, Friend *Benjamin*, we agree with thee, that the Kingdom of



Jesus is not of this World, and that the Laws of his Kingdom likewise, and the Rewards and Punishments of those Laws, are suited to the end of those Laws, and to the Nature of his Kingdom: Nay, *Benjamin*, I will use thy Words as thou hast used the Words of wise Men, who went before thee ; to wit,  
 “ The *Laws* of this *Kingdom*, therefore, as  
 “ *Christ* left them, have nothing of *this*  
 “ World in their view ; no Tendency, either  
 “ to the Exaltation of *Some*, in worldly  
 “ Pomp and Dignity ; or to their absolute  
 “ Dominion over the Faith and Religious  
 “ conduct of *Others* of his Subjects ; or to  
 “ the erecting of any sort of *Temporal King-*  
 “ *dom*, under the Covert or Name of a *Spi-*  
 “ *ritual* One.

“ The *Sanctions* of *Christ's Law* are *Re-*  
 “ *wards* and *Punishments*. But of what  
 “ sort ? Not the Rewards of this World ;  
 “ not the Offices, or Glories, of this State ;  
 “ not the Pains of *Prisons*, *Banishments*,  
 “ *Fines*, or any lesser and more *moderate Pe-*  
 “ *nalties* ; nay, not the much lesser *Negative*  
 “ *Discouragements* that belong to *Humane*  
 “ *Society*. He was far from thinking that  
 “ *These* could be the Instruments of such a  
 “ *Perswasion*, as He thought acceptable to  
 “ God. But, as the Great End of his  
 “ *Kingdom*, was to guide Men to Happiness,  
 “ after the short Images of it were over  
 “ here



“ here below ; so, He took his *Motives*  
 “ from that place where his *Kingdom* first  
 “ began, and where it was at last to end ;  
 “ from those *Rewards* and *Punishments* in  
 “ a future State, which had no relation to  
 “ this World : And to shew that his *King-*  
 “ *dom was not of this World*, all the *Sanctions*  
 “ which He thought fit to give to *His Laws*,  
 “ were *not of this World* at all.

I confirm these thy Positions and Doc-  
 trines, *Benjamin*, with my Voice, and give  
 thee Praise therefore, for verily thou art wor-  
 thy of Praise, not only that thou hast spoken  
 bo'dly the Truth, but for that thou hast  
 done it in the Face of the Adversary, and  
 hast not been afraid. And Blessed be the  
 King, into whose Heart God hath put it to  
 Frown upon the Gainsayers ; and albeit they  
 were gathered together against thee, he hath  
 scattered them, and hath sent them away dis-  
 couraged.

Neither do I flatter thee with my Lips ;  
 for Friends are not Guilty of such things,  
 and it would be in me a great Iniquity ; but  
 I speak to thee in Sincerity and in Truth,  
 and my Thoughts are moved to utter the  
 Words of my Mouth ; for verily thou hast  
 dethroned and pulled down that Man of Sin,  
 the *Son of Perdition*, which *has Exalted him-*  
*self* ; thou hast valiantly Encountred the  
 Tribe of ungodly Priests, who have by an



Injurious Usage of the Lord's People, for many Years usurped the Authority of King Jesus, and have exercised Dominion over the Souls who they have had committed by Men unto their Charge; these they have Tyrannized over, and have Cruelly Persecuted under pretence of Authority from Jesus; albeit Jesus the true King and only Head of all true Believers, as thou hast well said, hath given no such Authority unto them.

Now concerning Ministers I will tell thee what Friends do surely Receive and Believe, and I will not give thee my own words, but the words of the said Declaration of *Truth's Principles* mention'd before; to wit,

“ Such Ministers as are made by God, who  
 “ are sanctified by his Word and Power, who  
 “ have freely received perfect Gifts from  
 “ God, and so by the Spirit and Power of  
 “ God are sent forth into the World, to turn  
 “ the People from Darkness to Light, and  
 “ from the Power of Satan to the Power of  
 “ God; who freely Minister unto others,  
 “ without coveting any Man's Gold, or Silver,  
 “ or Apparel; not seeking theirs, but  
 “ them: Warning every Man and teaching  
 “ every Man in all Wisdom, that they might  
 “ present every Man perfect in Christ Jesus:  
 “ such as minister from the Spirit, and have  
 “ the Word of God abiding in them; who  
 “ are never unprovided, but at all times and  
 “ seasons,



“ seasons, and in all places, do speak and  
 “ declare the Truth, as they are moved and  
 “ instructed, and as the Spirit of Truth doth  
 “ give them utterance ; Such Ministers we  
 “ own, and have in great esteem.

This we surely do Believe, *Benjamin*, and thou hast done worthily in concurring with us, and in that thou hast taken away from those who call themselves *Ministers*, all that Power and pretended Authority which they assume, and which we say they usurp contrary to the Nature of the Office of a Minister, which we also Declare to be only to Teach and Instruct, not to Terrify and Affright the People of the Lord ; and herein we know, that altho’ thou wilt offend them, and they will shew great Wrath against thee therefore ; yet, *I say*, we know thou hast spoken the Truth against them, and I concur with thee therein ; nay I acknowledge thee and own thee therein, because thou hast concurred with us in the Truth, not doubting but thou wilt be farther inlightned, in the Lord’s due time, to joyn with Friends in all the words of Truth which we Profess.

I must farther say in thy behalf, Friend *Benjamin*, that thou hast spoken Excellent words of Wisdom in defiance of the Men of high Notions, who are of the Tribe who thou didst belong to in former time ; for thou hast taken the People out of their hands, and hast  
 set



set them free from the mock Terrors of Vain,  
Men, such as they call the Artillery of the  
Church; which we that know the ways of  
Truth, are acquainted with the Deceitfulness  
of; and as I Glory in thy Words thereupon,  
I shall repeat them in thy Praise as followeth,  
to wit,

“ Not the least Tittle of Salvation or  
“ Damnation depends upon the Will of weak  
“ Men, but all upon God and your selves;  
“ Humane Benedictions, Humane Absoluti-  
“ ons, Humane Denunciations, Humane Ex-  
“ communications, have nothing to do with  
“ the Favour or Anger of God: But are Hu-  
“ mane Engins, permitted to work (*like o-*  
“ *ther Evils*) by Providence.

These are Excellent Things spoken with  
Wisdom, and thou shalt have due Praise of  
the same: Likewise hast thou Batter'd down  
the strong Holds of Satan, in thy Words on  
the same Subject.

“ In all your *Religious Concerns*, that ef-  
“ fect your Eternal Salvation, and your *Title*  
“ to *God's Favour*, your *Rule* is plain and  
“ evident *Christ* is your sole Law-giver, and  
“ your sole Judge, as to those Points. The  
“ *Papists* may *Excommunicate* the *Protestant*  
“ *Non jurors*: The *Non-jurors* may *Excom-*  
“ *municate* the *High-Church-Men*, as well as  
“ all other *British Protestants*, who pray for  
“ King G E O R G E: These again may  
Excom-



“ *Excommunicate, Unchurch, Unchristian,*  
 “ *those whose Church-Government, or Wor-*  
 “ *ship, differ from their own ; and these a-*  
 “ *gain may Exercise the same Spiritual Dis-*  
 “ *cipline, wherever their Terrors can extend*  
 “ *themselves : They may thus scatter Dam-*  
 “ *nation about ; Playing, one would think,*  
 “ *as the Man in the Proverbs, with Fire-*  
 “ *brands and Death, and saying, Are we*  
 “ *not in Sport ; and they may every one*  
 “ *Flatter themselves, that this Power of the*  
 “ *Keys shuts out from the Catholick Church*  
 “ *here, and from the Kingdom of Heaven*  
 “ *hereafter : But it is in truth only from*  
 “ *themselves that they can Excommunicate ;*  
 “ *And this is very often their own Crime,*  
 “ *and their own Loss : but Christ himself and*  
 “ *his Apostles have plainly told you what it*  
 “ *is, and what alone that shall cut you off*  
 “ *from him ; and Declared a Curse upon all*  
 “ *who Preach any other Gospel ; and conse-*  
 “ *quently, who add any thing as absolutely*  
 “ *necessary to his Favour, which he hath not*  
 “ *made so.*

To these Truths of thine, such I call them,  
 as thou hast been honoured to speak them  
 first among Men, I bear my Testimony, and  
 the good People, the People of the Lord,  
 despised by Men, of whom I am the  
 meanest, have born their Testimony many  
 Years ago : I say, with thee, that the boast-  
 ed



*Call the  
Church*

ed Terms which those Men make wicked use of, such as *Regular* and *uninterrupted Successions*, *Authoritative Benedictions*, *Excommunications*, *Absolutions*, &c. are *Vain Words*, mere *Terrors of Men*, not the *Terrors of the Lord*, *Niceties* and *Trifles*: And therefore it is that we disown the whole Tenor and Substance of the *Canons* and *Institutions* of that which they *Prophane*ly, as I doubt not thou wilt in time be led by these *Lights* to do also; I *Despise* and *Contemn* all the pretended *Authority* of that which they weakly and impertinently call, a *Power* derived from *Christ* and his *Apostles*: I know no *Ministers* but such as is before described; as for *such as are brought up at Schools and Colleges*, and so *made Ministers by the will of Man*, who have not freely received perfect *Gifts* from *God* for perfecting of the *Saints*, but denies *Perfection*, and so denies the *Ministers Work*, neither do minister freely, but seek for *Gain* from their *Quarters*, and will not *Preach* without a price; who are not sanctified by the *Word of God*, but plead for a continuance in *Sin* while *People* walk upon the *Earth*: Such as *Minister from the Letter*, and not from the *Spirit*; who cannot *Preach* except they have time to *Study*, and so by their industry provide themselves, and are not provided of the *Lord* (such a *Ministry* is of *Works*, and not the *Free Gift* from *God*) such cannot profit *People*, but lead them captive  
in



*in an empty and dead Form, always hearing, but never able to come to the true Knowledge of God : Such called Ministers we do deny, and turn from them, and testifie against them, as the holy men of God formerly did.*

I doubt not, Friend Benjamin, but thy Words tend to bring thee to the same Just Contempt, that I have entertained, and that Friends most righteously do entertain of these *uncalled* Priests, and that in the mean time thou wilt, by thy *sober* and weighty Speeches, bring all that wicked Hierarchy, which those Priests so violently contend for, into Contempt among the People.

I am therefore moved to bear my Testimony with thee against them ; forasmuch as they usurping high Dignity and Authority, have erected a Kingdom which they say is the Kingdom of Jesus ; howbeit, as I verily think, it is a Kingdom of this World, forasmuch as they exercise jurisdictions which be of this World therein, and have taken to themselves Powers which be of themselves ; which nevertheless they take upon them to say, are descended to them, and by the notions and pretences of a Succession of those Powers, they assume a Right to Exercise those Powers over the Consciences of Men, which Friends say they have no Right to do : And furthermore we say and believe, That whereas they Exercise the Power and



Authority which alone belongs to King *Jesus*, the King and sole Chief of his faithful Followers; they therefore erect their own Kingdom, not the Kingdom of King *Jesus*, and exercise the Authority and Power, which is his only, as their own.

I rejoyce, *Benjamin*, that thou hast published true Doctrine, and hast given thy testimony with us to the Truth, which we on so good and solid Foundations have receiv'd; and I question not but thou wilt be assisted by the Spirit of Truth to pull down and overthrow the whole Power, Hierarchy and Constitution of that People who call themselves *The Church*; verily, they are Usurpers of the Kingdom and Throne of King *Jesus*; and thou shalt be a Champion of the Truth, in that thou shalt overthrow those Ecclesiastick *Principalities* and *Powers*, which are not of God, and shalt establish true Religion in that mighty Principle of Heavenly Light, in which it is only to be found.

This is that inward Revelation which thou hast been obliged to bear thy Testimony unto, (*viz*) That Light which persuades the Minds of Men, and whereby every step of Reformation which hath been made in the World, hath been justified, and which, as thou sayest well, is all the Account which Protestants can give for their being reform'd from the People call'd *Papists*.

And



And doubtless thou hast by the same Arguments justified all those, the People of the Lord, who *being perswaded* in themselves of their being guided by Heavenly Light, have separated and withdrawn from these Usurpations, of which thou hast spoken so worthily.

And what remains, beloved Friend *Benjamin*, but that thou shouldst, according as thou hast worthily begun, and according to the Light which shineth in thy Mind, *separate thy self from* these Usurpers of unrighteous Authority, and joining thy self with *the Friends* to Truth, shouldst bear thy Testimony against all Ungodliness; for verily *Benjamin*, thou canst not but see and abhor the Doctrine which these Men teach, saying, We are the Church, and Power is with us; which thou knowest is false, and is not of God, and that the Power which they use is not of God, but is the Power of Men, tending to ungodly Dominion and Usurpation; such as is that of the Pope of *Rome*, which nevertheless they have disowned while they yet practice.

For verily, *Benjamin*, it seemeth to me that thou who hast received such Light, and hast acknowledged the Truths which are directly contrary to these Men, canst not any longer continue among them, or wear those prophane Ensigns of Idolatry, whereby thou



art distinguished from other Men, even in a manner which thou thy self knowest is not appointed by King *Jesus* : For verily, *Benjamin*, the Robes of Distinction which thou wearest, and wherewith thou art honoured among Men, are the Ensigns of that usurp'd Power which thou hast so worthily condemn'd, and thou canst not longer abide among those who thou knowest are the Enemies to the Light which thou hast receiv'd, and who walk contrary to the Doctrine which thou hast taught, and which we the Lord's People have so many Years ago receiv'd.

Wherefore I am mov'd to advertise thee, in behalf of the Truth, that thou shouldst not delay any longer joining thy self unto the Lord's People, whose Cause thou hast already so worthily pleaded : For why shouldst thou not cause thy Life and thy Doctrine to conform unto each other ? And why shouldst thou decline to profess openly thy adherence to the Lord's People, whilst thou dost not decline to teach the Principles which they believe, and which they have received from the beginning ?

It is true, *Benjamin*, the mean and humble Station of those who be Teachers and Ministers of the Lord among us, may not be agreeable to thy present Temper, who art exalted to be great among Men ; but whereas thou knowest that the Kingdom of *Jesus* is



is not of this World, and that likewise *his Rewards are not of this World*, as thou hast most worthily taught; so Benjamin, how shouldst thou not reject the Honours given by Men, which are the Rewards issuing from that usurped Power which is not according to the Laws of *his Kingdom*! These sincerely, according to thy own Rules, are not of God, neither canst thou, who art now enlightened from a higher Spirit, submit to be deck'd with their Ornaments, but shouldst cast them off, like as Christians in Primitive Times refused to be deck'd with the *Garlands* and *Vestments* of Idolatrous Priests; and like as those People who are called *Protestants*, refuse and detest the *Habiliments* and *Vestments*, *Titles*, *Dignities* and *Distinctions*, of the Popish Priests, choosing to be called by the truly venerable Name of *Ministers of Christ*, rather than by the *Titles of Popes, Cardinals, Abbots, Monks, Friars*, and the like.

Forasmuch then as the Usurpers of the Power and Authority of *King Jesus* have manifestly invaded his Crown and Judicatory also, as thou hast said, and have set up Marks of their usurp'd Authority, *to wit*, their Antichristian *Excommunications, Absolutions, Exorcisms*, and other profane Practices, and have likewise given Honours, which our Lord and only Sovereign *Jesus Christ*



*Christ* never gave, it seemeth unto me, that thou *Benjamin*, who hast so manfully dethroned their Power and Authority, and hast exposed their Usurpation to such Contempt, or at least hast contemned it in thy Heart, and with the Words of thy Mouth; *I say*, it seemeth unto me that thou canst not receive the Honours given by that usurped Authority without some Breach upon the aforesaid Declaration of thy Principles, and acting therein contrary to the Light which is within thee.

Furthermore, *Benjamin*, I admonish thee to consider that thou canst not abide in the Truth which thou hast now taught in thy Speaking Place, and published with boldness in Printed Papers, unless thou *comest out* from among that sort of People, of whom thou art said now to be a Ruler; *forasmuch* as thou hast declared them to be Workers of Iniquity, and Sons of *Belial*: Thy Conscience therefore will not suffer thee to be called any longer by their Name; neither canst thou be found any longer to own and join thy self unto them: Canst thou, *Benjamin*, be joined unto Usurpers of the Authority of thy Master and King? Canst thou share his Power, whom thou hast so loudly declared to be the *sole Lawgiver* and *Governour* of his Kingdom? Do not these Men continue their Usurpations? Do they not continue to claim



claim that Authority which, *as thou hast said*, appertains only to Christ the King? And thou knowest, *Benjamin*, they will continue to claim the same, and to exercise it, as if it was granted unto them, albeit thou knowest that it is not. Wherefore, O Man, remove thy self speedily from these Men; yea, I know thou wilt remove thy self from them: For why shouldst thou be found at last in the company of those Men whom thou hast filled with Contempt, *saying*, They are Enemies to the Kingdom of *Jesus* in the World.

Verily, *Benjamin*, thou hast done well in that thou hast openly declared the Iniquity of those who have armed themselves with unlawful Power, and have exercised Tyranny over their Brethren, *saying*, Ye must join with us, otherwise ye shall go to Prison; or otherwise you shall have no Honour, or Part or Lot among us; whereas King *Jesus* never left any such Commandment: But it remaineth as a Difficulty, or Doubt, unto us who are Friends, how thou canst, O *Benjamin*, lay a Confederacy with these Men! Art not thou therein an Usurper also with them of the Power and Authority of thy only Lord and King; and that in a much grosser manner than they? Verily, *Benjamin*, if thou come not out from among them, thou wilt give occasion  
to



to wicked Men to say of thee, that thou hast said that in thy Teaching Office which thou wilt not put in practice in thy own Person; and they will speak evil words of thee, *saying*, Thou teachest Men to do what thou shunnest to do thy self; and that thou shunnest not those things which thou teachest others to shun and avoid. Moreover, *Benjamin*, Art thou not even at this time, and after the similitude of thine own words, according to thy own Doctrine, an Usurper of the Authority of *King Jesus*, in that thou continuest to exercise that same Power, of which thou hast said that *King Jesus* gave no such Power unto Men, *to wit*, that profane unlawful Power which those whom Men call Bishops generally exercise over their Brethren, oppressing the Lord's People in their ungodly Courts. Dost thou not preside in thy usurped Judicature, exercising that Power there which thou hast said, *the Lord hath not given thee a Right to exercise*? And dost thou not there make use of those things which thou hast owned to be *Trifles* and *Nullities*, to wit, *Excommunications*, *Absolutions*, and such like things? I say, Dost thou not suffer these things to be done in thy Name, to the Subjects of thy Lord, in those Seats of Evil Men called Ecclesiastick Courts? And how canst thou do this after thou hast so plainly told us, that this

*at Lrd* -



is to make thy self King in the stead of thy King Jesus. Nay, Friend *Benjamin*, in this thou hast not done well; *forasmuch also*, as thou hast sinned herein against the Light that is in thee, and hast caused thy Feet to tread aside out of the Path of Truth, which thou hast chalked out for others, that they might walk therein: But I trust that thou wilt be guided by the good Spirit, and by the light of Truth shining in thy Soul, and then thou wilt be sure to come away and remove from the Tents of wickedness.

Wherefore, Friend *Benjamin*, as I know that the Truth hath been spoken by thee, I warn thee, for thy good, that thou come out speedily from among them; lay down thy painted Vestments, and prophane Trinkets, the Ensigns of that Usurpation upon thy Lord and Master's Kingdom, which thou hast so faithfully born thy Testimony against; *I say*, I exhort thee to lay them down speedily, and come out from among them forthwith, *joyning thy self unto us*, whose Principles thou hast acknowledged: So shall thy Life and Doctrine be Uniform, and thou shalt be sure to deserve that Blessing which attends those who are not ashamed to Practice the things which they Profess.

Likewise, *Benjamin*, this will enable thee to overcome the Gainsayers; for behold  
D they



they do already upbraid thee here with ; and verily the Man called *Andrew Snape*, hath spoken unto thee Words of scorning with boldness, in a Book which he stileth, a Letter written unto thee ; and in the Twenty and Fifth Page thereof, that if the Case be as thou hast said, it is the Men called Parsons, have nothing more to do but to throw up their Orders, since their Church hath no need of them, and since they not only do no Service, but are Guilty of a Criminal Usurpation.

Likewise hath the same *Andrew Snape* said unto thee in his said Book, and in the Thirty and Sixth Page thereof, these words, to wit, That he doth not see how, upon these Principles, thou canst take thy place in the Provincial Sanhedrim of the Priests, or how thou canst require Subscriptions or Declarations of those of the Sons of the Prophets whom thou dost admit to the Priesthood among thy People. or how thou canst Exercise almost any Act of Episcopal Jurisdiction.

Now verily, *Benjamin*, albeit this same *Andrew Snape* is a Man by his Profession in an evil way, and such as I allow not to be according to the Truth ; yet nevertheless herein hath he spoken unto thee words which thou shouldest consider well of ; for that they are of weight unto thee, to wit, That thou shouldest separate thy self from Evil-doers, whose ways thou knowest to be Wrong ;



Wrong ; and that whereas thou hast condemned them for Usurpation, and Invasion of the Kingdom of *King Jesus*, thou shouldst not at the same time continue among them, or sit in thy Seat in their Assemblies.

Moreover, it seemeth unto me, *Benjamin*, that whereas thou hast replied to *Andrew Snape* in harsh Words, saying, That he hath evil entreated thee, and hath written bitter things against thee, and things which favour not of Truth ; yet nevertheless, I perceive that thou hast not said one word unto him to Gainsay what he hath told thee concerning thy coming out from among them, or that thou canst not, by thy own Principles, take thy Seat in the Assembly of thy Priests ; wherefore I rejoyce in thy behalf, nothing doubting but that thou wilt come and join thy self with the Lord's People, who are Friends unto the Truth, and unto all that thou hast said of the Usurpation of Men, and as I have already given thee to understand, have many Years received the Truths which thou hast Preached at this day.

Neither let it grieve thee, Friend *Benjamin*, that thou shalt relinquish the things which Men call Honours and Greatness, and shalt lose thereby the Advantages and Profits which thou dost now receive ; forasmuch as thou knowest that the Rewards of the Kingdom



dom of *Jesus*, are *not of this World* ; and if the Rewards of this World are the Sanctions of the Kingdom whereof thou hast spoken, then it is not of *Jesus* : So that thou shalt only relinquish the Rewards of this World, and shalt seek the Rewards of that Kingdom which is not of this World.

These things being so naturally drawn from thy own words, I trust thou wilt not Hesitate thereat, but wilt accept of my wholesome Advice, and shew thy self not to be ashamed of the practising those things whereof thou hast testify'd, *saying*, That they are True.

Neither canst thou, Friend *Benjamin*, be in danger of joyning with any other People than those, whose Profession I have here invited thee to ; since there are not any who have received the Truths which thou hast Preached in their full Degrees, so as the People, who in contempt are called *Quakers* ; with whom, as I have shewed, thou hast perfectly conformed thy self to the Honour of thy Judgment, and of the divine Light shewing forth in thee.

As for those People called *Presbyterians*, thou canst by no means joyn thy self unto them, seeing they have declared themselves in Terms greatly opposite to thy Doctrines, *saying*, That Men have Power to make Laws, binding the Consciences of others ; and that  
Rewards



Rewards and Punishments of this World appertain to Humane Authority, exercised by such as they call a Succession of Officers: These their Opinions are not according to Truth, as Friends have received it; neither are they like unto those Truths which thou hast Preached: And therefore we see that questionless thou wilt avoid also the Erroneous Opinions of Persecuting *Presbyterians*, and wilt joyn thy self unto us; and this I speak unto thee with the more certainty, *forasmuch* as, Blessed be the Lord, thou art already come beyond the corrupt Tenets of those People: Moreover, beloved Friend *Benjamin*, I make known unto thee, that the said *Presbyterians* are equally guilty of those things which the People of the Lord abhor; *to wit*, The pretences to a Power, which, as thou saidst well, *Jesus* the King of all those who are led by the light of the Truth, never delegated to them; and this they not only give to their Followers, but make Laws of their own; *I say*, Humane Laws, and Sanctions of Laws, such as Rewards and Punishments, for enforcing others to comply therewith; *to wit*, That they admit none to be Teachers among them, or to Preach and Prophecy unto the People, unless they profess to believe and to receive certain Points which they call *prophanely*, Articles of Faith; wherein



wherein these wicked usurpations of Power are openly declared by them, saying,

1. " That the Lord Jesus, as King and  
" Head of his Church, hath therein appoint-  
" ed a Government in the hand of Church-  
" Officers distinct from the Civil Magi-  
" strate.

2. " That to these Officers the Keys of  
" the Kingdom of Heaven are committed;  
" by Vertue whereof they have Power re-  
" spectively to Retain and Remit Sins, to shut  
" that Kingdom against the Impenitent, both  
" by the Word and Censures, and to open  
" it unto penitent Sinners, by the Ministry  
" of the Gospel, and by Absolution from  
" Censures, as occasion shall require.

3. " That these Church Censures are ne-  
" cessary, &c. for preventing the Wrath of  
" God, which might fall upon the Church,  
" if they should suffer the Seal of the Cove-  
" nant to be prophaned by Notorious and  
" Obstinate Offenders.

These things thou knowest, *Benjamin*, are contrary to the Doctrines and Positions which thou hast so openly avowed, being no less than Invasions, and manifest Usurpations, of the Kingdom and Authority of King Jesus, and in themselves *Nullities* and *Trifles*.

Yet these things, and in these Words, thou wilt find in those *Heads of Belief*, which these ungodly *Presbyterians* call the Confessi-



on of their Faith, *Article* the XXX. Howbeit, Blessed art thou, O *Benjamin*, in that thou hast born thy Testimony against these also. Wherefore I know, that leaving behind thee all these wicked and erroneous Opinions, and bearing witness to the Truth, thou wilt at length joyn thy self unto us ; and I rejoyce over thee in this, that thou art inlightned to know the Truth ; Testifying that I embrace thee with Affection in the Lord.

Friend *Timothy* Greeteth thee in like manner ; as also *James* the Aged, a Lover of those who forsake the Errors of the Wicked : In a word, all Friends Greet, and speak well of thee.

*Fare thee well.*

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F I N I S.

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also. Wherefore I know, that leaving be-  
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And therefore greeteth thee in like man-  
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those who forsake the Errors of the Wicked:  
In a word, all Friends Greet, and speak well  
of thee.

Fare thee well.

F. W. I. S.



16  
A  
L E T T E R

TO THE

*Bishop of* B A N G O R,

Occasion'd by his Lordship's

S E R M O N

Preach'd before the

K I N G

A T

*S. James's, March 31st, 1717.*

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B Y

ANDREW SNAPE, D. D. Chaplain in  
Ordinary to His MAJESTY.

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The Second EDITION.

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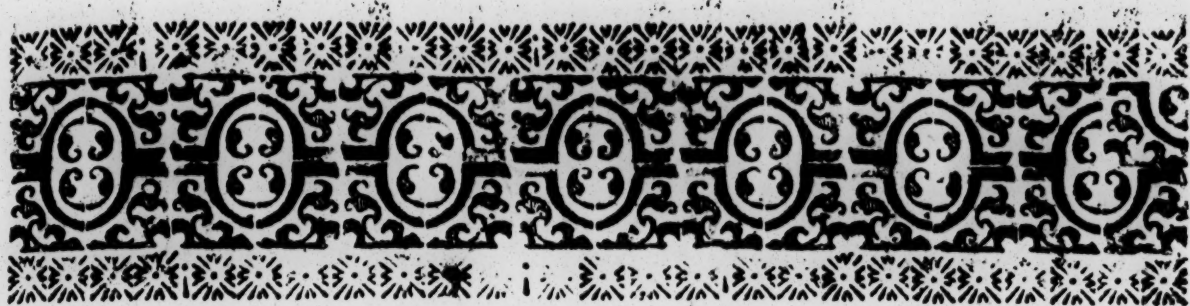
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A  
L E T T E R  
T O T H E

*Bishop of Bangor, &c.*

My LORD,



HIS Trouble is given  
your Lordship by a Per-  
son, wholly a Stranger to  
you, who has very little  
either of Capacity, Inclination,  
or Leisure to engage in Controversy;  
and who is firmly persuaded,  
from the general Offence, which some of  
your Lordship's late Writings have given,  
that this Cause will be undertaken,  
and the Mistakes in those Writings set  
in a clear Light, by Persons much better



ter qualified : But who, notwithstanding all these Dissuatives, cannot prevail with himself to sit as an unconcern'd Spectator, whilst such Principles are advanc'd, as, in his Apprehension, do manifestly tend to a Dissolution of the whole Frame and Constitution of that Church, of which he has been many Years an unworthy Minister.

I shall need no Apology for a Conduct toward your Lordship, which is warranted by your own Example. I have certainly the same Right to offer my Exceptions to a Sermon of your Lordship's, which yourself thought fit to assume, when but a Presbyter, in censuring a Discourse of a late excellent and worthy Prelate, tho' recommended to the World, by the like high Authority, to that which now graces your Lordship's Title Page.

Your Lordship is such an Enemy to Infallibility in others, that undoubtedly you will lay no Claim to it yourself ; nor presume that an absolute  
Power



Power of interpreting the Laws of Christ, is lodg'd in you, so as to command the Assent of others, any farther than is consistent with their own Reason. For my own particular, I have impartially consulted that scanty Portion of it, with which it has pleased God to enlighten me, in relation to the new and strange Doctrines propagated by your Lordship ; and as far as I have any Faculty of judging, they appear to me entirely destructive of all Order and Government, of all Unity, Peace and Communion in the Church, and contradictory to all those Scriptures which represent the Church as a regular and well-compacted Body or Society, and which recommend a Confederacy, Concord and Union among the Members.

I think I see the Will of God, otherwise than it is represented by your Lordship ; I think it my Duty, and your Lordship has taught me, that it is my Right to profess and publish what



I think I see : and, by reasoning upon your Lordship's Principles, I might satisfy myself, that no Power upon Earth has Authority to restrain me from expressing my Thoughts with the most unbounded Freedom in a Matter of Religion and Conscience. Notwithstanding which, I shall proceed, as with a due Regard to your Episcopal Character, so with some to my own Safety, and not presume too far, that none of the *Engines of this World* would be made Use of against me, nor the *secular Arm* be call'd upon ; should I happen to break in upon those Privileges and Immunities, within which your Lordship is so conveniently entrench'd ; or let fall any such unwarrantable and obnoxious Appellation, as my inward Conviction and private Belief might suggest to me.

I have the Satisfaction of agreeing with your Lordship in your introductory Remark. I readily allow, that the Meaning annex'd to certain Words



or Sounds, does undergo great Alterations by length of Time, and the same Word come, by Degrees, to *stand for a Complication of Notions as distant from the original Intention of it ; nay, as contradictory to it, as Darknes is to Light.* I am so far from disputing this Point, that it was once in my Thoughts to have confirm'd your Lordship's Observation, by several other Instances of Words, that have chang'd their Original Signification, in at least as remarkable a Degree, as any of those Terms alledg'd by your Lordship.

But not to waist the little time I can spare, in such a needless Digression, let us see how your Lordship makes good the Point.

The two first Instances by which your Lordship has chose to exemplify your Observation, are these, Religion and the Worship of God. Which Words I cannot deny to have been too often misapplied (as indeed what one Word in the whole Compass of Speech has



has not?) and wrested to a Meaning very different from what they naturally import. There is no Doubt but there have been, and are too many, who lay too great a Stress on the external Circumstantials of Religion, and the Acts of publick Worship, *who have the Form of Godliness without the Power*, and yet flatter themselves, and induce others to believe, that they are truly religious Men, and sincere Worshipers of God. And if your Lordship's Reflexions look no farther than these, so far we are still agreed. And whatever farther Insinuations, I and the generality of your Readers may conceive to be couch'd under some of the Expressions us'd by your Lordship, in the Discussion of those two Points; yet, as those Expressions are capable of an Interpretation different from that, in which we believe you would have them understood, I shall let them pass as under that innocent and inoffensive Meaning, and proceed to other more obnoxious



noxious Passages, where there is no room left for any such Evasion.

At best, it must be said that your Lordship appears very unfavourable to any thing that is external in the Service of God. To make Amends for which, one might at least have expected to meet with a very abundant Zeal, and more than ordinary Concern for that Part of Religion, which is seated in the Heart. But when, instead of that, we find you striking at the very Root of all Goodness, depreciating the solemn Duty of Prayer, by separating Devotion from it, which is the Life and Soul of it; How shocking is the Disappointment?

What, my Lord, is Piety become so predominant in the Age, that the Exorbitant Growth of it must be check'd? and is it to be check'd by such Hands? Does the *Fever* of Devotion rage so fiercely, as to stand in Need of such cooling Prescriptions?



*The Word [ Prayer ] by the Help of Men, and voluminous Rules of Art, is come to signify Heat and Flame — in the best Disposition in the World, and yet not devout enough to pray: — Intenseness of Heat — being in a Fever: Very witty indeed! pretty Ironies in the Mouth of a Christian Bishop, on so serious and sacred a Subject! This, I am sure, is touching the very Vitals of all that is Good, and consequently, by your Lordship's own Allowance, ought, in Duty, to be resisted, with a more open and undisguised Zeal than ordinary.*

Nothing sure can be more contrary to the whole Stream and Tenour of the sacred Writings, than what your Lordship has taught in this Paragraph, with reference to Prayer. You are pleas'd to call it, *A calm and undisturb'd Address to God*, and plead our Lord's Directions about it, in Justification of your Notion. But no such Direction appears in Scripture. He cautions his Followers indeed against vain Repeti-  
tions



tions and Ostentation, when they pray ; he censures the *Pharisees* for making long Prayers only for a Shew : But where does he say, that Prayer must be calm and undisturb'd, or use any other Expression of the like Importance ? Where does he attempt to moderate or assuage the Fervour of inward Devotion, or warn his Disciples against making their Requests to the Father, with too much Vehemence ?

So far from that, that we expressly read, he spake the Parable of the Widow, and the unjust Judge, *Luk. xviii. 1. to this end, that Men ought always to pray, and not to faint ; i. e. to be urgent and importunate, and to solícite with Earnestness ;* as farther appears by the Parable of the Man that borrow'd three Loaves of his Friend at Mid-night, *Luk. xi. 5.* by that of the *Publican*, who smote upon his Breast, in a deep Compunction of Soul, and humble Sense of his own Unworthiness, when he consider'd how great a Sinner he had been :



by the Directions he gives them to ask, and seek, and knock : From none of which Circumstances can we be encourag'd to hope, that God will hear our Petitions if they are cold and lifeless.

But Prayer, you say, in that Form, which our Lord taught his Followers, was *calm and undisturb'd*. Most certainly it was not so at the Delivery, tho' it may be attended with those Properties in the Use, which depend on the Affection of him that uses it. Your Lordship may be *calm and undisturb'd*, when you say the *Lord's-Prayer* : But I hope there are those, who repeat it with Warmth, and a lively Emotion of Spirit.

But nothing can more convincingly assure us, what was our Saviour's Will in this Case, than his own Practice. And did he satisfy himself, when he pray'd, with as little Devotion as would content your Lordship ? Was he quite so indolent and unmov'd, *Luk. xxii. 44.*  
when



when being in an Agony he pray'd more earnestly, and his Sweat was as it were great Drops of Blood falling down to the Ground ?

If there needed any farther Proof, I could put your Lordship in mind of S. Paul's Commendation of *Epaphras*, Col. iv. 12. who, he tells the *Colossians*, labour'd fervently for them in Prayers ; and of S. James's Assertion, Jam. v. 16. that the effectual fervent Prayer of a righteous Man availeth much ; with a multitude of other Texts, as full and apposite, as any that have been cited. And now, pray, my Lord, consider, how very different a Notion any common Capacity may form upon a Perusal of these Scriptures, from those which your Lordship labours to inculcate. 'Tis indeed amazing to me, with what possible View you could attempt to found a Doctrine, of a most pernicious Tendency in itself, on the Ruins of so many Texts of Scripture, unless it were, to give a Specimen in  
your



your own Person, of the Fallibility, or something worse, of humane Interpreters.

Or your Lordship might mean perhaps, by those Sarcastical Expressions above-cited, only to reflect on some modern Books of Devotion, that recommend Fervency of Prayer. But whatever was intended by them, they do, in effect, cast a Dishonour on those Places of Holy Writ, which I have produced. And I cannot but add, that, had your Lordship's Sermon appear'd without so venerable a Name in the Front of it ; had it been publish'd by a conceal'd Author ; I should not easily have been persuaded, but that Expression, *Intenseness of Heat*, had been a design'd Burlesque on what is said of our Saviour, in his Agony, that he prayed more earnestly [ or intensely ] your Lordship knows how it is in the Original, *ἐντενέσεσθαι προσήχεται*.

Will it be alledg'd, that what appears so Offensive in this Paragraph,  
is



is moderated by those qualifying Phrases, *in such a Manner*, and *to such a Degree*, that your Lordship does not absolutely make a Jest of all *Heat and Flame* in Prayer, but only of Enthusiastick Raptures? Alas! How few of your Readers will so understand you? How many that are not aware of the Niceties of Pointing, will ( as the Turn of the Period naturally enclines them ) make a fuller Pause at the Word *Flame*, than the Comma directs them to do; will suppose the Sentence to be half over there, and to end, where indeed it is ended, ( notwithstanding the Fallacy of a wrong Stop ) with the Word *pray*?

How your Lordship manag'd in the Pronunciation, I can only guess; but I am sure that Period may be so pronounc'd, that those Clauses, *in such a Manner*, and *to such a Degree*, shall not be thought to limit, but to confirm and aggravate what went before.

Your



Your Lordship plainly opposes *Heat and Flame* to that *Calmness and Undisturbedness* with which you would have our Addresses to God accompanied: And if you had meant to allow of any the smallest Degree of Fervour, or godly Transport, that might disorder that Tranquillity, and put the Soul into any kind of Agitation; it had been fair, and sure it was highly requisite, to have told us how far your Concessions extended. Could not one Line be afforded, in a Case of so much Consequence, to guard against Mistakes, and to satisfy us, in proper and direct Terms, that you did not mean to stifle all pious Breathings of the Soul, nor totally to extinguish all Sparks of Devotion? But, in Truth, as the Matter is represented by your Lordship, there are many who so apprehend you; and who cannot conceive how, according to your Lordship's Dictates, there can be any room left, for Elevation of Thought, in  
con-



contemplating the Majesty of God ; for the Acts of Shame and Abhorrence, and godly Contrition; when we are humbled with a Sense of our Guilt ; for a sprightly Joy and Exultation under the Assurance of Pardon ; for grateful Ejaculations; when we reflect on God's Mercies : Nay, not even for the Hope of everlasting Bliss, or the Fear of everlasting Misery. Our Passions must all be stupified, and every Power of our Souls lie dormant and becalm'd, for fear of discomposing that easy Serenity with which your Lordship would have us pray.

What Influence your Doctrines will have, or what Adherents you will gain over, I am not able to fore-see : but I hope the Number will not be very Large, of those, who will think it advisable, to list themselves in your Lordship's new Sect of *Protestant Quietists*.

As for what you say of the Love of God, which is the next of those per-  
 C verted



verted Words you instance in: tho' your Lordship has set it as low as possible, and seem particularly careful, that Men may not offend in the Excess of this, or any thing else that is good; yet as there have been well-meaning Men, who have over-strain'd that Duty, and amus'd themselves and others with unnecessary Scruples, I shall suppose your Lordship's Reflexions to be level'd against them, and not stay to adjust the Difference between your Lordship and them.

And now are we come to the last of those Words or Sounds, the Mis-use whereof has given your Lordship so much Offence: that mysterious, inexplicable Phrase, so full of inconsistent Images, *the Church of Christ*. This *Church of Christ*, according to your Lordship, *is the Kingdom of Christ*, and a Kingdom of which he is himself, not only the sole King, but the sole Lawgiver, the sole Judge, the sole Interpreter of his own Laws; a Kingdom  
in



in which he neither acts himself, nor has invested any one else with an Authority to act for him. And you are pleas'd to infer, *Pag.* 13. by one of the oddest Consequences that ever was drawn from any Proposition, that *because* he never interposes himself, *therefore* he has left no Deputy : which if he did interpose, there would certainly be no Occasion for ; but at his Departure into Heaven, when he was no longer to govern his Church in Person, he provided for the good Government of it, by others whom he commission'd to teach and expound his Laws, to bear Rule and Authority over his Subjects, to be his Vice-gerents, to act in his Name and Stead, and to perpetuate a Succession of Men thro' all the succeeding Ages of the World, in whom the same Powers should be lodg'd. And tho' he made none of them infallible, nor exempted them from humane Frailties, yet still he requir'd his Church to obey them, and to be guided by their



Instructions, where they were not contrary to his. The Places of Scripture that prove these Assertions, are so numerous, and so well known to your Lordship, that it is needless to transcribe them.

And indeed, had he made no Provision for the orderly and regular Government of his Subjects, either by interposing himself, or by his Spirit working in them, not by the ordinary Operations, as at present, but in as full and ample Measures, as in the Apostle's Days; or by substituting Vicegerents to act for and under him, to satisfy the Doubts of his People, and explain the Meaning of his Laws, by comparing them with one another, to restrain Offenders, and keep in Awe the Disturbers of its Peace and Unity; I say, if no Care had been taken, by some one of these Ways, to keep his Subjects in Order; the Church of Christ must have been a *Babel*, and his Kingdom a Realm of Confusion.



If Christ our King and Law-giver, who is All-wise, Unerring, and All-sufficient, had been pleas'd to act personally in his own Government, or had he thought fit to have conducted his Subjects by the Guidance of irresistible Grace; there would then have been no need of inferiour Magistrates. But as neither of these is the Case; in his Kingdom, as well as the Kingdoms of this World, there must be, and there is a Subordination of Ministers, who are the Judges and Guides of his People, by vertue of an Authority, that he has delegated to them.

Let us consider the Church under any other of those Images, by which it is represented in Scripture, and we shall find that they all combine to give us an Idea of it, as of an orderly and well-govern'd Society. Sometimes it is figur'd to us, under the Similitude of a natural Body: But does that consist of disjointed Members, loosely put together,



gether, and connected by no Sinews or Ligaments? no more can the Spiritual Body, without Rules and Orders, which are the Bands and Ligaments of Society. We are often said to be united in one Body under Christ our Head: *Eph. iv. 15, 16. From whom the whole Body fitly join'd together, and compacted by that, that every Joint supplieth, according to the Effectual Working, in the Measure of every Part, maketh increase of the Body, unto the edifying itself in Love. And He who is our Head, ver. 11, 12. gave some Apostles, and some Prophets, and some Evangelists, and some Pastors and Teachers, for the perfecting of the Saints, for the Work of the Ministry, for the edifying of His Body.*

Take the Church as a Building: as such it is call'd, *1 Pet. ii. 5. Eph. ii. 20. one Spiritual House, built upon the Foundation of Prophets and Apostles, Jesus Christ himself being the chief Corner-Stone. And Christians are compared to a Building fitly framed, growing to an Holy Temple in the Lord,*



*Lord, Eph. ii. 21.* Can a Heap of uncemented Stones compose such a Building fitly fram'd? No more can a Number of Men, calling themselves Christians, but under no Body's Governance or Direction, compose a Spiritual Edifice. Can a material Fabrick be of long Duration, with no one to survey it, to repair its Breaches, and prevent its Decay? No more could the Building of Christ's Church. Let us look upon the Body of Christians, as the Members of a large Household or Family. In that there must be Stewards, and other governing Servants of different Degrees, to preserve a good OEconomy. Let us consider them as Soldiers fighting under Christ's Banner, and there we shall see Occasion for General and Subaltern Officers. And the Case will be still the same, if you take a View of the Church, under any other Image.

But



But, what am I doing? Am I labouring to convince one of the Governors of Christ's Church, of the highest Order, that Christ has left a Power of Governing? Very sorry I am for the unhappy Necessity, but your Lordship has made it necessary for me. For either I am incapable of understanding the Meaning of Words, or your Lordship disowns the Legality of those Powers, which at the same time you continue to exercise. This you appear to me to do in many Places, but particularly in the following Passage, *Pag. 12. Nay, whoever hath an ——— Authority to interpret any written, or spoken Laws; it is he, who is truly the Lawgiver, to all Intents and Purposes; and not the Person, who first wrote or spoke them. Consequently, when your Lordship, or any other Minister, presumes to explain the Laws of Christ, he makes himself the Lawgiver, and does what you condemn thro' your whole Sermon, usurp an Authority, that belongs*  
to



to Christ alone. And if such be our Case, we have nothing more to do but to throw up our Orders, since the Church has no Need of us, since we not only do no Service, but are guilty of a criminal Usurpation.

But your Lordship may fancy you have a *Salvo* in Reserve: You may tell me that the Sentence I referr to, as well as many others in your Discourse, is guarded with the Word *absolute*. I am aware of it, my Lord; I have left a Blank for it in my Quotation, which (as I am going to prove) will signify just as much, and be as entirely available to your Lordship's Purpose, as if the Word stood there at full Length.

The plain and known Import of the Word *absolute*, is, unlimited, unconditional, not clogg'd or restrain'd by any one Exception or Reserve. And in this Sense indeed, it may truly be affirm'd, that no Power or Authority upon Earth is *absolute*. There is one Exception, and there is but one, by which our Obedience



dience to all Earthly Governors must be bounded. And that is, that their Commands be not disagreeable to the Laws of Christ. If Kings themselves enjoin things contrary to the Word of God, we are to obey God rather than Man. If the Ministers of Christ, in their personal Capacity; teach Doctrines repugnant to the Scriptures; they are not to be hearken'd to. If the Collective Body of the Clergy, legally assembled, agree upon any Determinations or Decisions; if they frame any Articles or Canons contrary to what we are taught in the Holy Scriptures; they cannot bind the Conscience. And if this had been the Saving, which your Lordship had in View, and what you had intended to provide for, wherever you have inserted the Word *absolute*; many of the offensive Passages, with which your Sermon every where abounds, might have been alleviated, tho' a great deal of Offence would still have remain'd.

But,



But, my Lord, you have cut yourself off from any Benefit of that Plea. We are sure you did not mean to make the *Unlawfulness* of human Decisions the Ground of your denying the Authority, by which they were decreed; because you have told us so yourself. That, it seems, is a Matter of small Moment, and does not weigh with your Lordship at all. For you tell us in so many Words, *Page 15.* that the Case is the same, *whether* they [ who assume this Power of deciding ] *happen to agree with Christ, or to differ from him.* Still, *as long as they are the Lawgivers and Judges, without any Interposition of Christ, either to guide or correct their Decisions, they are Kings of this Kingdom, and not Christ Jesus.* Nothing can be more evident, than that, whatever latent Reserve your Lordship intends by the Word *absolute*; it is not that, which alone can qualify the Grossness of your Assertions. Your *absolutely* had gone before in that very



Sentence ; where it cannot be pretended to be taken in the Sense, which you in the same Breath disclaim : And one may very reasonably infer, that you meant just as much by it, wherever it occurs.

Thus, while we are taught by the Gospel, to obey the Commands both of our Spiritual and Temporal Superiors, in all things lawful ; we are taught by your Lordship to receive no Commands from any Superiors, whether Spiritual or Temporal, whether in Cases lawful or unlawful, in Matters relating to Conscience.

I persuade myself, I shall not be thought, in any thing that has been said, to have put any Force upon your Lordship's Words, or misinterpreted your Meaning. I am sure, I have not done it wilfully : I have only urged what I conceive to be, and what I think must appear to others, a very natural Deduction from your own Tenets.

But



But to make it more fully manifest, that I have done you no Wrong, I can appeal to other Places of your Sermon, where you have advanc'd the same Notion in more undisguis'd and peremptory Terms, without mincing or palliating, without the least Guard of Caution. But particularly in the following Sentence, which we meet with at the Top of the 14th Page.

“ If any Man upon Earth have a  
 “ Right to add to the Sanctions of his  
 “ [ Christ's ] Laws; that is, to in-  
 “ crease the Number, or alter the Na-  
 “ ture of the Rewards and Punish-  
 “ ments of his Subjects, in Matters of  
 “ Conscience and Salvation; they are  
 “ so far Kings in his Stead; and reign  
 “ in their Own Kingdom, and not in  
 “ *His*.

A very daring Asseveration indeed!  
*If any Man upon Earth* have such a  
 Right, &c. that is to say, if any King,  
 Parliament, State or Potentate, or any  
 Earthly Power whatsoever, shall en-  
 courage



courage Religion by any Temporal Rewards, or discourage it by any Temporal Penalties, they usurp the Dominion of Christ, and dethrone him from his Spiritual Kingdom.

This bears very hard indeed on the Acts for preventing *Occasional Conformity* and *Schism*, and let us suppose the Argument were to have its Effect towards the reversing of them: How does your Lordship know it will stop there? How can you be sure that the Enemies of our Constitution will not borrow it of you, and apply it to their own Purposes? For if it were true, that no Men upon Earth have a Power of enacting Laws with penal or promissory Sanctions in Matter of Conscience, this would equally strike at all the incapacitating Laws in Force, not only against Protestant Dissenters, but Papists too: neither the one, nor the other, it seems, are to be laid under such exclusive Forfeitures, or *negative Discouragements*. Christ's Kingdom is not of this World,



World, and none of the *Engines of this World* are to be employ'd either for, or against his Subjects.

The very Acts that secure the Protestant Succession, and have made it impracticable for any Papist to ascend the Throne, excluding for ever all of that Persuasion from such Claim, as they might otherwise have a legal Title to, for no other Demerit, but purely for the sake of their Religion, must by this Reasoning be overthrown.

Nay, the very Act of Settlement, by vertue of which, his present Majesty possesses the Crown, would stand upon no better a Foot ; wherein it is provided, as one of the Limitations, *That whosoever shall hereafter come to the Possession of this Crown, shall joyn in Communion with the Church of England, as by Law established.*

Will your Lordship deny that a Crown is a Temporal Reward? Will you say that the Loss and Forfeiture of a Crown is not a Temporal Penalty? Can you pretend that being of this or  
that



that Religion is not a Matter of Conscience and Salvation? And is it not notorious that the most solemn Laws of this Realm have made the Enjoyment or Loss of a Crown the Reward or Penalty of the one, or the other Religion? What remains then? Why, either your Lordship must say, as hitherto you do, that they had no Right to annex such Temporal Sanctions to religious Concerns; (which, if you will venture to speak out, I must leave you to the Animadversion of the Higher Powers) or you will be under a Necessity of retracting that rash and dogmatical Assertion, deliver'd in such crude and general Terms, in the Passage I have lately cited.

In the mean time, let me ask your Lordship; would it not have become so zealous an Advocate for the *Revolution*, who has formerly declared, that he *lov'd the very Ground on which it stood*; to have put in one Word of Exception, in Favour of it? Was it fit for one so  
highly



highly favour'd by His Majesty King George, to preach such Doctrine in his Presence, as, in its Consequences, tends to the weakning his Royal Title? Might it not have been expected from so true a *Protestant*, whatever Indulgence he had shewn to others, to have found out some Distinction, to fetch in *Papists* at least within the Reach of *Negative Discouragements*? But not a Syllable, not a Hint is there to that Purpose. Nay, I cannot help observing, that in the whole Compass of your Lordship's Sermon, there is not the least Glance, that seems to be aim'd at Popery in particular, which considering the Subject, one would think, could not well have been avoided. No, your Lordship, I must needs say, has dealt your Favours, with a very equal and undistinguishing Hand, to all Churches, and all Religions.

Such are the dangerous Consequences arising from your Lordship's Positions, that seem, to me, to affect the

E State.



State. Let me beg your Lordship's Patience, while I mention some that concern the Church ; I solemnly profess that the whole Drift of your Argument appears, to my View, to be level'd not against any one particular Branch<sup>n</sup> of our Establishment, but against the whole Frame and System of it at once : Nay, not only against the Polity of the *Church of England*, but against all Ecclesiastical Polity whatever. If your Lordship's Reasonings are right, there never was any Part of the Catholick Church, either in the Days of the Apostles, or at any time since, in any Nation of the World, that has not, as a Church, acted in direct Opposition to the Will of our Blessed Saviour, and usurp'd an Authority, that he had never delegated. All who have been interpreting his Laws, have been making Laws for him. All impos'd Terms of Communion, according to your Lordship, are sinful ; nor can any Number of  
wise



wise and good Men, agreeing together in the same Notions, and assembled by legal Authority, in due Subordination to the Civil Magistrate, tho' with the most unanimous Consent, establish any Rules, or ordain any Method of Church-Government, that shall be binding, even for Peace and Quiet's sake, to any others.

Thus all Articles and Creeds are destroy'd at once, which were settled by Men so assembled. All Acts of General Councils were void and null from the Beginning. Nay, even the Decrees of the Council at *Jerusalem*, held by the Apostles themselves, were never of any Force; they sate there as Usurpers, they never had a Right to make any Laws, which belongs solely and peculiarly to their KING *Christ Jesus*. All, without Exception, who have ever gather'd themselves together in a Synodical Meeting, to join in the framing such Canons, Rules or Ordinances, as have been thought



proper to oblige others to a Unity of Profession, are, in your Lordship's Notion, no better than Invaders of Christ's Kingdoms, Erectors of an illegal Tribunal, and Exercisers of an Authority, that was never committed to them.

Upon these Principles, I do not see how your Lordship can offer to take your Place in the Provincial Synod: How you can require Subscriptions or Declarations of those whom you Ordain, or exercise almost any Act of Episcopal Jurisdiction.

The Church was bid to prepare for a State of Persecution, and such a one it severely smarted under: But it was to have a flourishing Estate likewise; Kings, in due time, were to be its Nursing Fathers, and Queens its Nursing Mothers. And are the Rulers of the Earth now to be told, that it is Criminal in them to defend the Church? That to support it by any Temporal Encouragements, or to restrain the Enemies of it by any Temporal



poral Penalties, is acting out of their Sphere, and affecting a Dominion in Christ's Spiritual Kingdom?

Your Lordship, *Page 29.* speaks of some *Pretensions*, which would have prevented all Reformation, where it hath been, and will for ever prevent it, where it is not already. May we not say, that your Lordship's Scheme has a natural Tendency, to destroy all Reformation, where it is already, and for ever to prevent a second Return of it? For suppose that *glorious Confusion* should take Effect, which your Lordship seems to have an Eye to: suppose the Influence of Earthly Powers to be withdrawn, the Fences of the Church thrown down, no religious Qualifications any longer insisted on; but Persons of every Denomination, equally capable of all Promotions; What do you imagine the Consequence might be? According to this Project, every Sort of Men might have their Turn of being uppermost, and *Papists* as well

as



as others ; and if once it came to that, Does your Lordship know them so little ? Can you be so unacquainted with their Zeal and Polity, as not to foresee, that it would not be long before they would set up new Fences exclusive of us ? With all Honour and Respect to the happy Reformation I speak it ; the Preachers, who first began it, argu'd most convincingly ; the Martyrs suffer'd gloriously ; but the desirable Work was not completed, till the Earthly Rulers, being themselves converted, establish'd and confirm'd it by Temporal Sanctions.

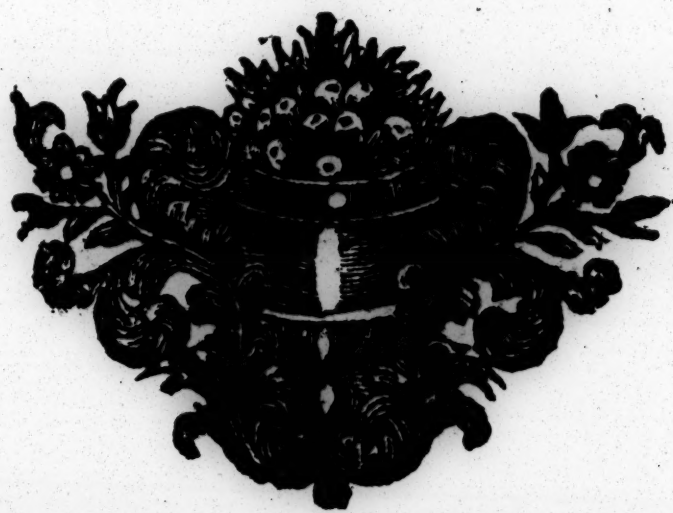
I am prevented, by a very necessary Avocation, from offering some other Matters to your Lordship's Consideration, and particularly from comparing your present Doctrines with what you have formerly taught. But I shall stay to offer your Lordship one Piece of Advice ; that in the next Impression of your Sermon, you would not suffer your Bookseller to expose you, by advertising



vertising your *Reasonableness of Conformity* at the Back of it. If your Lordship thinks fit to stand to your new Principles, you have Reason to be asham'd of that Book, and in all good Policy should labour to suppress it, which contains Doctrines as opposite to those you now teach, as *Light is to Darkness*: Nay, as opposite as your Lordship's present Practice is to your former resisting Doctrines. I am,

*My LORD,*

*Your Lordship's, &c.*



*F I N I S.*



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*Protestant Dissenters,*

Consider'd in a

DIALOGUE  
BETWEEN  
TWO CLERGYMEN.

L O N D O N :

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(Price Three-pence.)









THE  
C A S E  
OF THE  
A C T S  
AGAINST THE  
*Protestant Dissenters,*  
Consider'd in a  
DIALOGUE between  
TWO CLERGYMEN.

A.



Am greatly concerned to hear that you, my Friend, whom I always took to be as hearty for the Church, as your Character obliges you to be, should be prevail'd upon to countenance a Plot against her.

A 2

E. I



B. I am not surpriz'd, Sir, that you should hear an ill Report of me ; for there is a Set of Men, it seems, that for some Time have made Scandal and Lyes their Refuge ; but I should be equally concerned with you, if there were any Truth in it. I assure you, you were not mistaken in your Opinion of me, when you took me to be most hearty for the Church, as well as oblig'd to be so.

A. I am glad to hear you say so ; I shall for the future vindicate your Affection for the Church, tho I can assure you several of our Friends were stagger'd with the Report, as well as my self, it came from so many Hands, and from Persons of such Credit and Reputation.

B. Why ! What I pray was it they said of me ? Did they whisper that I had a Hand in Count Gyllemburg's Subscription, or had at any time insinuated the King of Sweden was an Enterprizing Prince, and might be useful to free our Church from the Danger of a Protestant King and a Protestant Succession ?

A. No, no, you were not suspected from that Quarter. This looks like an Evasion of what was really laid to your Charge. To be plain with you, it was said you were in with the Presbyterians, and concurr'd with them to lessen the Securities of the Church.

B. And was that all ? Now I know your Meaning ; it was said of me, I suppose, that I thought it might be right, if the Dissenters were enabled more effectually to use their Affection to the Government for its Assistance and Support. Truly, Sir, this is an Opinion I have no Reason to deny, or be ashamed of ;



of; and I wonder that you, or any of our Friends should be concerned at it, especially so warmly, as to call it a Plot against the Church. There should, methinks, be a little Reason and Argument to shew it an ill Intention to the Church, instead of loading it with Scandal, and only calling it hard Names.

A. What is it not an ill Intention to the Church, to side with its Enemies! to strengthen the Hands of Men that are ill affectioned to our Bishops, our Liturgy, and our Constitution; to give such Men an Opportunity of spreading their Disaffection? Does there want much farther Reason and Argument in so plain a Case? But if it is a Question that must needs be debated, try your own Side, and shew by a little of that Reason and Argument you call for, why the Dissenters should deserve any such Favour from us.

B. Soft and fair, good Sir; if you have Patience to make the Trial, I believe you will hardly find it so plain a Case as you imagine: And let me tell you one Thing by the bye, you seem to me to turn the Question topsy-turvy, and put the whole State of the Case just wrong; which, I take it, is not the plainest Way to a sure Conclusion.

A. How so, I beseech you!

B. Why you ask me for what Reason the Dissenters deserve any such Favours from us? You should, in my Opinion, first shew the Reason why they deserv'd to be laid under such Incapacities by us, that they now stand in need of Favour to be relieved from them?  
To



To be free with you, till this Question is well answered, your Question why they deserve such Favour, is, I think, quite out of Time.

B. I don't rightly understand what you aim at by this Turn of the Case; pray explain your self a little farther upon it.

B. My Meaning is, if a Man should lay claim to the common Privileges of his Country, and, when he is an *Englishman*, desires to be treated as one; if you deny him such Claim, should there not be some Reason for the Refusal? And if there should appear no sufficient Reason; is it any great Matter of Favour, that you allow him the Claim of his Birthright, and which he has in Common with all his Fellow Subjects and Countrymen?

A. I own, this is true in General. But what is this to the present Case of the *Presbyterians*? Are they not made incapable by Law? And is it not a sufficient Reason to deny them any Claim that is Illegal?

B. Yes, without Doubt it is so in Law; but these are not the first Laws that have been thought to deserve a Review; and then the Preamble and Reasons of enacting may be reviewed, as well as what is enacted. The Preamble to the Act of Occasional Conformity (if I remember right) says, "Now  
" for the better securing the said Church (of  
" *England* as by Law establish'd) and quiet-  
" ing the Minds of her Majesty's Protestant  
" Subjects Dissenting from the Church of  
" *England*, and rendring them secure in the  
" Exercise of their Religious Worship, as al-  
" so



“ so for the farther strengthening the Provisi-  
 “ on already made for the Security of the  
 “ Succession to the Crown in the House of  
 “ *Hanover* ; be it enacted &c. Now pray,  
 Sir, do me the Favour to let me know, which  
 of these Reasons you would chuse to insist  
 on, to shew why the Dissenters should have  
 a legal Bar to what is otherwise their Right  
 as *Englishmen*, and the common Privileges  
 of their Fellow Countrymen ; or have you  
 any private Reasons to add to those menti-  
 oned in the Preamble of the Act ?

A. I think there is no need of private Rea-  
 sons. The Preamble has express'd such as  
 are sufficient ; for the better securing the  
 Church, and the Protestant Succession in the  
 House of *Hanover*.

B. If you will keep to these, I hope we may  
 easily come to the right understanding of the  
 Matter. For if you can shew me it is a ne-  
 cessary Security to the Church and Govern-  
 ment as establish'd in his Majesty's Family,  
 I shall agree with you, there was good  
 Reason for making such a Law at first, and  
 as good Reason to continue it now it is  
 made. But really at the present, in my hum-  
 ble Opinion, I should take it to be a great-  
 er Security and Preservation both to Church  
 and State, if the Dissenters had a farther Ca-  
 pacity of assisting for the Support of both.  
 Shall we examine this a little ?

A. If you please, Sir.

B. Then pray, Sir, will you give me leave  
 to ask you, whether the Dissenters are not  
 Persons of unsuspected Loyalty, very hearty  
 and sincere for the present Establishment of  
 the State ?

A. I



*A.* I must own, I have nothing now to say to the contrary.

*B.* Tis kind to allow what none of their Enemies can deny: but is that all that can be said for them?

*A.* Why I say nothing against them as to that Particular.

*B.* But, good Sir, is it sufficient in this Argument, that nothing should be said against them? Their Affection to the present Establishment is so conspicuous, that I should think the Friends to it are obliged in Gratitude and good Conscience to say something for them, as well as nothing against them.

*A.* What! Would you have us of the Church trumpet their Praise, only for doing their Duty? It had been well, if they had always done so.

*B.* I am somewhat surprized at this way of arguing. I perceive what you hint at. But tho' some of our Brethren think fit to bait them annually in Remembrance of Forty Eight; must not one of us have Sense enough to know, that none of the Dissenters under Seventy Years of Age were born at that Time? And why pray must not our Church speak to the Praise of any that deserve it? Do Justice and Gratitude misbecome us? It should be, I think, a Canon of our Church, because it is a Part of the Canon of Scripture, "The Son shall not bear the Iniquity of the Father, neither shall the Father bear the Iniquity of the Son, the Righteousness of the Righteous shall be upon him, and the Wickedness of the Wicked shall be upon Him."

*A.* Be



A. Be that as it will, I do not think it becomes us to be their Advocates.

B. Why not I pray? when 'tis only to commend them for those Things wherein we agree with them, and wherein they are serviceable to us, and our own Interests. And our Justice and Honour to them in this Point, may induce them to hear our Reasons in other Matters, wherein they differ from us, with better Temper and more good Liking. But what must they think of us, if we refuse them a Character that is notorious to the whole Nation for above these thirty Years last past? What one Person of their whole Body has appeared in a Design against the Government, or fallen in with any Measures to distress King *William*, or defeat the Settlement of King *George*, or has not heartily concurr'd in all Things for their Service, as far as they were able? This is a Thing that speaks it self, and will be spoken whether we do it or not. And I cannot see any Good we are like to do the Church, the Kingdom, or our selves, by a Silence that would insinuate a Willingness to deny it if we could.

A. You seem to intimate that this might be a Service to our selves. I must profess, my Sight is not clear enough to discern that; and till I can, I shall not be able to see how we are concerned in their Loyalty at all, be it never so conspicuous, to use your one Expression of it.

B. Indeed I did intimate so, and am not without Hopes to make you clearly discern it; as I think I do my self. You can discern,



cern, I presume, that the Preservation of the present Protestant Settlement is serviceable to our selves, and our own Interests: for I know, you cannot think it would be more for our Service, to have a Popish Head of our Church; and to be secured from the *Presbyterians*, by the good Policy and good Intentions of the Papists and Jesuits to us.

A. Yes, Sir, I can discern so far very well; but must yet own to you, I do not perceive how the Dissenters are so mighty Useful to our selves for all that; their Numbers are too inconsiderable to be of any great Weight one Way or another; hardly so much as seems to deserve such a costly Acknowledgement of Obligation to them, as this would amount to.

B. Let their Number be what it will, Small or Great, 'tis our Interest to make Use of every Friend. Any Accession of Strength for the Security of what our All depends upon, is not to be despised. Nor should we grudge such an Acknowledgment of Obligation, as upon the whole of the Matter is to render their Service more useful to us. But after all, I imagine we miscalculate, when we reckon their Number of so little Weight. It is as true in Politicks as in Mechanics, when Things are near an Equilibrium, a little Weight turns the Scale. And I am sure, as inconsiderable as we may judge the Number of the Dissenters, they have actually in more Instances than one, turned the Scale on our side.

A. You speak with great Assurance on this Point. You imagine, you say, I miscalculate;  
late;



late ; pray do me the Favour to let me know how you make your own Calculation, that I may see whether it is more exact than mine.

*B.* That I will. And I think I go upon very plain and sure Grounds. I have been informed that the Number of Dissenters upon the Poll for Members of Parliament for this City, has more than once amounted to at least sixteen Hundred : And what a Balance this is in an Election, every Citizen knows. But for Argument sake, I will suppose them no more than are sufficient to turn the Scale between the contending Parties. In the last Poll, which was about Six Thousand, when the Majority was greater than usual, near Six Hundred ; yet no Man can doubt there was full that Number of Dissenters. In some former Elections the Numbers on each side have been much nearer ; less than a Hundred would have often cast the Scale of this great City. And certainly there was never so small a Number of Dissenters Votes, as that comes to. It is easy to apply the same Calculation to the several Wards of the City, and the Magistrates elected there : And to the several Counties and Corporations ; more especially such of them as are near the City. In these the Majority has been so very small in many Instances ; that count the Dissenters almost how you will, if you allow them to be any at all, they must amount at least to the Sum of the Difference. What think you of this Calculation at least, if you should doubt of the other ? Is it not modest enough in Conscience ?

*B.* 2

*A.* Truly



A. Truly I cannot deny, but it has the appearance of being Right.

B. Then I proceed.

A. Proceed to what?

B. To shew farther, that we must add yet greater Numbers to the Dissenters, in this View of their Usefulness to us; and even many of our own Communion.

A. How so, I pray?

B. Why, it is not the Dissenters alone, whatever their Number may be, that are to be considered in this Case, but also the Interest they make for us too. Men of any Consideration for Wealth, Trade, and a good Character among their Neighbours, will ever have some Influence on others. And upon this Foot I am well perswaded some of our own Church are kept firm to us and the Government by the Dissenters.

A. I can hardly think we are beholden to the Presbyterians, for the Steadiness or Service of many among our selves.

B. I must beg leave to differ from you in that Opinion. Wealth will always draw an Interest to it; and Trade has an extensive Influence. The several Branches depend so much one on another, that the greater and more general Traders will ever have an Influence on them that are employ'd under them in our Manufactures, and the lesser Branches of Trade. When Men maintain Themselves and their Families, by Employments under any Persons, they are apt to have some Regard to them out of Policy: But more especially, if the honest and fair Deal-



Dealing they meet with from them that employ them, shall strengthen their other Obligations with Esteem and Respect. This is a visible Case in and about this City ; and in most of our Towns and Corporations considerable for Trade and Business ; in which the Dissenters have many Opportunities to strengthen our Interest with the lesser Traders, even of our own Communion.

A. Must we then think so ill of Persons in our own Communion, or so meanly of our own Interest with them, that they are not to be kept firm in Affection and Service to the present Government without the Foreign Aid of the *Presbyterians* ?

B. I could heartily wish, it were needless to have any Assistance at all: That their own Affection and our Interest with them were sufficient to secure their Friendship to the present Government. But really, Sir, by all the Observation I can make of the present Circumstances of the Nation, every helping Hand is not more than necessary. You know the present Infatuation, what Arts are used, and what Hands concur to spread it, especially among People of the lower Rank. And shall we suppose it for our Honour, that all our own Interest is employ'd with the People of our Communion to keep them firm in Affection and Service to the present Government ?

A. No indeed, I do not go so far, as to suppose that neither.

B. I know you cannot ; we our selves are too unhappily divided ; one Part of our own Interest is used to hinder, instead of promoting



ing the good Endeavours of another, to settle our People in Affection to the Government ; and with what Success, let Experience say for me. Now in good Earnest, Sir, what can justify us, either in Prudence or common Sense, to deprive our selves of Assistance in a Case that so nearly concerns us ; on what at the best is a doubtful, but I think indeed a false Supposition, of the sure Affections of our own People, or on an unreasonable Punctilio of being beholden to *Presbyterians* ?

*A.* Still methinks, all this does not come up fully to our Point. May not the *Presbyterians* go on to use that Interest they have, whatever it is, for themselves as well as for us ? For they, I take it, are concern'd in the Preservation of the Government, as well as we. The present Acts do not deprive them of it, nor us of that Assistance from them. Why must they be let into Magistracies and Places of Trust, which you know is the Intention of repealing the Acts against them ? What shall we get by that ?

*B.* I did expect to hear some such Objection as this. May we not, you say, have that Assistance from them which I have shewn is so useful to us, tho the Acts against them remain unrepeal'd ? I am content, that we may not too much involve the Question, to suppose that we may ; and farther too, if you please, that the Continuance of those Acts will not in the least sour their Tempers, or make them any thing less active than they have hitherto been for the Government, as 'tis a common Concern : Tho  
this,



this, you must allow, is supposing a good deal in *their* Favour, as well as in *ours*. Yet with Submission, Sir, this is much less than my Argument means : as I think it follows farther from it, That the very Intention of repealing the Acts against them, is a very useful Design for our Service.

A. Pray will you shew me this farther Consequence, which I do not yet perceive.

B. I hope however, you will perceive it ; for if their Assistance be useful and necessary to us, every Degree of it is so in Proportion ; and it cannot be useful to lessen it, which the Continuance of these Acts must do : On the contrary, it must be useful to strengthen it, which I think the Repeal of them would do. Besides, I take it, the Continuance of these Acts does much more lessen both their Interest and ours, than barely by preventing that Help they might afford us in Magistracy. And so, on the other Side, the Repeal of them would be a greater Addition of Interest to us, than what the Influence of their Magistracy alone would bring with it ; tho even that it self in our present Case, is too considerable to be rejected.

A. These are farther Consequences indeed, if they could be clearly made out.

B. That I think is pretty easy to be done. As these Laws stand unrepealed, the Dissenters are branded with a Mark of publick Infamy, and in the Sense of the Law are judged Persons unfit for a publick Trust, as supposed dangerous to the Security of the Church. Do not our Enemies know how to improve this, to lessen their Credit and Interest,



terest, and thereby expose any Person or Cause which they appear for to popular Suspicion and Odium? Have we never seen some of our own Friends, tho most sincere and hearty Churchmen, yet blasted in their Reputation, and cramp'd in their Interests, as *Presbyterians* themselves? And all this for no other Reason, but because the *Presbyterians* have appeared for them, as known Friends to their King and Country. The placing of this Infamy on a Body of Men firm to the Government, has I fear lost us much more among the common People, led by the artful Suggestions of Danger to the Church from them, than we ever gain'd by the Bargain from the Accession of great Men or their Interests to us. And I cannot help thinking often, what wonderful Politicians we are, that when we own the Assistance of the Dissenters is of necessary Service to the present Government, we take care however to set a Mark upon them, that they may be capable of yielding it as little Service as possible.

A. Is this, Sir, all you have to say for it?

B. No, Sir, not by a great deal; for I apprehend as they are necessary to assist us in Elections, and the Choice of such Magistrates as will faithfully serve the Government; so they are necessary to assist us in serving those Magistracies themselves, and that upon more Accounts than one.

A. Sure I should think Persons of our own Communion are sufficiently capable of discharging the Offices of Magistracy without their Help. You would not intend, I hope, that a Churchman is not as fit to be a Magistrate as a *Presbyterian*?

B.



B. Pray, Sir, do not mistake me ; I mean no such Matter. On the contrary, supposing two Men of equal Honesty and Skill to discharge the Office of a Magistrate ; I should judge them both for that Purpose just equally capable, whether they were Churchmen or *Presbyterians*, and so far I imagine you will allow even a *Presbyterian* may be capable ; but in Truth, it is quite another thing that I intended.

A. Pray what may that be ?

B. I doubt not but we have many Churchmen of sufficient Capacity and Faithfulness to discharge any Office the Service of the Government requires. Where these are, I agree we don't want the Assistance of *Presbyterians*. Yet I doubt at the same Time very much, whether we have full enough of these Churchmen to serve the Government in all Parts of the Kingdom, and in every Office, in which it is yet greatly for our Service, that Men of Skill and Fidelity to the Government should be employ'd. Nay, I think we have found on the contrary in Experience, and to our Cost, that in some Places we have not. I am sure many of our own Friends now in Magistracy complain, that they are forced to be coupled with Persons that throw a good deal of Difficulty in their Way, and watch every Opportunity to obstruct the good Effect of their own Zeal and Affection for the Government : And that as the Case now stands, they see not how it can be remedied ; for when they look for them, they cannot find a sufficient, much less a supernumerary Supply of Churchmen, that have both

C                      Affection



Affection and Capacity to concur with and assist them.

A. If the Case be really so, I must acknowledge there is something in it.

B. As this Case is a Question of Fact, it is only to be determin'd by a fair Observation of the Fact it self ; and I am willing to put it to that Issue, and leave it to your own Judgment upon it. Now will you give me Leave to ask you a few Questions ; Have you any Objection to *Presbyterian* Money ? Do you think it as good Silver, as well coined, and that it will go as far as any other Money in the Nation ? Should you make any Scruple to receive some of it, if offered you for some good and pious Work ? Or refuse to employ it in any use for the Defence of the Church or State, because it came out of a *Presbyterian* Bag ?

A. I am glad to see you chearful, Sir ; but what do you intend by these merry Questions !

B. I would let you see, Sir, our Friends have been wonderfully mistaken in me, that I am so far from being in a Plot against the Church, that in good Earnest I have a Design upon the *Presbyterians*.

A. That is somewhat strange ! if such an Advocate as you seem to be for them, should after all intend to hurt them.

B. To speak the Truth, that I do not neither. I hope the Principles of Christian Charity will always keep me from designing Mischief to any Man ; but I wish so well to the Church, that I should think it mighty right, that the whole Burden and Charge of serving  
the



the Government should not lie on Churchmen only. You will allow me, I suppose, we have some Magistracies that require a pretty deal of Trouble and Expence to discharge them.

A. Yes, you may suppose so much for me if you please.

B. And may I not farther suppose for you, that *Presbyterian* Money would spend as well in them, as the Money of the best Churchmen?

A. Give me Leave, Sir, to interrupt you here; I cannot help saying this is in my Opinion a mean Consideration. I hope the Church will never want Men of Wealth and Leisure, with a generous Temper, not to grudge a little Trouble and Expence for the Service of their Church and Country.

B. I do as heartily wish it as you can do; yet really till there shall be more such Persons among us, they whom we have at present lie under a very unequal Burden; they begin to be tired with it already, and we cannot expect, according to all our present Prospects, but they must be more sensible of it every Day than other. Sure we owe these of our Church so much Friendship and Gratitude, as to wish them less Trouble and Expence for our Sakes. And it cannot, I think, be any great Danger to the Church, if *only* some Part of this Burden was laid upon the Shoulders of the *Presbyterians*.

A. I should not differ from you, if that *only* was the Case. But we are got off, I think, very wide from the Principal and turning Point of the Question. The Repeal  
C 2 of



of these Acts might possibly give some additional strength to the Government, but would far more endanger the Church; and that is the Concern we should have nearest our Heart.

B. You must excuse me, that I cannot think with you, we have wandered from the Principal and Turning Point of the Question. Is not the Security of the Protestant Succession in the House of *Hanover*, one of the Reasons in the Preamble of the Bill? Is it not allowed our Church is greatly concerned in it? And if it cannot be deny'd, that the Repeal of the Acts would now give an Additional Strength to it; whatever the Enacting them formerly did; I must take the Liberty to say, this is the Turning Point of the Question; especially when the very Being of our Church, as by Law Established, depends upon the Security of this Government: for whenever that fails, the least we can expect is Dr. *Hicks's* Church; which must be raised on the Ruin of ours. And it has been so kind to acquaint us fairly before-hand, what Treatment we must expect from it. " That our  
 " Bishops shall be deemed Detestable Usur-  
 " pers; and all of us, who have joyn'd with  
 " them, or adhered to them, such as can per-  
 " form no valid Acts of Priesthood; that  
 " our Prayers are Sin; our Sacraments no  
 " Sacraments; nay if we could dye Martyrs  
 " more than once in the Schism, we could  
 " not make amends for our Sin with our  
 " Blood.\* When this is our Case, Sir, as a

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\* *Hicks's Papers.* Dean Kenner's 3d. Letter, p. 98.



Concern for our Church should be nearest our Heart, we must include in it a Concern for the Protestant Succession, without which all our Concern for the Church, (unless we mean Dr. *Hicks's*) will be fruitless and ineffectual.

A. I am as much against these new Fanatics of Dr. *Hicks's* Church, as you or any Man can be; but why must we apprehend such great Danger from it? Let me use some of the Words of the worthy Dean, to whom you referr'd just now. "Can any People of  
" Conscience in their Senses ever be delu-  
" ded into the Circle of such a Church, as  
" the Scriptures know nothing of, as the  
" Primitive Ages were Strangers to, as our  
" own Constitution does not bear, and Po-  
" pery when here Reigning could not ob-  
" tain?"† Don't let us frighten our selves with Bugbears. The Church, I trust, is able to Secure it self from Fanatics of all Sorts.

B. I hope so too. I own the Danger from Dr. *Hicks's* Fanatics is not from any Thing they have to recommend their Principles by; but from the Madness and Infatuation of the People. You Remember, I doubt not, the worthy Dean you mentioned speaks those Words upon a Supposition. "If the Heart  
" of Rebellion, and the Spirit of Infatua-  
" tion be now over." And I appeal to your self whether the *Swedish* Letters prove it to be so or not. As I would guard against unreasonable Fears, I would also be prepared against real Dangers; and I am sure a real

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† Ibid. p. 157.



Danger from these new Fanaticks is involv'd in every Danger, to which our present Government is exposed. And don't let us flatter our selves too far. The *Nonjurors*, who point blank damn our Communion, and separate from us in the most spiteful Manner, together with the *Foreswearers*, who damn themselves, to remain in our Communion, are such Inveterate and Numerous Enemies; that we may well fear their over-running us. These are the Men that put us in greater Danger, than the Protestant Dissenters possibly can.

A. They are both our Enemies; and what signifies it, which are the Worse of the Two, in Comparison with each Other?

B. Truly, Sir, I should think it of great Significancy. *Hicks's* Nonjuring Church, with their Adherents, are Persons from whom we can expect no Quarter. It is one of their many Popish Principles, not to spare any, whom they cannot reduce to their Obedience. And if ever we are so Miserable, as to be reduced to their Obedience, they are sure to carry us to Popery at last, whither they are going apace themselves. Whereas the Dissenters, with all their Mistakes, are good Protestants; and differ from our Protestant Church only in some Modes of Worship and Discipline: and with all their Differences with us, profess themselves for an Absolute Toleration; they allow a Liberty of Judgment as freely as they ask it of us for themselves. They are most of them for Catholic Communion; and so far from declaring



claring out Administrations null, that they frequently joyn in our Communion, and would do so more frequently, I believe, if we did not our selves put some unkind Bars in their Way. And upon the whole of the Matter, they are in all their Principles avowedly our Friends against our greatest Enemies, the Papists, and Nonjuring Fanatics.

A. Spare me, I beseech you, Sir ; I did not expect to hear from you a Panegyrick on the *Presbyterians*.

B. Permit me, Sir, to be just to every one. I cannot forget how heartily they concurred for the Preservation of our Church in our Time of Danger at the Revolution. They as certainly prefer us now to *Hicks's* Jacobite Church, and would as zealously stand by us against them, as ever they did against the *Papists*. And I cannot think otherwise, but that the *Presbyterians* may be used as a proper Balance against them in all their pernicious Designs for the Ruin of Church and State. If this be the Truth of the Case, as I am verily persuaded it is, let us not be ashamed to call Things by their right Names. Let us not judge a Repeal of these Acts a Favour only to the Dissenters, or a weakening to the Securities of the Church ; but let us call it as it is, an Additional Strength to the Government, and a farther Security to our happy Establishment in Church and State.

A. But shall we forget, how many it may disoblige, how many of our Order will be displeas'd at it ! who may make such use of it to increase the present Dissatisfaction ; that we  
may



may find in the Event we lose much more than we gain by such dangerous Experiments.

*B.* I beseech you, Sir, for the Honour of our Church, let this Objection be buried in Silence; shall it ever be said of us that our Principles of Obedience are come to this; That the Government must not be strengthened, lest we be displeas'd? Nay, that our own Church must not be secured against our worst Enemies, if some among us do not approve the Hands that assist us? If these Persons are true Friends to the Church, they have no Reason to be displeased: If they are not, they never will be pleas'd, till they introduce among us a new Church and a new King; with neither of which we shall have Reason to be pleas'd. And which of the Two we are most concern'd to please, I shall leave to your Judgment.

F I N I S.





*Handly 183) H. of Wm. Thos.*  
PRESERVATIVE

Against the  
PRINCIPLES and PRACTICES  
OF THE  
NONJURORS  
BOTH IN

*Church and State.*

OR, AN  
APPEAL

TO THE  
Conscience and Common Sense  
OF THE  
CHRISTIAN LAITY.

By the Right Reverend Father in God BENJAMIN,  
Lord Bishop of BANGOR.

*The Author's Address.*

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may find in the Event we lose much more than we gain by such dangerous Experiments.

*B.* I beseech you, Sir, for the Honour of our Church, let this Objection be buried in Silence; shall it ever be said of us that our Principles of Obedience are come to this; That the Government must not be strengthened, lest we be displeas'd? Nay, that our own Church must not be secured against our worst Enemies, if some among us do not approve the Hands that assist us? If these Persons are true Friends to the Church, they have no Reason to be displeased: If they are not, they never will be pleas'd, till they introduce among us a new Church and a new King; with neither of which we shall have Reason to be pleas'd. And which of the Two we are most concern'd to please, I shall leave to your Judgment.

F I N I S.





16  
*H. Houldy, 1 B. 7*  
PRESERVATIVE

Against the  
PRINCIPLES and PRACTICES  
OF THE  
NONJURORS  
BOTH IN

*Church and State.*

OR, AN

A P P E A L

TO THE

Consciences and Common Sense  
OF THE  
CHRISTIAN LAITY.

*By the Right Reverend Father in God BENJAMIN,  
Lord Bishop of BANGOR.*

*The Fourth Edition.*

L O N D O N:

Printed for JAMES KNAPTON, at the *Crown*: And  
TIMOTHY CHILDE, at the *White-Hart*, in *St.  
Paul's Church Yard*, 1717.

Price Six-Pence.







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# THE PREFACE.

**T**HE Subject of the Following Papers is made up of Three Parts. The First relates to our present Civil Establishment: And Endeavours to State the Cause between the Protestant Branches of our Royal Family, and the Popish. The Second maintains the Right in All Civil Governments, to preserve Themselves against Persons in Ecclesiastical Offices; as well as Others. The Third concerns the very Vitals of True Religion: and is, in Truth, the Cause between Jesus Christ; and Those, who, professing Themselves His Followers and His Ministers, Substitute Themselves in His Place; and assume the Authority of their Great Legislator and Judge.

In the First Part, I have kept my self to what is of immediate importance to the Question, and avoided every Thing which might only serve to keep the Mind of the Reader from the Main Point. Particularly, I have neglected so much as to mention the Person, who pretends to be the Son of the late King James: or to concern my self, whether that King really had a Son; whether, if He had, That Son lived; whether This be He, or Another substituted in his room; and the like. And my Reasons are, because These Particulars are Matter of Dispute, between Him, and the rest of the Popish Line, full as much as between Him, and the Protestant Line; because the Controversy is (not between the Whole Protestant Line, and Him, but) between the Whole Protestant Line, and the Whole Popish Line; and because, the Right of our Present Establishment depending entirely

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upon



upon the Right of Excluding the Whole Popish Line, it must suffer, I fear, by Excluding the Pretender alone, upon such Topicks, as manifestly serve to keep alive the Supposition of a Claim still rightfully lodged in the Other Branches of the Popish Line.

In the Last Part, the Greatest Satisfaction I have, (after having vindicated the Right of the Civil Power to all Necessary Self-Defense,) is, in declaring to All Christians their Right to look into the Gospel themselves; to depend upon Christ alone for their Religion; and upon his Final Determination alone, for their Salvation; and, in the mean while, to esteem it a small Matter, to be judged of Man's Judgment: well knowing that Nothing but this Wide and Strong Foundation well laid, can effectually guard against those Schemes, or Platforms, of a Superstitious Tyranny, which may to Some appear harmless at first; but from which, in truth, the whole Dreadful Fabrick of Popery hath, by degrees, grown up to its full Strength and Maturity.

Another Part may perhaps follow, in due time, if it be found necessary.

In the mean while, I have address'd This to the Christian Laity: Because They must think Themselves infinitely concern'd in Every Part of it, if They have any Regard left for Themselves; their Estates; their Bodies; their Souls; their Children; and their latest Posterity.



A

# PRESERVATIVE

Against the

## PRINCIPLES and PRACTICES

OF THE

## NON JURORS, &c.



**A**FTER near *Thirty Years* of such Patience and Indulgence, as was never yet experienced in any Nation of the World, by the Public and Avowed Enemies of it's Government; The *Nonjurors* now at length think it time to open the *Scene*, for which They have been long preparing the Way in a more cover'd and private manner. Whether They imagine that All the *Lenity* with which They have hitherto been treated, hath been nothing else but *Fear*, and a Conscioufness of *Wrong*; or that their own Cause is for ever lost, if this *Crisis* of Time be not laid hold on; or that the Passions and Madness of Men, at this Time, have fitted Them for any Impressions: Whatever it be; The *Establishment* is now openly and directly charged with the Want of all Right. Their Cause is now publicly declared to be the Cause of God. The *Church* is made a principal part of the *Argument*. The words *Unity*, *Schism*, *Altar*, *Ex-communication*, *Damnation*, and the like, are thrown about in such a manner, as to confound the Understandings of Honest Men of low Capacities; to excite the Rage of the Tumultuous and Wicked; and to be *Engines* of Destruction in the Hands of  
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the Designing and Crafty, as well amongst *Profess'd Papists*, as *Others*.

In these Circumstances, I have a Mind, as far as I am able, to point out to *You* the true Way of judging of what They are now perpetually offering to You upon these Heads; to lead you to such *Principles* and *Maxims*, as will be found True in themselves; and easily applied to every Difficulty upon these Subjects, which is now, or may be, from time to time, thrown in your way. But then, I will endeavour to do this in such a manner, as to make it a lasting Foundation for you to go upon; and to lay down nothing, but what will effectually, and for ever, be of Service in this Cause. I will not, merely for a present Occasion, make use of any Arguments, which, in the Event, are the Great Strength of our *Enemies* themselves. I will not allow them upon any Terms, that our present *Civil Establishment* is unlawful; or that *Lay-Deprivations* are invalid: Because I know how impossible it is for *Those* whom they generally attack, to extricate Themselves out of the Consequences which are drawn from those Two Points. I will not go upon any *Precedents*, or Examples, of *Mere Submission*, either to *Civil* or *Ecclesiastical Governours*; because this again resolves itself into that Supposition. I will not be at all concern'd whether the *Jacobites*, remaining *Jacobites*, can be perswaded to frequent our *Churches*; because, I am indeed of the Mind of *Those* amongst Themselves, who thought their own Cause wou'd be better propagated, in that Method, than by an *Open Schism*. As for their *Souls*; I leave them in the Hands of that God, who sees their Hearts: And as for their *External Communion* with Us, whilst they retain their main Principles; I think it wou'd be of worse Consequence to the Publick Interest, than their Declar'd *Separation*. Nor shall I apply my self to any *Others*, merely upon the Foundation of their having taken the *Oaths* to the *present Government*: Well knowing that the *Nonjurors* find an easy Account, in proving to any Men of common Understandings, that the having taken an *Oath*, which They are since perswaded They find reason to repent of, is no Argument for the *keeping* it; and that the best reparation They can make for it, when they come to judge it an *Unlawful* and *Wicked* Obligation, is to act contrary to it, as soon as possible.

I do not say this, to reflect at all upon any Other *Worthy Persons*, who think it fitting to take these Methods. Nor do I deny but that some *particular Persons* may possibly be kept by them, for the present, from joining Themselves to *Our Adversaries*. But even *this Good* cannot be certain and lasting, whilst the

Main



*Main Principles* of their Cause, are allowed to be Honourable and Righteous. Suppose, for Instance, a Person be perswaded that it is *barely lawful* to submit to a *De-Facto-Government*. *Interest*, or *Humour*, may make him for the present, *barely submit* to it. But as soon as the *Scale* of *Interest*, or *Humour*, is turn'd, this will not convince Him that He *must* so much as *submit* to it. It may still be true, that it is likewise *lawful* not to *submit* to it. Nay, It may be still true, that it is more Honourable, and Praise-worthy, to be faithful to that *Authority*, which is, *De Jure*, entitled to his *Subjection*. And this, I fear, is forgot in the mean while, that, for the *very Few* that may be kept *from* them, and that only for a Season, by such *Methods*, there are *very Many*, who are not only perverted, But strength-  
en'd, and harden'd in their Adherence to them, by these, and the like *Proceedings*. At least, this is my Perswasion, from the Experience and Observations, which have come within my reach. I am sensible that *Others* may be wiser to see the Tendencies of Things, than I am: And, every One is to conduct himself agreeably to his own Notions of such Matters. But I imagine that I have long seen the Evil of courting their *Principles*, as well as their *Persons*: And that if We will go on to speak, and act, as if we were Conscious that They are in the Right Way, and Our selves in the Wrong; We must not wonder, if They go on to draw such *Consequences* from our *Premises*, as naturally enough follow from them.

If therefore, I have resolved to avoid, or to deny plainly, some *Main Points*, it is because I think I am certain, that they are *false* in *Themselves*; that they are the *Great Engines* of the *Popular Conversions* which our *Adversaries* make amongst the Unwary; and that, after an *Experience* of near *Thirty Years* of the Insufficiency, and Bad Effect of *some Methods*, it cannot be *imprudent* to try *others*: In which, I promise my self that I shall at least have the Satisfaction of furnishing such Arguments as may preserve the *Good Disposition*, and increase the *Zeal*, of the Honest and Uncorrupted Part of the *Nation*. This alone I shall ever account no small Good. And if I may not hope to convince any of our *Adversaries*, or of *Those* who have been misled by them; yet, I resolve to give them no other Offence, than what the *Principles* which I think my self obliged to maintain, and a sincere desire of doing Them Service, carry along with them.

The Way, therefore, I propose to go in, is, to look back to the first *Foundation*, upon which *We*, and our *Adversaries* differ; then, to observe the Steps and Degrees, by which Their Cause



Cause hath been kept alive; and then, to Consider the present State of Things, with regard to *Church and State*; the main *Topics* which our *Adversaries* make use of; and the true Answers, as far as my Judgment reacheth, to what they chiefly rely upon.

The *Foundation* of our *Difference* is this. In the Year 1688. the Nation, the whole Nation of *Protestants*, (however past Danger at a distance may seem as nothing,) universally, and equally, felt and saw themselves upon the Brink of Destruction. The chief Men amongst Us, (not the *Greatest Churchmen* excepted,) invited over the Assistance of our Neighbours. After having warded off the present Threatning of Ruine, nothing remained but to secure Us from the Return of the same Evils of Popery and Slavery, made more terrible by the Revenge, which must then have come along with them. This was done, with the greatest Regard to the Constitution of the Kingdom, and with the least Deviation from the *Common Rule*. The *Popish Branches* of the Royal Family were set aside, upon no other Consideration than the Safety of the whole Nation. And the very first *Protestant Branches*, in the same Royal Family, were declared Heirs; and the *Succession* from Them declar'd, and confirm'd, in the same Course as was usual before.

Upon the first Settlement of the Nation, after the *Abdication* of King *James*, some of the *Bishops*, and some also of the *Inferiour Clergy*, (upon what Motives, or Considerations, I do not now enquire,) refusing to give the common Security of Faithfulness and Allegiance to the *Government*, and declaring Themselves in the Interest of it's Enemies, were first *Suspended* from the Execution of their Offices; and then, after a delay of *Six Months*, *depriv'd* of their Offices, Benefices, Dignities, and Promotions Ecclesiastical: as the Words of the *Act of Parliament* express it.

From hence arose these *Two main Principles*: the *One*, that our Princes upon this *Protestant Establishment*, in exclusion to the *Popish Line*, can have no Right to the Crown; and the *Other* (very new, and never before heard of in the *Church of England*) that No *Deprivation* of *Bishops* by the *Lay-Power* can be valid, or ought to be submitted to. And from these *Two Principles* arose *Two Points of Practice*. The *One*, The adhering to the *Popish Line*, and the Refusing as Unlawful, the taking *Oaths* of Fidelity to the *Protestant Establishment*: And the *Other*, the adhering to the Communion of the Deprived *Bishops*, and the treating our *Churches* as *No Churches*.

But



But it was not presently the Season of opening all this, in the face of the World. There was the less need of it, because every Year, and almost every Month, they lived in the confident Expectation of the Blessing of seeing their *King* restored to them by a *French Power*: And without this, the *Temper* of the Nation was not very quickly, of that sort, as to give them much Encouragement to speak plainly. In the mean while, They saw with Pleasure, that many of those who took the *Oaths*, did it upon a Principle of *Reproach* to the *Government*; if not, of Shame to themselves: And that most of Those who defended both *That*, and the *Church* united with it, moved very faintly in their work; treated the *One*, as an *Usurpation*; and the *Other*, as what it was barely lawful for the *Laity*, in imitation of former Precedents, to communicate with.

The *Glory* that was thus freely given them; They greedily snatch'd: And amongst Those whom they had to deal with, They had little other Trouble, besides appealing to the Writings of their *Adversaries*, to shew that Their Principles were, in effect, acknowledg'd to be Just and Right. For when it could be shewn to the very Senses of their Followers, that Those who kept in the *Establishment*, did it as a thing barely lawful, but not over-honourable in their own Judgments; that, when They were obliged, in honour, to write, their whole Concern was to vindicate *Themselves* from the Imputation of *Dis honesty*, and not the *Government* from the heavy Charge of *Unjust*; to give Reasons for the bare lawfulness of *their own Compliance*, and to leave the *Establishment* not only undefended, but mark'd, by their own way of Treating it, with the Infamous *Blot* of *Usurpation* without true Right: I say, when this was so in the Writings and Discourses of several of the most famous of *Those*, from whom the *Nonjurors* separated, They had too easy a Game to play; which They did not fail to manage in private, so as to add to the Number of their *Church*, Many of Those whose Capacities are not above the following of *Great Names*.

They never found, I am perswaded, any great Difficulty in making *Profelytes* of *Those*, whom They had once convinced of the Truth of their *Two Main Principles*: and, to do that, They found nothing more effectual, than to add to their own Conclusions, the *Testimony* of *Those*, who not only allowed, but applauded their *Premises*. They met with very few, I dare say, of so nice a Discernment, and of so distinguishing a Head-piece, as to stand the shock of such Attacks as these ———. *Your own Friends treat the Government, as having no Right. And, if the Protestant Line hath no right, the Popish Line must have it.*



And consequently, *it is at least more honourable, to adhere to that to which the Right belongs.* Again, in the *Church Controversy*, the Passage was easy from the former Argument, to engage Men to join with Those, who prayed for their *True King*. Besides that They could furnish the same Testimony for the Foundation of this also. Many of the Great Writers, on the Side of the *Establishment*, have gone upon the Supposition, and some openly acknowledg'd *Deprivations* by the *Lay-Power* to be invalid; and only pleaded against carrying the Matter to a *Separation* upon that Account. But certainly, they would argue, If *Lay-Deprivations* be *invalid*, then it is the greatest Presumption in the *Civil Power* to meddle with such Things; and the Duty of all to bear Testimony against so great an Evil, and to communicate with *Bishops* so unjustly and injuriously ejected. Or else, if they had a mind not to carry the general Principle so far, They might draw as strong an Argument from the Concessions and Principles of some who took the *Oaths*; and defended themselves, as taking *Oaths* to a *Government Usurped*. For they might well argue, that a *Civil Power without Right*, had no Authority to deprive Those *Bishops*; even supposing such an Authority to be lodg'd with the Rightful Civil Power. If we look back, therefore, We shall find, that, by their flattering the Independent Rights of the *Clergy*, and exalting their Power; by crying up the Church in general, and treating the *other Dissenters* with Indignity; and the like Artifices; they first made their Way to the Love and Approbation of *Those*, whom They now treat as the Worst of Men; that, having this Approbation and Concurrence of many of the *Clergy* in the *Main Points*, to produce for Themselves, they went on, gaining Ground, whilst They were look'd upon as Friends by Those whose Congregations they now threaten with Damnation; that, by the help of such Supports from others, rather than their own Strength, They have proceeded from one Step to another; with an indefatigable Industry, scattering their Papers; and entring into the Art and Freedom of Conversation; till They are now come to think Themselves strong enough to stand without the Assistance of *Others*: Nay, to turn their own *Artillery*, against *Those*, from whom They before borrowed it. These things I have the rather now remind-ed you of, not only to remark the Steps by which the Cause of Our *Adversaries* is come to the *State* in which it now is; but to vindicate, and justify, my present Design of opposing their way of Reasoning, upon another Foundation, and different Principles.



The *present State* of their Cause is, You see, little more than the Result of what several of *Those* who have complied with the *Government* have either expressly granted to Them, or very faintly denied to Them. The Mask is now laid aside. They have now left off to flatter that part of the *Clergy*, to whom, I am perswaded, they owe the greatest Advantages of their Cause. Their Voice and Language is alter'd. *Excommunication* is declared against them. They are so far from being able, or qualified, to be *Ministers* in the *Church of Christ*, that They are not allowed to be Themselves, *in, or of, the Church*; but are given over to a State of Damnation. Those who join with Them, even tho' their Hearts are with the *Nonjurors*, are now terrified with the Thoughts of losing their Souls: Nay, and when They return to this True, Charitable, Christian Church, it is with much Difficulty, and bitter Repentance, and great Abhorrence of the crying Sin, of having communicated with any others, that They are received, and come to be esteem'd and acknowledg'd in the number of the Faithful. And this is the Method now open'd, for the most effectual keeping their Ignorant and Unwary Followers, close to the other *Main Principle*, of the Injustice and Usurpation of the present *Protestant Establishment*.

My way of thinking in this Matter, I confess, is this. If there be a *Right* properly so called, acknowledged to be still remaining in the *Papish Line*; and no *Right*, properly so called, in the *Protestant Line* now in Possession; it is a folly to go about to perswade any Man of a good plain Understanding, that it is not his most secure way to the Favour of God, to adhere to that Side, on which this *Right* is. And again, If it be acknowledg'd, that Those *Bishops* were not lawfully *deprived*; it is a folly to go about to perswade Men to renounce their *Communion*, or to give any Encouragement to *Those*, who have *Usurp'd* their Place. The Remedy, I always judge, must be something equivalent to the *Root* of the Disease: If it be not so, it only binds it up a little for the present, to break out again more furiously and more dangerously in time to come.

I think it a very trifling part of this Controversy, whether They will please to come to our *Churches*, or not. I can't perswade my self to give Them the hard Names, They give even to those who have befriended them; or, because I think *Them*, and their Followers, to be *mistaken* in this World, therefore to argue that They shall be *damn'd* in the next. But I think it of *Great Importance*, whether our Present Royal Family have a *True Right*, or not; Whether our *Churches* are *Christian Churches*, or not; Whether Those who communicate with us,



have a Title to God's Favour, or not; and whether the Supreme Power of this Nation had not a *Right* to deprive the *Nonjuring Bishops*. As I am certain that They make *no Proselytes*, but by the contrary Principles: So *These* must be the *Best Preservatives* against Them: And we must first destroy their *Foundation*, before We must expect, what They have built upon it, necessarily to fall to the Ground.

And having undertaken to give you the best Assistance I can, to lead you into a *True Answer* to what the *Nonjurors* are ever alledging in favour of their own Practice, both in *Church* and *State*: I must of necessity both begin where They always begin; and follow Them in their *Arguments*, as They lead the way. If They attack the present *Establishment* upon *Topicks*, which will lead to *Subjects* not agreeable to many amongst Us; it is not a *Fault*, but a *Duty* to the *Happy Settlement* We enjoy, to enter upon those *Subjects*, which its Enemies make necessary to be handled.

I shall not do this out of choice; or with any Perswasion that it is the *Absolute Duty* of every private Subject to enquire into the *Right* and *Title* of the Government under which He lives: But because the State of our Nation is such, that They are almost all, daily and hourly, allarm'd *against* the *Right* of their present *Governours*, and alienated in their Hearts and Affections, by the setting up *another Right* opposite to it. So that, with Submission to better Judgments, I humbly conceive, that, tho' it might have been enough, in *other* Circumstances, to have reminded All *Subjects* of the general Duty of *Obedience*: Yet considering that there is a *Right* openly set up against our present *Royal Family*; and that the *People* are continually and universally led by our Adversaries to *judge* of that *Right*; and are, by this Method alone, made *Enemies* upon *Principle*; it doth not seem to be left to our choice, what Method to proceed in. It is an *Antidote* that is wanted: And that must be framed according to the *Nature* and *Extent* of the *Poison*, dispersed abroad. It is in vain, to tell *People* of what is due to the *Supreme Civil Power*, if their Minds are distracted, and not at all satisfied, which is that *Supreme Power*. It is of no importance to King *GEORGE*'s Interest, to press the Duty of obeying the *KING*, upon Those who are every Day taught that *HE* is not their *KING*. It cannot indeed, be otherwise, but that the true Method of doing effectual Service to Our own Cause, must be the very *Opposite* to *That*, which our Adversaries have found most successfull against it.



The *First Point* with Them, and that which stands them in most account, and that without which all their other Arguments would have but little effect, hath always been, the Great and Crying Injustice of setting aside the *Popish Line*, and fixing the Succession to the *Crown*, in the *Protestant Branches* of the *Royal Family*. If they could not persuade weak Men, and Women, to this; their *Schism* and their *Churches* would quickly disappear. And to persuade Them to this, They sometimes argue from the Declarations of *Scripture*, which They are pleased to interpret absolutely against throwing off our Duty and Allegiance to the late *King James*; and against any the least *Deviation* from the *Right Line* of the *Popish Branches* of the *Royal Family*: Sometimes, (I should say, most commonly,) from the *peculiar Doctrine* of the *Church of England*: And sometimes from the *Constitution* of our *Government*: Which they frame to Themselves to be so absolutely *Hereditary*, that the *Popish Branches* of the *Royal Family* could not *justly*, or *lawfully*, be set aside by any Power upon Earth.

I. In Answer therefore, to what any of them may allarm You with, concerning the Declarations of *Holy Scripture*; and the Consequences which They draw from thence: I desire nothing of You, but that you would neither believe *Them*, upon *their* bare Word, in their own Cause; nor *Me*, nor any One else, against it. But search with your own Eyes, and see, whether you can possibly find a plain and express *Passage* of *Scripture*, in which God instituted any particular *Form* of *Humane Government*, for any Nation in the World; unless you will except *One*, which first wilfully and resolutely *Chose* it for themselves: Or, in which He commands all Nations, either to keep firm to that *One Form*; or, when once They have for any length of Time been under Subjection to a *Race* of *Princes*, that They are obliged, upon pain of Damnation, not to put by the next in Blood, even tho' the Destruction of the *Whole* be unavoidable without it. And remember, that it ought to be a very plain and express *Passage*, to found such a Doctrine upon.

When They allarm You with the *Declarations* of *Scripture*, about *Allegiance*, or *Obedience* to *Princes*; which They apply to the absolute Unlawfulness, and Crime, of withdrawing our *Allegiance* from *King James* at the *Revolution*; and from the *Popish Line*, since that time: Desire Them impartially, and plainly, to tell you, whether, in multitudes of other Cases, They do not explain the general Words of *Scripture* with those *Restrictions*, which the Nature and Circumstances of the thing spoken of, require, and justify; whether They do not allow, in ma-  
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my places, that where there are no *Restrictions* express'd in Words, there must certainly be a *Restriction* or *Limitation* allowed; and whether it doth not follow from hence, that it must be resolved at last into this, whether the Nature of *Government* itself require these Expressions to be understood absolutely, or with *Restrictions*. And about this, I will here just mention one thing, of which I will make more use presently: That They themselves are forced to allow, that, in Cases of *Natural continued Folly*, or *Madness*, none of these *Texts* oblige a Nation to *Personal Obedience*. This is a *Demonstration* that the most strong and express of those *Passages*, which they think so favourable to themselves, are not to be interpreted *absolutely*, or without any possible exception. With the help of this One Argument, you will always be able to answer what They pretend to alledge from the *Scripture*. Nor can They themselves deny but that the Directions there laid down were only short General Rules, designed for the Use of such, as were so weak as to think themselves exempt from all *Government*; and not at all with any view of binding down whole *Christian Nations* to utter Destruction.

II. When they speak much of the *Peculiar Doctrine* of the *Church of England*; answer Them, that it is a Scandal to the *Church of England* to suppose that it hath any *Peculiar Doctrines*, consider'd as the *Church of England*; that it knows no other *Rule*, but the *Gospel*, and always appeals to *that* for the *Truth* of every thing taught in it; that by the *Church of England*, in this, and the like Debates, is meant that *Collection* or *Company* of Men, who at, and quickly after, the *Reformation*, settled our *Worship*, our *Articles*, and *Homilies*; that *These* not only were *fallible Men*, but, in *One* of the *Articles*, solemnly profess *Themselves* as well as *Others*; *all Churches* equally; *all General Councils* equally, so to be; and that in another *Article* They expressly require All in their *Communion* to take the *Scripture*, (and not *Them*) for the *Rule* of their *Faith*, and *Practice*; and that, consequently, the certain *Truth* of any *Doctrine*, is not put, by our *Reformed Church*, upon it's being the *Doctrine*, or the *Peculiar Doctrine*, of our *Church*, but of the *Scripture*.

But if *Our Adversaries* will be determin'd by the *Homilies* of the *Church*, as They would here make you believe, in order to catch you upon this Subject only, you may quickly satisfy yourselves that there are many Arguments, and many plain Passages, in them, even upon this same Subject, which evidently condemn their whole proceeding: besides multitudes of *other Doctrines*, *main Doctrines*, largely handled in the *Homilies*, which these

Great



*Great Churchmen* not only do not receive, but hold in the utmost contempt. Ask them therefore, Will you be determined, in *other* Matters, by the *Homilies* of the Church; and by the *Interpretations* of *Scripture* in them: for instance, about *Justification*, *Faith*, *Antichrist*, *Musick* in *Churches*, and *Ceremonies* too; and in many other Points, upon which great stress is there laid? If They will not, (as I know, they will not,) They can never more expect you to yield up your *Assent*, in another Point, merely because They chance to like it, and think, They should gain by it.

Your *Answer* therefore, is plain before You. Supposing the *Doctrine* of the Church to be plainly, in this particular Instance, on *their* Side; the Church it self requires You to be determin'd solely by the *Scripture*, whether it be *true* or not. And, again, Supposing this *Doctrine* to be as They represent it, You have the same liberty to differ from *this* Point, which these Gentlemen themselves have in many *Others*, upon which equal Weight is laid. They, of all Persons living, must never reproach You, till They can shew You, their *Scheme* of *Church-Authority*, *Sacerdotal Powers*, *Regular Successions*, *Authoritative Benedictions*, and *Absolutions*; or their *Notions* of many other Points, not to have been condemn'd even with Zeal by the Church of our *First Reformers*. But then again, this *Doctrine*, as They represent it, and profess to practice it, is not the *Express Doctrine* of the *Homilies*. The particular Case of a *Total Destruction* is not there put: and nothing less than the putting that Case, can justify the interpreting All *Other Expressions*, absolutely, and inflexibly. And to convince Our *Adversaries* themselves of *this*, it is enough to remark, that otherwise They themselves differ equally from them, upon this very Subject: which perhaps they will be surpriz'd to hear. The *Homilies* do not put the Case of *Lunacy*, or *Idiocy*, in a *Prince*. Ask them, therefore, Doth what They say, absolutely conclude for *Personal Allegiance*, and against the *Coercion* of a *Regency*, in such a Case? If *not*, as They allow; here is a *Demonstration*, that the *Doctrine*, however express'd, is not *Absolute*; and consequently, in Cases which *equally* affect the business of *Government*, equally admits of an Exception.

Nor need it move You, that They have presumed to declare this *particular Doctrine* a *Heresy* determined by the Church, alledging that the *Compilers* of the *Homilies* have called it a *False and damnable Doctrine*. For supposing, (which indeed, is not true) that the Church hath professedly and directly, spoke to the Case; 1. It is evident that They are self-condemn'd by this Rule, because



because they allow, in the *Case of Lunacy*, what equally contradicts the *Doctrine* of the *Church*; and so are equally Guilty of *Heresy*, as They themselves have stated it. 2. You may see plainly in another Instance, that they *say, and unsay; maintain, and deny*, just as their own Cause requires: when *They*, who would have *others* declared *Hereticks*, by Consequence; yet will not be content to be judg'd *Excommunicated* even by the Express Words, and Purpose, of a *Canon* of the same *Church*, which declares it in so many words against *All*, who deny the *King's Supremacy*: which They openly profess to be an *Usurpation* in *All Kings*. This will shew you, that They only urge the *Authority* of the *Church*, to overbear *Others*; whilst they will not be determin'd by it themselves. 3. If it could be shewn that some of their own darling Principles are treated in the *Homilies* as *false* and *dammable*; (as I believe it may;) I am very sure, They would not think this the same, as if the *Church* had expressly Condemn'd them, under the Name of *Heresy*; nor acknowledge Themselves *Real Hereticks*, and their *Episcopacy*, and *Holy Offices*, affected by it, even if such an express Condemnation had been passed. But, let us proceed.

III. As for our *Legal Constitution*; there are few of the *Non-jurors*, who do not prefer *Absolute Monarchy* before it. But *Some* of them do indeed sometimes mention it in their Arguments, because, by the seeming Contradiction of some of our *Statutes* to others, They think, They can confound the Understandings of the Unskilful. And as for *Others* of them; as the *Papists*, by the *Church* establish'd by Law, when they speak in it's favour, mean the *Popish Church* establish'd by *Laws* made before the *Reformation*: so, They play with the Word a little at their leisure, and by our *Constitution* mean, what it was, when they imagine our *Kings* to have been *Absolute*; and from thence conclude, no other Right to be in our *Laws*, but what hath flow'd from their voluntary Concessions, and what may still, upon that Account, depend upon *their Wills*. I shall therefore, not enter here into any nice *Examination* of what You cannot so well judge of, but put you in mind of *something*, which flows from *General* and *Comprehensive Principles*; and which may be applied to *All Constitutions*; and to our own in particular, let it be, as They represent it, or not: *viz.* That, as the *By-Laws* of any *particular Corporation*, are always supposed to be agreeable, and subordinate, to the *Law* of the Land; or else to be Invalid: so, all *Constitutions* are under the *Universal Law* of God, and of *Humane Society*. And to apply this to Our *Adversaries*, in your *Answers* to All that They will sometimes allege out of



our *Statutes*, against *Coercion*, or withdrawing *Allegiance*, or the like, there needs nothing, but to put you in Mind, that They themselves are forced to mollify all *Constitutions*; and particularly to add an *Exception* to the most *Rigid Statutes*, in our own, by allowing that a *Lunatick*, or an *Idiot*, may be coerced; put under the *Restraint* of a *Regency*; which is an *Effectual Exclusion* of Him from *Government*, and from All Right to the *Personal Allegiance* of his *Subjects*: and all this, merely because He is wholly incapable of answering the *Ends* of *Government*.

This Foundation, You see, is so plain, that All, even the most unwilling, acknowledge it, in the *Case* of *Idiocy*; or *Madness*. From hence You will furnish your selves with this *Argument*. As it is impossible, in the Nature of the Thing, and by the *Confession* of our Adversaries themselves, that any *Constitution* of *Government*, or the most express *Declarations* of *Written Laws*, can be supposed to intend to impose upon any *Nation* the indispensable Duty or Obligation, of paying *Obedience* or *Allegiance*, to an *Idiot*, or a *Madman*; and this solely, because the *Ends* of *Government* cannot, in any tolerable degree, be answer'd by Them, So, upon the same certain Foundation, Let the *Constitution* of a *Nation* be what it will; let it be from *God*, or from *Man*; Let the *Declarations* of the *Laws* be never so strong; They cannot be supposed to intend to oblige a *Nation* to their own utter Destruction, in any parallel Case; to forbid whatever is necessary for the Preservation of the whole; to take away, or to give up, their *Right* to set aside, in the Best manner the Circumstances of Affairs allow, all such *Persons*, as are *equally* incapable of answering the *Ends* of *Government*, in a tolerable degree; and therefore, in the same Rank, upon that Account, with *Idiots*, or *Lunaticks*; and to invest the *Authority* in others. The *End* of *Government* is acknowledg'd the sufficient only *Reason* for setting aside *Lunaticks*, or *Idiots*: and therefore the same *End* of *Government* holds equally in all parallel Cases. And as the *Argument* from hence, is of that Nature, that you may securely depend upon it: so, It will be of Great Use therefore, thoroughly to apprehend it, and constantly to have recourse to it; because Our *Adversaries* themselves are forced, against their Will, to resolve all into *this*, even in the Highest supposed *Case* of *God's* Instituting *Monarchy* absolutely *Hereditary*; and in their interpreting Passages of *Scripture*, which yet, at other times, they would force upon others as *Absolute Rules*, without Exception; and much more must do it, in their *Appeals* to our *Church*, or our *Constitution*.



The *main Point*, necessary to make All this, which is true in it self, useful to Us, in this Debate, is to consider, Whether what hath been done in this *Nation* can be justified upon this Foundation: that is, in other words, whether the setting aside the *Popish Line*, be not, in Truth, setting aside a *Line* of *Princes* incapable of answering the *Ends* of *Government*, in our *Nation*. The Consequence of which was, going no farther from the *strait Line*, than to the *nearest Protestant Branch* in the same *Royal Family*.

Now, *All Incapacity* is the same, in the Effects and Consequences of it, to the Concerns of a *Nation*. It is of no Importance, whether it be *Natural*, or *Moral*. If therefore, you doubt of the *Incapacity* of the *Popish Line* for our *Government*; Reason and Experience will soon convince You. In Reason, You will see it plain, that any *Prince*, who hath *Principles* in Him, that oblige Him, in point of *Conscience*, to destroy Us, is incapable to preserve, and make Us happy. But a *Prince* fully possess'd by the *Popish Religion*, is under the Command of *Principles*, which teach Him that it is his *Duty* to destroy Us. And, therefore, must have the greatest of all *Incapacities*. I say, The *Greatest* of All. For an *Idiot* may be kept quiet. A *Lunatick* may be controll'd, without incurring Censure for it. But One, who is not suppos'd to be out of his own Governance; and yet is a *Bigot*, perfectly under the Influence of such a Religion, is by that means free from the Restraint of others; at liberty to follow his own Counsels, and obliged by them to destroy All that stands in the way of those Counsels.

Go to the *Experience* of Other Nations; and that will shew You, there never was a *Popish Prince* over a *Protestant People*, who did not make good this Observation. Return to your own; The *Histories* will tell You, what *Queen Mary the First* was, under the highest Obligations to *Protestants*: and the Memory of Your selves, or of Many others now alive, will tell you what the late *King James* was, under the same or greater Obligations to the *Body* of *Protestants* in this *Kingdom*; and under the *Additional Obligation* of the most solemn Promises. He, who set up in Himself, the *One Comprehensive Principle*, of a *Right* to dispense with our Laws at his pleasure, was *incapable* of our *Government* by Laws. It was not any *One particular* Action, but the Tenour of his *Actions*, and this *Avowed Principle*, which convinced the *Nation*, and all Orders, Degrees, and Parties, of *Protestants* in it, of His *Incapacity*. If any of the *Non-juring Bishops* were now remaining, You might ask them, Why they



they themselves set their Hands to the Invitation of the *Prince of Orange*, and his *Army*; which could be upon no other Bottom, but that they had found King *James* incapable of Governing this Nation. For if He were *capable*; there was no need of an *Army* of Directors and Advisers. You may ask *Those*, who were for setting up a *Regency* over Him, whether *That* was not a plain *Confession* that He was *incapable* of the *Government*. For it is an Insult upon common Sense, to go to perswade the World that He would, in *that* way, have been any more *King*, in effect, than He was, when He was declar'd to have *Abdicated*. So that *All*, You see, conspired; as well *Those*, who took the *Oaths* afterwards to King *William*, as *Those* who refused them; to declare and acknowledge that unhappy *Prince* to be as truly *Uncapable* of *Governing* this *Nation*, as if He had been an *Idiot*, or a *Lunatick*.

Now, I beseech you, what was it that was his *Incapacity*? What was it, that had satisfied All in general, (*Church-men*, especially, I may say) at that Time, that He was *incapable*? His Natural Temper, His Moral Accomplishments, were in themselves no worse than those of many other *Princes*. No, It was his *Religion*, that gave Them their bad Turn. It was his *Religion*, only, which made Him *uncapable*: His being of a *Religion*, which, when it is fully possess'd, obligeth and prompts its Votaries, to destroy and ruine Us, and our *Laws*.

And this being so plain from *Experience*, that They themselves, who now differ from Us, in effect acknowledg'd this *Incapacity* in King *James*, arising from his *Religion*, at a time when They were much better Judges of it, than They can be now: the next Point is, whether it be not as plain, that the same *Religion* produceth the same *Incapacity* in Others who heartily embrace it. Now this, I think, is evident from hence, that the same *Cause* must have the same *Effect*, where there is nothing to hinder it. *Popery* is a *Religion*, which, wherever it is receiv'd, must act, universally and equally, in the same way. It is a *Religion*, which leaves nothing to *Variety* of *Tempers*, or *Principles*; but layeth the same *Necessity* upon *All* Those who receive it, either to sacrifice all the World to it, or to be sacrificed to it themselves. It is the same *Religion*, in all its extent and latitude, which obliged that *King* to be *Uncapable*, who without it might have been very *capable*. And therefore, the *Incapacity* in Him, having arisen solely from his *Religion*; the same *Incapacity* must arise from the same *Religion*, in Others: because there can be no difference in the *Obligations* which it laid upon Him, and those it must lay upon any of his Successors.



The *same Cause*, which obliged King *James* to attempt to ruine Us, as it is the *same*, must lay the *same Obligation* upon all others in his Circumstances.

But that was his *Religion* alone.

Therefore *that* alone must have the *same Effect* upon Others, embracing it, as He did.

Nor can any *Promises*, or *Vows*, to the contrary, alter the Case. That, *Experience* also shew'd in *Him*: and the *same Religion* which obligeth to Our Destruction, permits and engageth it's *Votaries*, to Swear, and Promise, the contrary.

This therefore, is the *Incapacity*: as certain, and as destructive, as any *Natural Madness*. And if it be lawful to guard against the latter *Incapacity*; it must be so, to guard against the former: the Reasons being at least equally strong in both Cases. Nothing, therefore, remained for the Nation to do, but to take one of these Two ways. Either, to try, after one another, every *Individual Papist* in the *Royal Family*, in his Turn, free from All Restraint; or else, at once to *Exclude Them* from the Throne, either *without* the Ceremony of a *Perpetual Regency*; or *with* it: which alters not the Case. For such a *Regency* is in truth the same *Exclusion*: only a greater Deviation from the real Nature of our *Constitution*; and, in all probability, a more fatal Wound to it, in the End. It is indeed making a *Succession* of *Regents*, truly and properly *Kings*; an entire departure from the *Royal Family*: And, if you can without a Smile suppose that *Scheme* to have taken place, for All the *Papish Branches*, who either *All*, or *None*, require it, It is either an Alteration of the *Kingdom* from *Hereditary* to *Elective*: or a *Translating* it entirely from the *Royal Family* to a *Family* of *Subjects*; who will not be so weak as ever to part with what Others have been so weak, as to bestow upon Them.

Now, as to the *former* of the *Two Ways* just mentioned, it is as Absurd, as it would be to take a *Succession* of *Persons*, one by one, whom You have all the Reason in the World to believe equally *Lunatics*; only in order to satisfy your Curiosity, whether the same Degree of *Madness* will have the same Effect, in *All* of them; and so to play with the Fate of a *Nation*: which too certainly will be ruined by some One or Other of these, before You can lock them up, or procure a Force to tie their Hands. Nothing therefore remained, but the *other*: viz. To declare All Those to be equally *Incapable*, who really are so; and to try no more terrible *Experiments* with the *Lives* and *Liberties* of a Whole Nation, and of all their Posterity.

Here



Here then, is the *Argument*, which You may securely use against the vain *Attacks* of Our *Adversaries*, upon the *Protestant Succession*: let the Attack, be from *Scripture*; or from what They please.—

They themselves, *You may tell them*, acknowledge that *Natural Madness* is a good and sufficient Reason for excluding the next *Heir*, or *Heirs*, from *Government*; or, which is all one, for putting a *Nation* out of their Hands, into those of a *Regency*: the only Ground of which is, that Madness renders the Man incapable of answering the Ends of Government, and disposeth Him to overthrow and contradict Them in the Tenour of his Conduct.

Now, the *Popish Religion*, We know by many Experiments, as well as from its profess'd Nature, and Tendencies, and unalterable Obligations, is equally an *Incapacity*, in this *Protestant Nation*.

Therefore, it is *equally*, and with as much Justice, a *Reason* for putting under a *Regency*, or, which is all one, *Excluding*, the *Next Heir*, as any *Lunacy* can be.

And, because it is not accidentally *Bad* in *One* Person; but, in it's own Nature, equally and effectually working, in one Uniform manner, in *All* who are possess'd by it: it is therefore, the same undeniable *Reason*, for putting under a perpetual uninterrupted *Regency*, that is, *Excluding, All Papists*, as it is for excluding *One* who hath been tried; or, as it hath been allowed to be, for putting *Him* under a *Regency*, which is, in effect, the same thing, as to His *Government*.

This is the *Exclusion*, to which this *Nation* hath been Witness: and it hath been effected, in the most *Regular* manner, which the *Circumstances* of the *Nation* could possibly permit: and with such a *Regard* to the *Royal Line*, that the *very next Protestant*, in the same *Royal Family*, is declared *Heir* to the *Crown* of these *Realms*; that is, the *very Next* in the *Royal Line*, after Those, whose Government is, morally speaking, inconsistent with the *possibility* of the *Publick Safety*. Necessity, Reason, Prudence, The Nature of Humane Society, The Ends of Government, The Voice of God ever approving these *Great Arguments*, all conspired to promote, and to justify, what was done. Nothing indeed could have justified the not doing it: Nor could They, who had it in their Power, ever have answer'd to Themselves, or their Posterity the neglect of so great an Opportunity. But, blessed be God, it was done: And it was done in such a Manner, as that We can look back upon it with Pleasure, as upon a Transaction, in which



which the Honour of God, and the Interest of a Brave People; The *Liberty* of the *Nation*, and the Preservation of our *Religion*; are all concern'd: in which, a *Zeal* for *Publick Good* acted so noble a Part; declaring and asserting a *Right* to the present Possession of our *Illustrious Prince* and His *Heirs*, full of *Honour* and *Glory* to Themselves, as well as of the most Kindly and Benign Influences upon the Happiness of their Subjects.

I cannot but hope that what I have now said, and particularly this last *Argument*, drawn from the *Incapacity* of *Papists* to *Govern* this Nation, is so convincing, that I need add no more Words to prove that the setting aside a *Line* of *Princes*, as incapable of answering the *Ends* of *Government* in this *Kingdom*, as any *Lunatics* could be, carries along with it *Right*, and *Authority*, properly so called; is agreeable, or rather absolutely necessary, to the *Ends* of *Government*; and therefore, certainly approved of, by *God*. The *Consequence* of this, (allowed by *All*, who allow the *Other*,) is the present *Happy Settlement* in the *Next Protestant Heirs*: which I wish no longer to see treated, by Any who Swear to it, as an *Usurpation*; or *Mere Possession*; to be touched gently, and to be talk'd of as a Matter hardly defensible, and what one had better be ashamed of, than pretend to vindicate; but as a Matter to be Boasted of, by *All* who are concern'd in it; as what is founded upon the *Highest Right*, and the *Plainest Reason*, and can be supported by such *Evidence*, as nothing can shake.

I am sure, for my own Part, I have impartially turn'd it over and over again in my Thoughts; I have tried all the *Objections* against it, that I can think of; and I am more and more satisfied, that it hath all the *Demonstration*, in the way of *Political Truth*, which any *Geometrical Proposition*, hath in the *Mathematicks*. The *Ideas* are as clear; and the *Connexion* as visible: And, if such Evidence do not give the *Highest Right*, properly so called, to the *Illustrious House* of *Hanover*; it is impossible to tell what *Right* is; or what the difference is between *Right*, and *No Right*: A *Right*, I say, to their present *Possession*, thus plainly founded upon the *Necessities* of the Nation, the Preservation of it's *Government*, it's *Laws* and *Liberties*; and voluntarily declared, and consented to, over and over again, by the *Representatives*, truly so called, of the *People*; I mean of *Both* those *Parties*, into which it is our Unhappiness to be divided.

You see then, that there was a *Right*, to set aside King *James the Second*, and the Claims of the whole *Popish Line*, arising from their being utterly incapable of answering the *Ends* of *Government*. There was the same *Right* to provide farther for



our Security. The *Princess of Orange* therefore, was declared *Queen*: and with Her was joined, in the *Regal Authority*, the *Prince*, Her Husband; with *Her Consent*, and that of the *Princess of Denmark*: as it was necessary, for the perfecting the Great Work, He had begun. King *William* and Queen *Mary*, being vested with the *Rightful Power of King, and Queen*; I should now go on to argue, that the whole *Legislative Authority* had a *Right to Deprive* the *Bishops and Clergy*, who at that time refused to give the necessary Securities for their *Allegiance*; and maintain'd the *Popish Claim* to the *Crown*, still against that Government. But because, since that time, the *Nonjurors* have not thought fit to be content with denying the *Right* of that Government; but, (in order to flatter *Those*, whom They meant to deceive to their own destruction, with an *Absolute Independency* upon the *State*;) have espoused and propagated a *General Principle*, against All *Lay-Deprivations*; never heard of before in this *Establish'd Church*; nor known, at that time, as far as appears, by those very *Deprived Bishops* themselves: I must therefore, follow them, *first* in their *General Doctrines*; and *then*, in all their terrible Consequences, about *Schism*, and *Damnation*, by which they affrighten *Those*, whom they could not move perhaps by their other *Arguments*.

This is the *Second Main Branch* of my Design. And here it will be proper for You, *First*, to know, the Nature, and Extent, of the *Deprivation* here spoken of; and *Then*, to consider, in a more general way, whether this Power doth not, of Necessity, and in the Nature of the thing, belong to the *Supreme Rightful Authority* of a *Nation*.

Before I enter upon the *First* of these, (under which I propose to shew that this *Deprivation* of the *Bishops* was enacted to extend to all Parts, to which the *Supreme Authority* reacheth, and not only their own *Dioceses*;) it will be proper to remark that the *Advocates* of the *Nonjurors* contend against *All Deprivation* by the most *Rightful Supreme Power*, with a View always to the *particular Dioceses* of *Bishops*; founding their Arguments upon their particular *Relation* to their *Dioceses*; and denying to the *Supreme Power*, all Right of dissolving that *Relation*: because this, being all with regard to the Cause of our *Deprived Bishops* in particular, (upon whom Their own Conduct entirely depends,) may furnish Us with an *Observation* or *Two*, of some Importance. For here, it ought to be consider'd what our *Constitution* is, under which *These Bishops* accepted their *Episcopal Dignities*; and what They themselves had acknowledged upon this Subject.

And



And indeed, as to this particular *Branch* of our *Constitution*, it is manifest that, whatever *Power* or *Authority*, is conferr'd upon *Bishops*, by *Spiritual Persons*, at their *Consecration*; yet the *Right* of executing, or exercising this, in their *particular Dioceses*, ariseth originally from the *Nomination* of the *King*. This *Nomination* is vested in the *Crown*, by the *Laws*; and is ultimately resolv'd into the *Supreme Authority* of the *Nation*. Consequently, therefore, as They allow that what is *given*, may be *taken away*, by the *same Authority*; the *Right* to execute the *Episcopal Office* in a *particular Diocese*, coming in our *Constitution*, from the *Civil Power*, may be taken away, upon great Occasions, by the *same Supreme Power*.

The *Point* here is not, whether this be *Right*, and *Fitting*: But whether *This* were not, in fact, Our *Constitution*, when the *Deprived Bishops* were first vested with their *Ecclesiastical Authority*; and acknowledged so to be, by *Themselves*. One need not appeal to *Them*, if any of them were living. All the World knows that They themselves had, upon their *Knees*, solemnly and devoutly acknowledg'd, that *They had, and held their Bishopricks, and the Possessions of the same, entirely, as well the Spiritualities, as Temporalities thereof, only of the King's Majesty, and of the Imperial Crown of this His Majesties Realm*. This They had solemnly sworn: And by the *Spiritualities*, nothing less could be meant than the *Relation* between Them, and the *Church*, or *Christian Clergy* and *People*, of that *Diocese*, to which the *King* had *nominated* Them. From hence it follows that the *New-invented General Principle* of the *Nonjurors*, cannot possibly help the Cause of *Those Bishops*, who, by their own solemn Acknowledgment, could not but believe, (whatever They thought of the *Power* then in Possession,) that the *Rightful Civil Power* was vested with sufficient Authority to *deprive* them: Because, whatever they believed *Themselves* to hold solely from that *Civil Power*, They could not but believe, They might be *deprived* of, by the *same Civil Power*: That is, according to their own *Solemn Oath*, the *Spiritualities*, as well as *Temporalities*, of their *Respective Dioceses*. To return.

I. As to the *Nature*, and *Extent*, of the *Deprivation* here spoken of; *these* will appear most plainly, by setting down the very Words of the *Act of Parliament*, by which this particular *Deprivation* now spoken of, was *Enacted*: And They are these. *And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, that if any Arch-Bishop, or Bishop, or any other Person now having any Ecclesiastical Dignity, Benefice, or Promotion, shall neglect*  
or



or refuse to take the Oaths, by this Act appointed to be taken, in such a manner as by this Act is directed, before the first Day of August, in the Year One thousand, six hundred, eighty nine, every such Person and Persons, so neglecting or refusing, shall be, and is, and are, hereby declared and adjudged to be suspended from the Execution of his or their Office, by the space of six Months, to be accounted from the said first day of August; and if the said Person, or Persons, (so having neglected or refused,) shall not within the said six Months take the said Oaths in such manner, Court, or Place, as they ought to have taken the same before the said first day of August; Then He or They shall be ipso facto deprived, and is, and are hereby adjudged to be deprived of His and Their Offices, Benefices, Dignities, and Promotions Ecclesiastical.

The first Point here to be observed is, That upon their first Refusal, They were Suspended from the Execution of their Office for six Months, that is, from the Exercise of their Function, every where, where they could with any Right exercise it before; and every where equally, where their Exercise of it would equally affect the Civil Government: The Design of the Act being to guard against Them, in every Part of the Nation equally. From hence therefore, it appears that, upon their Final Refusal, their Deprivation was designed and enacted to be likewise a Total Deprivation from the Exercise of Their Office, where-ever the Authority of the Supreme Power extended it self. For it is absurd to suppose that the Final Deprivation was not to extend it self as far, as the former Suspension, which was but for a Term: Both being intended for the same Purpose. Nay, the very Words of the Act declare Them to be Deprived from their Offices, as well as their Dignities, &c. This then is the Deprivation here spoken of, A Deprivation from that Right to execute their Office, or exercise their Function, which They once had: And this, extended to All Parts of the Nation equally. To suppose the contrary; viz. that this Deprivation reached only to their own Dioceses, but that They might still, by some Means, or other, execute their Offices, in all Parts of them, in any or All other Dioceses, except their own; is to suppose the Act made in Jest; and so, as to destroy its own Intent, by Enacting that These Persons should have no Right to attempt to disturb, or ruine, the Nation, in their own Dioceses; but might disturb, and endanger it, as much as They pleased, in All other Parts of the Nation.

I have remark'd this, chiefly with a View to that Notion, that this Deprivation by the Supreme Power, took not away from  
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the *Deprived Bishops* their *Right* to execute the several Parts of the *Episcopal Office*, in any other Parts of the Nation, except *their own Dioceses*: From whence it will follow likewise, that any *Minister* of a *Parish* was *deprived*, by this *Act*, from officiating, only in *one* particular *Parish*; but that He had still remaining in Him, notwithstanding the *Civil Power*, the *Right* of *Officiating*, in *all other Parishes* of the *Kingdom*, where He could procure a *Permission*, or *Connivance*, from any *Bishop*. This, I confess, is not the *Plea* of the *Nonjurors* themselves, who never permit Themselves even to make the *Supposition* of *Any Right* in the *Civil Power* to deprive a *Bishop* from his *Office*, tho' it be within the Limits of His own *Diocese* only: but of *Some* who professedly, and, I dare say, very sincerely, oppose them. But, as this is so far from defending the particular *Deprivation* by that *Act* of *Parliament*, here spoken of, that it doth, in Truth, unwarily destroy the whole Intent of it; and leave the *Supreme Power* really destitute of all *Self-Defense* against *Those*, who might by this Allowance effectually ruine it: I hope, upon these Accounts, I shall not be censur'd for endeavouring to defend the *Deprivation*, as it is in Fact, and as it ought to be, in my own Judgment, for the answering the *Ends* of it, in any tolerable Degree. It is that *Act* of the *Supreme Power*, which is the Point in question: I find, both from the *Words*, and from the *sole Intent* of those particular Clauses in it relating to this Matter, that the *Suspension*, and *Deprivation*, were from the *Execution of the Office*, in all parts of the Nation equally. I think nothing less than this, would have been of any Importance to the *Nation's Security*: And therefore, it is *this*, which I am concerned to *justify*, in the best manner I can.

But here, as I pass, I can't forbear to take notice of what appears to be the *Prejudice*, which gives the *first* wrong Impression, and *first* leads Men's Thoughts out of the Way, upon this *Subject*: And that is, the Notion of *Something* in this Matter which the *Supreme Power* cannot take away, because it neither could, nor did, give it. It is enough here to put *Those* in Mind, who, by confining the *Deprivation* here spoken of, leave much more to the *Deprived Bishops*, for the endangering the *State*, than they will allow the *Act* to take from Them, that the same way of arguing will destroy even their own Design, and give back to the *Deprived Bishops*, that little also, which They *seem* willing should be taken from them.

They say, They are *deprived* of their *particular Relation* to their *particular Bishopricks*; and consequently, of their *Right* to perform their *Offices* in them: But not of their *General Right*



*Right* to execute the *Episcopal Office* in other Places: Because what the *Civil Power* cannot give, it cannot take away. But I would beg that it might be consider'd, that the *Bishops* Right to exercise their *Spiritual Powers*, in their own particular *Dioceses*, can no more be taken away, if this Reasoning be good, than the Exercise of them in other parts of the Nation. If this *Right* be entirely *Spiritual*, and conferr'd solely by God; it must be allowed to be equally so, both with relation to a particular *Diocese*, and to the other parts of the Nation. For I suppose No One maintains this *Right* to Execute their Office to be a *Composition*, made up of Two Parts; the One *Spiritual*, conferr'd upon Them by a *Spiritual Authority* for all other Parts of the Nation; and the Other, of a *Civil Nature*, conferr'd by the *Civil Authority*, for their own *Dioceses*. Consequently, If They may lawfully be deprived of this *Right*, in their own *Dioceses*; they may as lawfully be deprived of it, in Others: And again, If They cannot lawfully be deprived of it, in All others, because this *Right* is of a *Spiritual Nature*, and not conferr'd by the *Civil Power*; then, not in their own: which yet is contended for. For the Argument, being drawn from the *Nature* of the *Right*, and the Inability of the *Civil Power* to take away, what it did not give, holds as strongly against the taking it away in one place, as in another. They therefore, cannot but allow of a *Total Deprivation*, as to the *Right* of Executing the Office, who maintain the Rightfulness of that *Partial Deprivation* which They allow to extend justly throughout a particular *District*, or *Diocese*. This appears more plainly, in the Case of *Parochial Ministers*. For how unreasonable, and, in truth, how insignificant, is it to say, that the *Civil Power* may indeed deprive a Man from the *Right* of Executing his Office in his own *One Parish*; but hath no Authority to deprive Him of it, any where else; but, notwithstanding any thing the *Civil Power* can do, He may do what Mischief He can, in the Execution of his Office, in all other *Parishes*, but his own. The same holds exactly in the Case of more, or less, extended *Deprivations* of *Bishops*.

If this, therefore, be the Argument, that the *Civil Authority* cannot take away *Spiritual Powers*, which it never gave; or make any Person totally cease to be a *Bishop*; there are Two Ways, I think, of satisfying those *Worthy Persons*, who argue in this manner. For, first, if They would attend to it, They would find that the *Deprivation* of Greater Extent is no more the taking away of *Spiritual Powers*, than the other; and that the *Deprivation* from a Right to execute the *Episcopal Office*, in All *Dioceses*, and Parts of the *British Dominions*, makes the



Man no more totally cease to be a *Christian Bishop*, than the same sort of *Deprivation* confined to his own former *Diocese*; no more *totally* takes away the *Episcopal Character* than the Other. This will appear more clearly, if we put the *Case* of one of these *Bishops*, *Deprived*, as is here said, from his *Office*, only in his own particular *Diocese*; and still living within the Bounds of that *Diocese*: which was indeed the *Case* of *Bishop Frampton*. For, If He still remains a *Christian Bishop*, in that *District*, within the Bounds of which He is rightfully *debarr'd* from his *Office*; then, the *Deprivation* from the *Execution* of his *Office* within those Bounds, doth not make Him cease to be a *Christian Bishop*, even within Those Bounds. Consequently, neither will a more extended *Deprivation*, make him cease to be a *Christian Bishop*, tho' it deprive Him of the *Right* of executing his *Office* all over the *Nation*: because a *Deprivation*, extended throughout a whole Country, can have no other Effect, or Consequence, in the whole, than a *Deprivation*, confined to any one Part of it, can have, in that one Part. This may help to shew, that there is no *Real Difference*, as to this Point, in *Deprivations* of a larger, and of a smaller Extent.

But in truth, neither in the *One*, nor the *Other*, doth the *Lay-Power* concern it-self at all with the *Powers*, or *Capacities*, within: but only takes care that They shall not be exerted to the Hazard of the *Publick* committed to its Care. And if it be *lawful*, for the *Safety* of the *Publick*, to *deprive*, or *hinder*, from the *Execution* of *Spiritual Offices*, within a particular *Diocese*, or a particular *Parish*; as is here allowed: it cannot but be equally *lawful*, to *deprive* from the *Execution* of the same Offices, in *All Dioceses*, and *All Parts* of the Kingdom, if the same *Safety* of the whole equally require it. And that it doth equally require it, is as evident as possible, both from the *Nature* of the Thing; and from the *Practice* and *Principles* of our *Nonjurors*.

But again, *Secondly*, Supposing that either in the *One*, or *Other*, or *Both* of these *Deprivations*, *Total* and *Partial*, it should be implied, that the *Civil Power* takes away, what it never gave; it is worth while to remark, that *this* is no manner of *Argument* against the *Rightfulness* of the *Thing*: as appears plainly in the *Case* of *Property*, and of *Life* itself. It is evident that, in the nature of the thing, *private Property* is before the Institution of a *Settled Government*: because the great End of that *Institution* is the preservation of that *Property*. It is not *Given*, but *secured*, by the *Civil Power*. But the *Civil Power* can by force, and by right, take away the Part, or the Whole, of the *Property* of particular Members, when that becomes absolutely necessary for the



the Safety of the *whole*. And so, can take away, what it *never* gave. The same may be said exactly as to *Life* itself: which the *Civil Power* rightfully takes away, (tho' it never gave it,) for the good of the *whole*. From hence it follows, that Tho' the *Right* to exercise an *Ecclesiastical Office* be not supposed to come, in the least degree, from the *Civil Power*; yet it may be taken away by the *Supreme Civil Power*, just as *Life*, and *Property*; and upon the same *Account*, viz. if the continuance of it be inconsistent with the Safety of the *Whole*: and this, not by any *Spiritual Power*, but by a *Right* inherent in it, and inseparable from it, to guard the Society from being undone by *Ecclesiastical Officers*, as well as by *Lay-men*.

But if, notwithstanding All this, Any Persons will contend that the *Supreme Power*, even supposing it to be *Rightful*, cannot *deprive*, *debar*, or *hinder*, (for we do not dispute about the *Words*, but the *Thing*,) its Profess'd Enemies from *Executing* their *Spiritual Offices*, in such Sense, but that there will still remain, in the *Bishops*, and *Clergy*, so deprived, a *Right*, properly so called, to execute their Offices, as They shall judge fit; I shall only add, that They who think thus, will find it very hard to prove that They themselves have any *Right*, either to blame the *Nonjurors* for doing what, according to *Themselves*, They have a *Right* to do; or, to join with *Those*, who have been set up in opposition to *Their Bishops* and *Clergy*, whom They thus acknowledge to have had a *Right* to execute their several Offices, even to the manifest hazard of the *Publick*; and a *Right* not to be controll'd by that *Right* which the *Supreme Power* hath to All Things necessary for its own Defense, and Preservation.

You will by this time see plainly, from what hath been said, that the *General Scheme* of our present *Nonjurors*, is a *New-invented Engine* of courting Some amongst Us to their own Ruine; never thought of, nor believed, at the time of their *Deprivation*, by those very *Bishops*, in whose Cause it is so much pleaded; and, if we may judge by what They had solemnly declared, probably abhorred by *Them*. All the *Argument* which They could make use of, in this *Case* was, The want of *Authority* in the *Civil Power* then in possession: But not, the want of *Authority* in the *Civil Power*, supposing it to be the *Rightful Power*. And, as to that Matter, I think, I have shewn you that the *Supreme Civil Power* then in possession, had as plain, and evident a *Right*, as the *Eternal Law* of God can give to any Government.

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You see likewise that the *Controversy* is now turn'd to that *General Principle*, which denies this *Right*, as much to the most *Rightful Civil Power*, as to the most *Unrightful*.

Having therefore now, as I pass'd, remark'd what was our declared *Constitution*, ever since the *Reformation*; and known and acknowledg'd so to be, by those very *depriv'd Bishops*, who are greatly injur'd by this *New Defense* of their *Followers*; and having shewn you, from the very *Words* of the *Act of Parliament* the *Nature* and *Extent* of the *Deprivation* Enacted by it; I am now much more willing,

II. To speak of it, with a general View to *All Civil Power*; because this will most effectually answer All the Pretences of our Adversaries; and to shew you, if I can, where the *Truth*, and where the *Fallacy* lies, in this Part of the *Debate*: which now gives us leave to suppose the *Civil Power* to have all the *Right possible*.

What I have to say will rest upon this uncontested Principle: that *every Civil Government hath a Right to every Thing necessary for its own Defense, and Preservation*. The Gospel hath not made the least *Alteration*, either in the *Pretensions*, or *Rights*, of *Civil Governments*. From whence therefore, will follow another *Main Point*, That *no Powers given by the Gospel to any of its Ministers, can include any Thing in them, inconsistent with the Safety and Preservation of the Civil Government*. These are so certain *Maxims*, and so allowed by All; that, whatever *Powers*, or *Privileges*, are claim'd by any *Ecclesiastical Persons*, contrary to these, let them be what they will, must be *Groundless*, and founded upon certain Mistakes and Misrepresentations of *Scripture*. The *Arguments* therefore, which, I am well assured, will never fail you, in this *Controversy*, are These, which follow. And, however our *Adversaries* may disturb, or confound you with Hard Words, and Long Stories of *Transactions* of Weak Men, in several *Ages*, which it is easy to alledge equally on each side of every such *Question*; and which, therefore, prove nothing: Here You will find a *Resting-place*, and a *strong Retreat*, which They cannot shake.

Whatever is necessary to the preservation of a *Civil Government*, or to the hindrance of its Destruction, is included in the *Notion* of it.

But, to hinder effectually it's profess'd Enemies from *praying* to God, for it's Destruction; and instructing their *Hearers*, in what leads and obligeth Them to ruine it; this is absolutely necessary for its Preservation.

Therefore, *this* is included in the very *Notion* of *Civil Government*.  
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That this was the *Case* in our Nation, is plain; and that it may be the *Case* in *other Nations*, is as plain: And therefore, the Argument holds good against the *General Doctrine* of our *Adversaries*. To proceed,

Whatever is necessary to hinder the profess'd Enemies of a *Civil Government* from acting such a Part to its ruine, is within the reach of the *Civil Power*.

But the *Deprivation*, here spoken of, is nothing but another Word for it; nothing but the very least of what was necessary to the hindrance of that Evil.

Therefore, That *Deprivation* is included in the *Right*, which is lodged in *Civil Government*, for it's own necessary Defense, and Preservation.

The Absurdity of the contrary Method, will appear, by supposing that the supreme *Civil Power* had permitted it's open Enemies, who set up *another Civil Power*, in opposition to it, to enjoy their *Bishopricks*, and the Rights of Them; and *Them* and their *Clergy*, to be every Day, in their *Publick Congregations*, (as their *Consciences* would oblige them,) Praying and Preaching for another *King*, and against the present, with all their Zeal and Might. That *Civil Government* which had suffer'd this, had suffer'd its own immediate Ruine; and betray'd it's own Rights. Again,

Every degree of *Treason* is equally within the *Authority* of the *Supreme Civil Power*, effectually to prevent. And consequently, to prevent the *Publick Avowal* of it's own Ruine, and Destruction; which is certainly, in the Nature of the thing, *Treason*. This must be granted, upon the Supposition of *Treason*; and therefore destroys the *General Principle* of the *Nonjurors*: as I shall shew presently.

But in applying it particularly, I confess, I do not apprehend what a *late Author*, on that Side, means, by saying, that the *Worst of their Enemies* do not charge them with the same *Treason*, or the same sort of *Treason*, which He owns *Abiathar* to have been guilty of, against *Solomon*: which plainly consisted only in his having been in the *Interest* of a *Competitor* for the *Crown*. *Case of Schism*, p. 19. If He means by the *Worst of their Enemies*, Those who barely submit to the present *Government*, without thinking it to have any *Right* on its Side; I believe it may be true, that They are cautious of charging that Crime upon a *Party* of Men, whom They hardly think so much as mistaken. But as I rather think, He would call *Those* the *Worst of their Enemies*, who differ most from Them; and who truly think the present *Establishment* vest-  
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ed with All the Right that God and Man can give : I must assure Him, that We are obliged, by our *Principles*, to think Their *Prayers* and *Preaching*, to be *Treason* ; as they imply in them, according to Dr *Hicks* himself, not only an *Opposition* to our *Government*, but a Solemn Cursing of it ; and That a *Civil Government*, in it's Care of it's own *Preservation*, can make no Difference between *That*, and *Other* *Treason*.

The *Civil Power* hath a Right to hinder, by Force, All *Treason*, and *Sedition*. *Praying*, and *Preaching publickly* against the *State* ; Teaching and pressing *Rebellion* against *this State* ; Not allowing Any so much as to communicate, in the *public Offices* of *Religion*, who are not resolved *Enemies* to *this State* ; Declaring God's Wrath against *All* who support it : What are *These*, but *Treason*, made *ten times hotter* by *Religion* ? And what is *Treason*, if these are not Branches of it ? Now, This is the Avowed Result of the *Nonjurors* Adhering to the *Popish Line*. To hinder this, was absolutely necessary for the safety of the *State*. The least thing, necessary for this hindrance, was *Deprivation* : Which is, in Truth, Nothing but the *hindring*, and *forbidding that*, without the hindring of which, This must have been the *Public*, and *Open Procedure* of it's *Enemies* ; and the *hindring* it, without proceeding to the *Extremities* of *personal Imprisonment*, or *Banishment*. In this, the *Lay-power* takes nothing to it self, as a *Spiritual Officer* in the *Church* ; but solely, as endowed with a *Power*, and *Right*, to preserve it self.

*They* must be very weak, who are blinded in this *Argument* by the Word *Deprivation*, which happens to be an *Ecclesiastical Term* of *Art*. The *Deprivation* We are now speaking of, is nothing but hindring *Treason* by *Force*. And *that* can belong to no *Power*, but the *Civil Power*. The only *Answer* here can be, that this can belong to none but a *Rightful Civil Power*. That I maintain the *present Establishment* to be. But here, this *Answer* is of no Importance, because it must be remember'd that We are now speaking of that *General Principle*, which denies this *Right* equally to the most *Rightful*, and the most *Unrightful Civil Power*. To proceed,

Whatever *Power* hath a Right to do a *greater* Thing, which includes in it a *less*, hath a *Right* to do the *less*, included in it. The *Civil Power* hath a *Right* to do a greater Thing, which includes *Deprivation*. And therefore, hath a *Right* to do the less. A *Rightful Civil Power* hath a *Right*, for the Defense of the *Publick*, to *Imprison*, to *Banish*, or to *Execute*, any *Ecclesiastical Officer*, as well as any of the *Laity* : and consequently,



to hinder Him from the *Actual Exercise* of his Office, if that will sufficiently consult the Safety of the Whole.

This, tho' very evident, wants a little Explication: because our *Adversaries* grant the *One*, and deny the *Other*. *Bishops*, say They, *may be imprison'd, banish'd, fined, put to Death*, for the same *Reasons of State*, for which the *Laity* may: but they may not be *deprived*. Now, all this is, in truth, nothing but playing with Words. For what is this *Deprivation*, to which the *Civil Power* pretends a *Right*, but, in truth, and in reality, as much a *Civil Punishment*, upon a *Civil Account*, as any of the *Others*? Remember that the *Supposition* here, is allow'd by Themselves, of a *Rightful Civil Power*. This *Rightful Civil Power*, therefore, makes a *Law*, that All *Ecclesiastical Persons* refusing to give Security of their *Allegiance*, (which is known to arise only from the Obligation they think themselves under, of zealously adhering to a *contrary Power*, and opposing *this*;) shall not exercise their *Ecclesiastical Offices*, to the Ruine of this *Civil Power*. To say, that the *Civil Power* may *imprison*, or may *banish* them, or the like; but may not do *this*; is to say, that the *Civil Power* may not chuse any Punishment, but the most *Extreme*: It is to say, *The Civil Power may imprison an Ecclesiastic totally, but not partially; may banish an Ecclesiastic out of the whole Kingdom, but not out of a part of it*. For what indeed, and in effect, is this particular *Deprivation* of an *Ecclesiastic*, but a *partial Imprisonment*, as it is an hindrance from the *Actual Exercise* of his *Function*, as usual? What is it, but a *partial Banishment* from his former Station in the *Publick Assemblies*? The calling this a *Deprivation*, a thousand times over, alters not the Case at all. All the World knows, that the sort of it, We are now speaking of, was no other than *this*; a *Law* of the *Supreme Civil Power*, acting upon a *Civil Bottom*, for the preservation of the *Whole*; claiming only the *Power* of that *Preservation*, and of Defense against *Ecclesiastical Persons*, as well as others, and chusing this Method, rather than the *Extremity* of other Methods: Well knowing, that a *Right* to the *Greater*, includes in it a *Right* to the *Less*. Nor will the calling it, (in the more beloved Language,) the *Dethronization* of *Spiritual Princes*, help the matter at all. The business of the *Supreme Civil Power* (supposed here to be *Rightful*;) is effectually to guard what is committed to its Care. If the Consequence of that be, the *Dethroning* of *Spiritual Princes*, who threaten its ruine; this is no more against that *Right*, than the *Dethroning* of *Coordinate Temporal Princes*, when That becomes necessary to the same End. But it is indeed, no more than



hindring of *Temporal Subjects*, (for such *Spiritual Princes* are allowed to be,) from ruining their *Civil Governours*. This is all that the *Civil Power* hath done. And whatever follows from that by *Consequence*, the *Civil Power* cannot help; nor is it at all concern'd about.

Let us now consider *Two Instances*, which may serve to help Us more easily to conceive this Matter. The *One* is that of *Solomon*, the *Other* that of *St. John Chrysostom*, frequently mentioned by our *Adversaries*.

1. *Solomon*, in defense of his own *Right*, and the *State* in which He was *King*, deprived *Abiathar*; thrust Him out, by Force, from being *Priest* unto the Lord: which He was, before this. If this were not a *Deprivation* from a *Right* to *Exercise* an *Ecclesiastical Office*, there never was an Instance of a *Deprivation* in the World. If you will believe our *Adversaries* themselves, He might justly have imprison'd Him; or banish'd Him out of the *Country*; or even executed Him. But he chose this, as a *lesser Punishment*: and gives His Reason for not going to greater *Extremity* with Him. *I. Kings* 2. 26. *Solomon*, therefore, thought He had a *Right* to this, included in His *Right* to the other; as a *lesser*, in a *greater*. From hence the Argument is plain. If a *Rightful Civil Power* hath a *Right* to imprison, or to execute, for the Safety of the Public; much more, hath it a *Right* to what is less: that is, the thrusting out, or hindring by Force, any *Ecclesiastical Officer* from the *Actual Exercise* of his Office. I shall consider, and explain, this Proceeding of *Solomon*, more fully, in the following Pages. I mention it now, as it justifies me in the present Argument, that a *Right* to execute, or imprison, or banish, implies in it a *Right* to remove an *Ecclesiastic* from a Place of too great Power and Trust, to be left in the Hands of a *Traitor*: which one of the *Nonjurors* allows to have been the Case of *Abiathar*; and overthrows his whole Design by it.

2. The Instance of *St. John Chrysostom*, They often in vain mention; and in contradiction to Themselves, and their own Principles. He was banished: And banished, for speaking against the *Empress*. And They argue, in general, for the Advantage of their own Cause; because his *Successor* was an *Usurper*, not to be adhered to. But, granting this, what is this to their Cause? Let us suppose Him to have been a profess'd Enemy to the *State*, meeting with his People constantly to pray, and preach, with the utmost Zeal, against the *Rightful Emperour*; and, in consequence of his Notions, setting up *Another*, and denying Communion to All who would not join with Him against



gainst the *Emperour*. Let them put this Case; and They answer Themselves, that the Emperour had a *Right*, nay, might be obliged in Duty, to *Banish* Him, in defense of the Publick: In which, his *Deprivation* would have been so necessarily implied, that his *See* must have been Vacant; and another might have been *rightfully* put into it, according to their own Notions; if done according to the *Local Constitutions* of that Church. Had he been *banish'd* for *Treason*, by a *Rightful Civil Power*; then his *Case* had been something to this Cause: but entirely against their main Principle, even by their own confession. But as it is, it is nothing at all to the purpose; unless it be to prove that, by their way of arguing from it, the *Civil Power* can no more *banish*, than *deprive*, contrary to their own Allowance. To proceed.

Whatever belonged to *Civil Government*, still belongs to it by the *Will of God*; and is not touched by any *Rule of Practice*, or *Order of Ministers*, instituted by *Christ*: Only, the General Obligation of Obedience declared to lie upon *Every Soul*; and this *Declaration* made for the Sake of *Weak Christians*, who misunderstood, and misrepresented, the *Liberty of the Gospel*. Now again, a particular Set of *Christians*; and, (what is the great Wonder) a Set of *Christians*, who, upon Other Occasions magnify the *Office* of the *Civil Magistrate* to an *Absolute Uncontrollable* Height, against their *Adversaries*; taking away with *one* hand, what They so liberally bestow with the *Other*; plead an *Exemption* for Themselves: and plainly prove that They mean their *Doctrines of Submission*, for *Others*, and not for *Themselves*. For it is, in Truth, in effect, and in Consequence, an *Exemption from Civil Government*, if They can, under the pretense of *Spiritual Privileges*, and *Ecclesiastical Offices*, bring the World to think that the *Civil Government* hath no *Right* to hinder *Them*, (tho' it may hinder the *Laity*) from destroying it. For it is indeed, to say *that*, in other Words.

We are often told that *Kings, Princes, and States*, by becoming *Christian*, get *nothing*, but the *Great Privilege* of being *Subjects*, not only to *Christ*, and his *Gospel*; (which, I must say, are *Words* seldom mention'd by our *Adversaries*, with any such *Concern* as some *others* are;) but to *Ecclesiastical Princes*: Whom, by calling His *Vice-gerents*, They think to vest with *All* that *Authority* which He himself claim'd; nay, I will venture to say, in some Instances, with more *Mere Authority* than He himself ever claim'd. I will not here dispute this *Point* with Them; nor enter into that *Heap of Absurdities*, and, (in my Judgment.)



ment,) *Blasphemies*, which are implied in this *Enormous Claim*. I will only plead, in favour of *Kings, Princes, and States*, that They may *lose* nothing by being *Christian*: and shall think it enough, in the present Argument, to argue, from their own bountiful *Concession*, that *Ecclesiastical Princes, or Bishops*, have no *Right to depose Princes* or *ruine States*.

And my first Argument here, is this. Whatsoever a *Heathen* had a *Right* to do, in his own defense, *That*, the same *King*, becoming *Christian*, hath a *Right* to do. But supposing, for instance, *One* of the first *Christian Bishops*, behaving himself so, in all his *Spiritual Offices*, as to make and confirm the Temporal Subjects of the *Emperour*, his settled sworn Enemies, upon Principle; and in an Interest directly opposite to His: This *Emperour* would have a *Right* to defend Himself; and, by virtue of this, as our *Adversaries* own, to *banish*, or *imprison*, for ever, or even *execute*, this *Bishop*; in which is implied, as I have just now shew'd, his *Deprivation*, and the Vacancy of his *See*. The same *Emperour* therefore, losing no *Civil Right*, by becoming *Christian*, hath a *Right* to the same *Self-defense*: of which the other is only the Unavoidable Consequence.

Again, Whatever, *Solomon*, or any other *Jewish King*, had a *Right* to; the same remains to that *Prince*, supposing Him to become *Christian*. But *Solomon* had a *Right*, as He plainly saith of Himself, to have put *Abiathar* to death, as a *State-Enemy*; and, included in that, a *Right* to *thrust Him* from his *Ecclesiastical Office*, by Force. The same *Right* therefore, remains to *Solomon*, supposed a *Christian*, which was in Him, as a *Civil Governour*, whilst a *Jew*. The same is to be said of all *Supreme Civil Powers*.

From the *Concession* of our *Adversaries*, that *Bishops* have no *Right*, to *depose*, or *ruine*, *Kings, or States*, (supposed here to be *Rightful*;) the Argument necessarily stands thus. If *Ecclesiastical Princes* have no *Right* to *ruine* the *Supreme Civil Power*; then, the *Supreme Civil Power* hath a *Right* to defend it self against them, by Force, whenever that *Ruine*, or that *Deposition*, (for they are only different Words for the same thing,) is threaten'd, and profess'd: And consequently, a *Right* to every thing necessary for that *Self-defense*. The *Civil Power* therefore, may rightfully *hinder by Force*, their *Actual Exercise* of their *Office* in *publick*; whenever it is exercised so, as to teach, and inculcate upon their Followers, as well as to pray to God earnestly for, the *Ruine* of that *Civil Power*, and the Prosperity of it's Enemies. This *hindring by Force*, is the *Deprivation* now spoken of; and is the Consequence of that *Concession*. Because it is  
evident



evident that, supposing a *Civil Power* not to have this *Right*, it follows, that *Bishops* have a *Right*, not to be controll'd, to *ruine States and Kingdoms*, by their Conduct in their Offices; that is, to *depose Kings*, in reality: Which is contrary to the thing granted. Turn it over a thousand times, I am certain you will find the *one* or the *other* true; unless You suffer Yourself to be misled by the sound of Words. Either *Kings* and *States*, have a *Right* to *depose* *Bishops*, in Cases now mentioned; or, *Bishops* have a *Right* to *depose* *Kings*, and overturn *States*. But this is denied, at present at least, by our *Nonjurors* themselves. Therefore, the *former* must be true.

To proceed, As God approves of every thing necessary to *Civil Government*, it is necessarily implied in *that*, that He approves of no *Powers*, or *Privileges*, in any Persons upon Earth, which are in such Sense *Independent* upon it, as to be *Inconsistent* with it. And therefore, when any of our *Adversaries* assault you with *High Encomiums* of *Ecclesiastical Offices*; and extol to the Skies, the *Powers* and *Privileges* of *Clergy-men*; debasing every Thing below them: Assure them, That you are ready to pay all due Respect to Them, in the Execution of the *Good Work*, and *Holy Office*, They have undertaken: But remember at the same time,

Whatever *Powers* and *Privileges*, (be they of never so high a Nature,) belong to *Clergy-men*, must come from God, and Christ. But God, and Christ, cannot give Them any *Powers*, or *Privileges*, in such sense *Independent* upon *Civil Government*, as to be *Inconsistent* with it: because They cannot encourage any thing *Inconsistent* with what They approve of, in every Country of the World equally.

Therefore, No such *Powers*, or *Privileges*, can belong to any Body of Men, as imply in them that the *Supreme Civil Power* hath not a *Right* to every thing necessary to prevent it's own destruction.

There can, consequently, nothing be implied in the *Powers* or *Privileges* of *Clergy-men*, to hinder the *Supreme Civil Power* from *depriving* Them; if that *Deprivation* be necessary and sufficient for the Defense, and Safety of the Whole; A *Right* in any *Civil Power*, being an Insignificant Absurdity, without including in it a *Right* to defend that *Right* from all it's Enemies. And again,

If the *Gospel* hath established an *Independency* of it's *Ministers* upon the *Civil Power*, in such sense, as that the *Civil Power* hath not a *Right* effectually to hinder their *Preaching*, and *Praying*, and forming Societies, for it's destruction; then, the  
*Gospel*



*Gospel* hath left *Civil Government*, under *subjection*, and entirely at the mercy of its *Ministers*. But it is certain, that it is so far from *That*, that the *Gospel* hath left *Civil Government* as it found it; and hath, on the contrary, put its *Ministers*, and *Preachers*, as far as the Ends of *Civil Government* reach, equally under its *Authority*, with all Others. *Ecclesiastical Officers*, are no more excepted, than Any Others. If they were, there would be an End of the *Civil Power*, whenever *They* pleased to set Themselves and their Congregations, both in their *Public Prayers*, and *Doctrines*, against it. As certainly therefore, as the *Gospel* is a *Friend* to *Civil Government*; so certainly, the *Ministers* of it can have no *Powers* or *Privileges*, which can imply any *Exemption*, in *Cases* which directly affect the *Civil Power*; or, which is all one, can imply in them, that the *Civil Power* shall not defend and preserve it self from being destroyed by *Them*.

If it be objected, that the *Civil Power*, according to this way of arguing, may proceed to hinder all *Ministers* from preaching the *Gospel*; and the like; under the same Pretense: The Answer is plain, that it is no Argument against a *Right* in any Person, or Society, because *They* may *mistake*, and think it implies in it more than it doth. *They* who make this *Objection*, being in this inconsistent with Themselves, as in many other things, allow to the *Civil Power*, the *Authority* of *banishing*, *imprisoning*, &c. But still, with respect to the Power of *Depriving Bishops*, We find it ask'd, (by the *Person* who wrote with Dr *Hicks's* Directions, and under his Eye,) *Collect. of Papers*, p. 305. Doth not this Doctrine allow a *Nero*, or a *Julian*, utterly to destroy the Church, and thereby to frustrate our Saviour's Promise, that it should continue to the End of the World? I answer, No more than *Solomon's* Right to deprive *Abiathar*, allowed the *Jewish Kings* to destroy the whole *Priesthood*, and the whole *Mosaical Religion*. If this was no Argument against *Solomon's* Right; no more can it be an Argument against the same Right in Others. I answer again, Not so much, as the Power of *banishing*, and *imprisoning*, and *executing*: which is allowed of, in general. But I hope, The *Nonjurors* allowing this, doth not imply in it, the *Allowing* a *Nero*, or a *Julian*, to persecute, to banish, to execute, unrighteously, or unjustly. If it doth; I am sure, that is a quicker Way to the destruction of the Church, than the other. And if it doth not; then there is an End of this false Argument. One would indeed, blush for Men, who talk of Argument, to read such a Question as this: And for Men, who profess so great a Concern for Christ's Promise to his Church, above



bove their Neighbours, to find them in as mean an Opinion of His Power, or Veracity, as the greatest Deist himself could be; and imagining that any thing that a *Nero*, or a *Julian*, can do, can hinder *Christ* himself from fulfilling his Promise.

But there is another thing, which They would do well to consider; that this same *Objection* would be hard against *Ecclesiastical Power* it self; which They, who make it, would willingly preserve untouch'd. It hath proved true in *Fact*, that the *Ecclesiastical Power*, under pretense of having *Authority* in matters of *Religion*, hath absolutely, in many Countries, extinguish'd the very Light of the *Gospel*, and put in it's place, nothing but what is calculated to support it's own Exorbitant Pretensions. Will these Persons allow that this is a Good Argument against all *Ecclesiastical Authority*; because it hath been *abused* against the Good of *Christ's Church*? When *Others* therefore, contend that the *Civil Power* must have a *Right* to every thing truly necessary, for it's own Safety: Ought it not to be as much allowed by *Themselves*, that Mistakes, and Wickedness, are not at all justified by This; but indeed, condemn'd, by Implication and Consequence?

That which seems to me to have cast a cloud over so many Understandings, in this *Controversy*, is, the Imagination that this it to intermix the *Civil Power*, in matters not of a *Civil Nature*; and to make it interfere with *Other Powers*, of a quite different sort. It will therefore, not be improper to shew You, how the *Case* stands between Them; and that the very *contrary* to *this*, is true: Still remembring the Supposition, allowed in this *Debate*, of a *Rightful Civil Power*.

Whatever affects the *Civil Power*; let it be, in it's first *origin*, never so much of an *Ecclesiastical* or *Religious Nature*; tho' esteem'd an *Article*, or *Duty*, of Religion by *Those* who embrace it; This make no difference: If it directly and plainly affects the *Civil Power*, it becomes a matter of a *Civil Nature*, and, in the Eye of the *Civil Power*, can be looked upon as no other. It is of no importance, upon what it is originally founded; or of what Nature it is, in it's first Principle; or, whether it be embraced, by any Set of Men, as part of the *Gospel* it self, or not. Whatever it be; if it directly affects the *Civil Power*, it becomes, I say, a matter of a *Civil Nature*: and is made, of necessity, the Object of the *Magistrate's* Care and Concern.

For Instance, It was a matter of a *Religious Nature*, to *Those* who embraced that wild *Notion*, that the *Temporal Kingdom* of *Jesus Christ* was to be set up by *their Force*. But to the *Civil Power*, threaten'd and attack'd by this, it was as much a matter



of a *Civil Nature*, as the setting up *One* of themselves in open Rebellion, would have been. Thus, in the present Case, *Publick Praying*, and *Preaching*, is a matter of a *Spiritual*, and *Ecclesiastical Nature*. But *Publick Praying and Preaching*, against a *Civil Government*, is, to that Government, entirely of a *Civil Nature*: and can be consider'd no otherwise by any one. It becomes *Civil Rebellion*: and is properly the Concern of the *Civil Power*. It may be an *Article* of some Men's *Religion*: And their *Consciences* may be so framed, as to direct them to it; as it was, in the Case of the *Fifth-monarchy-men*. In this respect, They must be left to God the Great Judge of the World. But, as to the present State of things, this doth not change the Case. It becomes truly of a *Civil Nature*; and is not at all alter'd by being called *Praying*, and *Preaching*, by virtue of any *Spiritual* or *Ecclesiastical Authority*. To interpose in it, is to interpose in it, as it is a matter of a *Civil Nature*, threatening Ruine to the *Civil Power*. And whatever is necessary to the hindring that *Evil*, is likewise so far, of a *Civil Nature*, and the *Duty* and *Right* of the *Civil Power*.

Again, The Exercise of the *Episcopal Office* is a matter, primarily, of an *Ecclesiastical Nature*. But the Exercise of the *Episcopal Office*, to the destruction of a *Rightful Civil Power*, (which is here supposed,) is of a *Civil Nature*: And the doing whatever is necessary, to the preventing that Ruine, can be consider'd only as a matter of a *Civil Nature*. Now if it be necessary to that End, to hinder any One from the Exercise of that Office; this becomes a matter of a *Civil Nature*, because the *Civil Power* is undone without it. And consequently, It is not interposing in purely *Spiritual Matters*, but in *Temporal*, to exert that *Right*, which is in all Governments for their *Preservation*.

How often hath it been said by our *Greatest Divines*, that, had the *Christian Religion* contain'd any thing in it, tending to the Ruine of the *Heathen Civil Powers* then in being; or Had the *first Christians* spent their Time, in their publick Assemblies, in *Praying* and *Preaching*, against their *Persons*, *Rights*, or *Interest*; They could not have been blamed for persecuting and extirpating them? This would not have been any thing more, than interposing in a *Matter* purely of a *Civil Nature*: as *Every thing* becomes, let it take it's first *Rise* whence it will, as soon as it directly opposes, or threatens, the *Civil Power*. This would not have proceeded from any *Right* to mix the *Civil Power* with matters purely *Spiritual*; but from the *Right*, inherent in all Governments equally, of *Self-defense*, and *Self-preservation*.

This



This alone is sufficient for the present purpose: For there is no one, who denies the same *Right* to the *Civil Power*, in the Hands of a *Christian*, which is granted to it, in the Hands of a *Heathen*; because this is attributed to it, only consider'd as *Civil*.

The Great *Cloud*, therefore, I say, which hides the Light from some Men, is, the *Mistake*, as if what is here given to the *Christian Civil Power*, ariseth solely from an *Imaginary Right* in that *Supreme Civil Power*, to mix it self in Matters *purely Spiritual*. I have therefore, here stated the *Case*, in another manner: and shewn that this particular Deprivation by the *Supreme Civil Power*, is a Point of a *Civil Nature*; and ariseth, not from any Mixing of *Two Incoherent Powers*, but from the *One* Undoubted and Undeniable Principle, of *Self-defense*; and from this plain *Maxim*, that the *Civil Power* could not be the *Civil Power*, without having a *Right* (properly so called,) to do every thing, necessary for it's own Preservation from *Ruine*, and for the Support of it's *Civil Authority*.

The *contrary Supposition* will confirm what I say. For, supposing the *Civil Power* not to have this *Right*; then it must be true, that the *Ministers* of the *Gospel*, (which Expression I chuse to make use of, because of it's Extent,) have a *Right* to be exempt from the *Civil Power*, in *Cases* which affect the *Civil Power* in the tenderest *Parts*; and which are therefore, of a *Civil Nature*: or, in other Words, have a *Right* to ruine the *Civil Power*, (for *that* must be the Consequence;) and to set up themselves in it's very Place, and to make Themselves truly, and effectually, the *Civil Power*. Now this is a manifest Absurdity; a plain confounding of *Two Rights*, as distinct as *Heaven* and *Earth*: And only tends to make *All Civil Power*, follow the *Ecclesiastical*. This is, at first, *Imperium in Imperio*; a *Kingdom* within a *Kingdom*: which is, properly speaking, the setting up of *One Authority*, opposite and contradictory to *Another*, in the same *Individual Causes*; the setting up a *Spiritual Power*, in opposition to the *Civil*, in those very Points, in which the *Civil Estate* of the *Kingdom*, is extremely concern'd, and plainly threatned.

This *Contest* between these *Two Powers*, is an *Absurdity*, and a *Great Evil*, whilst it lasts. But it doth not last long. The *Civil Power*, properly so called, must quickly be swallowed up into the *Other*. It is natural to expect it, and true in *Experience*. At *Rome*, *All* is come, by degrees, to be lodg'd in the Hands of *One*. And in all other Countries, the more blindly, and strongly, the *Pope's Authority* hath been receiv'd; and the



more Extensive the *Exemption* of *Ecclesiasticks* hath been; the *Civil Power*, though lodged in distinct Hands, yet hath the more effectually been render'd insignificant; not to be possess'd, not to be maintain'd, without a *License* from the *Other*: Till All other Subjects, as well as *Ecclesiastical*, have been absolved from their *Allegiance*, upon several Occasions; and the *Civil Power*, (tho' never so *Rightful* in it's *Title*, or Good in it's Administration,) torn to pieces, at their pleasure. For if once this *Exemption* be granted; and it be so, that the *Ecclesiastical* is not under the *Civil Power*, in Cases of the aforesaid Nature: the *Civil Power* must be under the *Ecclesiastical*; and live and subsist upon its Good Pleasure, till the time comes of swallowing it up. Nor can there be any Difference in this *Part of Popery*, whether the *Pope* live at *Rome*; or in *England*. The summ of the matter is this.

The Supreme *Civil Authority* must of *Right* be endowed with every *Power* necessary to it's *Defense*, as a *Civil Power*. Otherwise, it is not the *Civil Power*.

But the *Power* of doing whatever is necessary for preserving it self from being ruined by *Ecclesiastical Persons*, as well as *Others*, is necessarily implied in this.

And consequently, must of *Right* belong to it.

And *this*, without the least interfering with *Powers* of another nature, or with any thing *essential* to them. For it is not at all necessary to the *Church of Christ*, that such or such a particular Person should have a *Right* always to exercise the same Office. If it were, no *one* could ever be *deprived* at all, by the *Authority* of the *Clergy*, any more than by *that* of the *Laity*. But it is absolutely necessary to the *Being* of the *Civil Power*, that any *Ecclesiastical Person* should be deprived of his *Right* to the Exercise of his *Office*, if that *Exercise* of his *Office* be inconsistent with the *Safety* of the *State*: which was the *Case* of *Abiathar*, in *Solomon's* *Reign*. Now this is *all* that is included in the *Deprivation* we are now speaking of: *viz.* the *Right* of hindring an *Ecclesiastical Person* from exercising his *Function*, which He cannot exercise without the manifest Hazard of the *State*. And, if instead of *Deprivation*, (which happens to be an *Ecclesiastical Term* of *Art*;) the same thing were express'd in those other Words; it could not possibly be denied to belong to the Care and Office of the *Rightful Civil Power*, and *that* only; and that the *Ecclesiastical Authority* interposing in it, would be to mix it self in a *Matter* purely *Civil*, and of a *Secular Concernment*.

And



And therefore, tho' it may be said, that *Deprivations* upon *other* Accounts must be performed by a *Spiritual Authority*; yet certainly, it cannot be proved, by any *Ecclesiastical Principles*, that *this* sort of *Deprivation* must be so. Because a Matter of a *Civil Nature* must belong to the *Civil Power*. Now, whatever, *Deprivations* upon several other Accounts may be; yet, without doubt, a *Deprivation*, upon an Account merely *Civil*, is a Matter of a *Civil Nature*. And therefore, not only belongs to the *Civil Power*; but cannot indeed belong to any other: nor depend upon the Consent, Ratification, or Confirmation, of any other. For if it did, it would be entirely at the Disposal of *that other*, whether the *Civil Power* should be supported or ruined: which is a Supposition absurd in it self, and destructive of all Human Society; and therefore cannot be true.

Our *Adversaries* often seem willing to interest the *Scripture* in this Part of the *Controversy*. But it happens that, in the *New Testament*, the *Gospel* is so represented, that the *Independency* of its *Ministers* is no more to be found *there*, than the *Independency* of its *Laity* upon the *Civil Power*. Every Soul is equally left *subject*, in matters of Concern to the Ends of *Civil Government*. And *Independency* in *these*, is as far from the *Sound*, as from the *Meaning*, of the *Gospel*.

And, in the *Old Testament*, from which they often bring their *Parallels*, there is so plain, and so unexceptionable an *Instance* against themselves, in this very *Point* of *Deprivation*, that, I think, their own *Answers* shew the Impossibility of getting clear of it. I. *Kings* 2. 27. *Solomon*, upon an Account merely *Civil*, relating to his own *Right* to the *Crown*, thrust out *Abiathar* from being *Priest* unto the *Lord*: And the same *Solomon* put *Zadock* the *Priest* in his room, v. 35. That is, *Solomon* deprived *One* of the Exercise of his *Function*, to which he had been appointed, according to the Institution of *God* himself: and the same *Solomon* appointed another to succeed him. What can be a more express *Parallel* than this, of the *Supreme Civil Power*, depriving one *Ecclesiastical Person*, and putting in *Another*, upon the sole Consideration of the *Interest* of the *State*? But this is evaded.

I. *Abiathar*, it is said, had not so much *Right* to that *Post*, as *Zadock*; and so *Solomon* did nothing but put out *One*, and put in *Another* who had more *Right*. Now, this admits of a Reply, equally disagreeable and contradictory to our *Adversaries* Principles, whether *Abiathar* was *Rightful High-Priest*; or not. For, if He had the *Right*; then *Solomon* displaced a *rightful High-Priest*. If he had not; then it is as plain, that



the *Peoples* Acceptance with God, and being blessed by God, did not so much depend upon the *regular Succession*, and *Right*, of Persons exercising the *Priestly Office*, as our Adversaries constantly contend, in this same Controversy. Besides, if this were so; this is an Instance of a *King*, depriving an *High Priest*, upon an Account merely *Ecclesiastical*, viz. because he was not the *rightful High Priest*; which is a stronger *Argument* against Themselves, than we can raise from hence. For, indeed, wherever the *Right* lay; it plainly appears, that *Solomon thrust Him out*, not because *He* had no *Right* to the *Priest-hood*, but merely because *He* had shewn himself an *Enemy* to his Title to the *Crown*: which makes this Instance of equal Importance to the present Argument, whether, *He*, or *Zadock*, had the *better Right*. The *One* was displaced, merely as an *Enemy*; the *Other* put in, merely as a *Friend*. Now the *Question* in hand is, not, what the Case was between *Abiathar*, and *Zadock*; but, what Ground *Solomon* went upon; or, what *Power* and *Authority* *He* assumed, as a *King*. And that was plainly this, to remove *one High Priest*, for being in a contrary Interest: and to place *Another* in his room, whom *He* could depend upon.

2. That *Abiathar* had been guilty of *Treason*, One of their late *Advocates* allows to be a good Ground for what he suffer'd. Now, what was this *Treason*, but setting up *Another Prince*, in Opposition to *Solomon*? The same Case exactly (in our present *Argument*, in which our Government is supposed to be *rightful*) with the *deprived Bishops*. If therefore, the *Deprivation* was lawful in *one Case*; certainly, in the *other*.

3. Another Evasion is, That the *Church perhaps* had *deprived* him before; tho' it be not so said. Now, if this had been so; and of so great Importance as we are often made to believe; the *Writer* of this History would not have omitted it, as a little *trivial Circumstance*. But how great (I had almost said, how wicked) must that *Prejudice* be, which, when the *History* saith expressly, *Solomon thrust him out from being Priest unto the Lord*; and again, *that the King put Zadock in his room*; nay, and relates the very Reasons, *Solomon* himself gave, why *He* would not *take away his Life*, as *He* might have done, but only *thrust him out from being Priest*: Which, after all this, I say, rather than desert a *Cause* which can't be defended, can *invent a new Account*; and interpose in this Matter, with *it may be*, and *perhaps*, *Solomon* did not *thrust him out* of that *Office*; but the *Church thrust him out* from being *Priest*; and that *Solomon*, in what *He* did, only follow'd *Orders*, and was the *Churches Executioner*? It may as well be said, that *He* neither order'd the  
killing



killing of *Adonijah*, nor of *Joab*; nor indeed had any *Right* over the Life of *Abiathar*, (which *He* plainly claims) without the *Authority* of the *Church*: for *one* is full as plain and exprefs, in the fame *Chapter*, as the *others*: and *all* spoken of, as equally flowing from his own *Civil Authority*.

4. Another *Evasion* is, That *Abiathar* had both the *Title* and *Revenue* of *High Priest* after this. But it is very plain that, what *Revenue* foever he had, was Matter of Favour and Mercy, not of *Right*; and only a Permission from *Solomon*. His being called *Priest* afterwards, can't poffibly prove that He was not *thrust* out from being *High Priest*, as the *Text* exprefly faith. For He could not poffibly be *thrust out from being High Priest*, and yet not be *thrust out*, at the fame time. He could not be *out* of his Office, and *in* his Office, at the fame Instant. Nor is it of any importance in this Question, whether *Abiathar* was afterwards only call'd *Priest*, as one that had been *Priest*; or whether He really were fo, or not. For if he was really fo, He was *restored* to his Office by the fame *Civil Power*; by *Solomon* alone: (tho' I can't fee how this *Supposition* is confiftent with the fulfilling the Word of the Lord, as it is faid in this fame place, referring to I Sam. 2. 35.) And this, I think, will be ftill more in favour of the *Civil Power*.

But thefe *Evasions* are all in vain: and fo it would be, if they could find never fo much difference between the Circumftances of the *Jewish Priests*, and the *Christian Bifhops*. The great thing, which they can never get rid of, is, that It is ftill, (let them fay what they please, and turn it round till their Heads are giddy with it,) an *Instance* of a *King*, a *Secular Prince*, a *Subject*, in their Phrafe, of the *Ecclefiaftical Power*, in Religion, *depriving, removing, thrusting out*, by his own *Authority*, his *Ecclefiaftical Superior*; *thrusting out* by Force, the *Priest of the Lord*, from being *Priest of the Lord*; *taking away* what He never *gave*; nay, what *Abiathar* had from God Himfelf. Let them put it in as high, and as terrible Words, as they please; ftill it is very plain that *Solomon* ventur'd at it, in his own Defense; and this without Censure, from God or Man. The *Point* is too evident to be denied, that *Abiathar* was in an *Ecclefiaftical Office*; that He was *thrust out*, or *deprived*, by *Solomon*, v. 27. (and not by the *Church*); that the *King*, (not the *Church*), put *Zadock* in his room. v. 35. and that *Abiathar* was never again in that *Office*, from which He was once *thrust out*, becaufe the Place was fill'd with *Zadock*; who is named before *Abiathar*, when He is call'd *Priest*, ch. 4. v. 4.



In the present Question therefore, the Argument from *Solomon's* Example, can be no other than *this*. *Solomon thrust out, or deprived, Abiathar, from being Priest, who was before Priest of the Lord; and the same Solomon put Zadock in his room: and this, upon an Account merely Secular and Political.*

Therefore, if *His Example* be of any Importance, it is the *Right* of the *Supreme Civil Power* to *deprive Ecclesiastical Persons*, and place *Others* in their room, when *Self-Preservation* really and plainly makes it necessary. Consequently, this *Instance* of *Solomon* is a *plain Instance* against the *general Principle* of our *Adversaries*.

This *Instance* of *Solomon* is likewise, as I have shewn before, a *plain Instance* of a *King's* having not only the *Power* of *Imprisoning, Banishing, Executing, &c.* but of *Depriving*: and a *Proof* that, if *Deprivation* secures the *State*, the *State* may chuse that *Punishment* which is less, before another which is greater, and to which it hath a *Right*.

One Thing I must repeat, before I leave this *Instance*. Either this *thrusting out Abiathar from being Priest unto the Lord*, (or, in *Dr. Hicks's* Language, from his *Throne*,) was a *Matter* of a *Civil Nature*; or of a *Spiritual Nature*. Let them chuse which they please. If it were of a *Civil Nature*; then, as such, it was perform'd by the *Civil Power*. If of a *Spiritual*; it will be of worse Consequence to the Cause of our *Adversaries*, because it will give to the *Supreme Civil Power* all the *Right*, which *Solomon's* Example can give, to interpose in *Spiritual Affairs*. Nor need the Fate of *Corah* (so often mention'd by our *Adversaries*) terrify them; because *Solomon* ought much more to have been terrified by *that*, if it had related to this Case: Whereas, it is plain, *He* thought it of no Concern to him, acting for his own necessary *Self-Defense*.

I have thus traced the Reasonings, and Insinuations, of our *Adversaries*, back to their Original and First Spring. And, I hope, I have fully satisfied You, in the *particular Controversy* between *Them*, and the *Protestant Succession*, now fixed amongst us, in *Exclusion* of the *Popish Line*, that the Nature and Ends of Government, the Will of God, and the very Being of our Laws and Constitution, absolutely *required* this *Exclusion*, and this *Settlement*; and therefore certainly *justify* the *Right* and *Title* of that *Illustrious Family* now upon the *Throne*, to the Consciences and Approbation of All who will *think*, without *Prejudice* upon this Subject: And likewise, in their *General Controversy* with all *Civil Power*, to which they absolutely deny the *Right* of deposing *Bishops*, and other *Ecclesiastical Persons*, that



I have proved *this Right* to belong to it, from the very Nature and Essence of *Civil Government*; as something so necessary to it's Preservation, that it may (at any time) be ruined and dissolved without it; which is the *highest* sort of Proof; and confirm'd, as I have shewn, by the *Gospel*; as well as by a plain *Instance* under the *Law*.

Supposing therefore, (what I never can grant for the Sake of the *Honour* of God, and of the *Christian Religion*;) that their *Grand Spiritual Topicks* had any Reason in them; that the Benefit of God's own Appointments to *You*, depends upon a *Regular, uninterrupted Succession* of *Rightful Bishops*; (which God's Providence never yet, in Fact, kept up, as far as we can judge of things;) or that your *Communion* with any *Bishops*, succeeding *such* as have been deposed by an unlawful and undue Authority, destroys all your Title to God's Favour (which *He* himself hath never told you:) I say, supposing these and the like Points, with which they amaze, rather than convince, their weak Followers; yet, here you have a Resting-Place, and you see how the Cause lies before you, as to the Concerns of our own Nation, to which They apply the whole.

The Exclusion of the *Popish Line*, from all *Civil Power* over this *Nation*, was necessary, just, and lawful. That *Civil Power*, from which *They* were excluded, was justly lodged in the Hands of the *next Protestant Heir*. *The Supreme Civil Power*, having then the true and proper Authority of *Government*, had a *Right* to every thing necessary to its own Defense and Preservation: And consequently, had a *Right* to *depose* those *Bishops*, who refused to give any Security of their *Allegiance*, and actually set up another *Civil Power* in Opposition to it. And the *Possessor* of the *Crown*, <sup>hath</sup> as certain a *Right* to name *others* to succeed *Them* in those *Bishopricks*, as any former *Kings* had before, to name *Those* very *deposed Bishops*.

There is no *Terror* therefore, from their *Allarms*, even upon their own Notions of *Regularity* and *Schism*: because, these *Bishops* having been *rightfully deposed*, their *Successors* are the *Regular Bishops*; the *Churches* of their *Successors* are the *true Churches*; the setting up *Altars* against *their Altars* is the *true Schism*; the Centre of *Unity* is with *Them*; and God's Favours and *Graces*, dispensed by *Them* alone. And much less *Terror* to *You*, from the *Excommunication* denounced in one of the *Canons* of the *Church* against *All* who deny or impugn the *King's Supremacy* in *Ecclesiastical Causes*; which some of them have the Vanity and Blindness to allege in favour of *Themselves*: arguing that the *King* there mentioned, is the *Rightful King*; that



that the *Rightful King* is the *King* whom They own; that all who join in the *present Establishment* deny *His Supremacy*, and consequently are *excommunicated* by the *Canon*; upon which *Excommunication* these *Christian Divines* command all God's Wrath to attend. One would think, it were enough to repeat *this*, to fill all their own Followers, with a *Detestation* of such Principles, as make the *Gospel* thus vain, and romantick, and barbarous. But their *Weakness*, is here equal to their *Presumption*. For there are *Two Ways*, to which they lie open to their own *Denunciations*. The *First* is this. If the *present Establishment* should happen to be *Rightful*, (as I have proved it to be, from the *strongest* of all *Civil Principles*,) then, these very *Men* themselves are the *Excommunicated Persons*, entitled to all the Evils of their own *Hypothesis*, supposing it to be *true*. The *other* Way concludes against them, more certainly. For, all the World knows that their *great Advocates* have zealously and openly denied the *Supremacy* of all *Kings*; as well of King *James*; as of King *WILLIAM*, and King *GEORGE*. From whence it follows, that either they do not believe themselves in the terrible things they tell us of *Excommunication*, and only use *them*, as they would *Stories* of *Hobgoblins* and *Bugbears*, to frighten the weakest of *Women* and *Children*; or else, that their *principal* and *mighty Advocates*, and all their Followers, have lived and died in that miserable Condition, in which they describe such Persons to be; that all their *sacred Offices* were invalid to their *People*, and *Nullities* in themselves; and that their own *Bishops*, and their own *Churches*, are *unchristian'd*, and *unchurched*, by themselves.

And again, when they tell you in some Places that *Polluting* or *Immoral Prayers*, and *Polluted Worship*, are sufficient Reasons for setting up and continuing *Bishops* against the Claims of *other Bishops*; this inevitably leaves in your own Consciences the Judgment of such Prayers, and such Worship: And this alone, upon their own *Church-Principles*, layeth an Obligation upon *All*, who sincerely judge the *Popish Line* to have no *Right*, and the *Protestant Line* to be *Rightful*, to depart from the *Communion* of the *Nonjuring Bishops*, and their *Worship*, in which they think God affronted by *immoral Prayers*; and to join in other Worship directly opposite to it. Nor can they possibly find out any Ground for condemning this procedure, but this *One*, which it is high time to be ashamed of, on all Sides, *That Men have a Right to judge about Doctrines and Worship, -if they judge as We our selves do: But if they differ from our Judgment, they have no such Right at all.*



I do not love, I confess, so much as to repeat the *principal Branches* of their *Beloved Scheme*: They are so different, from whencesoever they come, from the Voice of the *Gospel*. But the *Artillery* of our Adversaries, is certainly *thus* turn'd against *Themselves*. And, methinks, it should move them a little, to consider no more than this, that, unless they are *infallibly certain*, both of their *Principles*, and of their *Conduct*; it may be true that their *Bishops* were rightfully deposed; and that *then* they have themselves framed a *System*, to cast *Themselves* out of God's Favour, and to conclude *Themselves* under that State of *Damnation*, which they have invented for *Others*.

But this is not all that ought to be said to such a *System* of Powers and Privileges, as They have annexed to their *Spiritual Offices*: to create, one would think, the *Horror* of a *dreadful Veneration*, rather than the *Affection* of a *Reasonable Respect*. What I have just now remarked, may shew that there is so much to be said, upon the best and truest Foundations, for the *Right* of the *Supreme Civil Power* of this *Kingdom*, against the *Deposed Bishops*, that it is not out of any fear for our own Cause, that we need to deny their *Scheme* of *Church-Power* and *Sacerdotal Privileges*; because the *whole* may so easily be turned against *Themselves*. But this *Matter* is of that great Importance to all *Humane Society*: of that Scandal and Reproach to *Christianity* it self; of that Malignity in it's Influences upon the whole of true Religion; and of that Indignity to the *GOD* and Governour of the World; that it is, not only in our *Adversaries*, but in *All Parties*, and on all sides, universally and constantly to be opposed. This, therefore, will be *another* safe and easy Method of securing your selves against their *Spiritual Terrors* and *Allurements*.

When *They* would allarm you, (as their *Fellow-Labourers* the *Papists* do,) by telling you that you cannot hope for the favour of God, but in the *strictest Communion* with *their Church*; (which is the *true Church* of *England*, governed by *Bishops* in a *Regular Succession*;) that God hath himself hung your Salvation upon this Nicety; that He dispenseth none of his *Favours*, or *Graces*, but by the Hands of *Themselves*, and their Subordinate *Priests*; that you cannot be *Authoritatively* Blessed, or *Releas'd* from your Sins, but by *Them*, who are the *Regular Priests*; that *Churches*, under *other Bishops*, are *Schismatical Conventicles*, made up of *Excommunicated Persons*, both *Clergy* and *Laity*; out of God's *Church*, as well as out of his Favour: I say, when such *Arguments* as these are urged, you need only to have recourse to a *General Answer* to  
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this whole Heap of *Scandal and Defamation*, upon the Will of God; the Gospel of Christ; and the *Church of England*, in particular.

You may tell them securely, that you have not so understood the *Nature* of that *God*, who is your *Governour*, and *Judge*; that you have not so *learn't Christ*; or the *Design* of his *Gospel*; or, even, the foundation of this particular part of his *Church*, reform'd and establish'd in *England*. The following *Arguments* will justify you: Which therefore ought to be frequently in the thoughts of *All*, who have any value left for the most important Points.

*God* is just, and equal, and Good: and, as sure as He is so, He cannot put the Salvation, and Happiness, of *any Man*, upon what He himself hath put it out of the Power of *any Man* upon Earth, to be entirely satisfied in. It is certainly *Absurdity*, and, I fear, *Blasphemy*, to Suppose that *God* hath given away the disposal, either of his *Mercy*, or of his *Wrath*, out of his own Hands, into those of weak, vain, and passionate *Men*, as capable of all Errors, and of all Wickedness, as any of their Brethren. And, if He hath *not*; then you may, with security, as you ought in duty, depend upon *Him* alone, and wait for His *final Determination*.

It hath not pleased *God*, in his *Providence*, to keep up any Proof of the *least Probability*, or *moral Possibility*, of a *Regular Uninterrupted Succession*. But there is a great Appearance, and humanely speaking, a *Certainty* of the contrary: that this *Succession* hath been often *interrupted*: especially in the opinion of *Those* who maintain all *Lay-Baptisms*, and all Offices performed by Persons, who either have been irregularly ordained, or have *forged* their *Pretensions* to *Ordination*, to be mere *Nullities*: There having been certainly a great Number of such like Instances.

It is highly absurd, to put so important a point, as *God's Favour*, and *Eternal Happiness*, upon what no *Man* living can ever be acquainted with, to his Satisfaction. But still more absurd, to put it upon a *matter*, the contrary to which appears to be true. This is the Case here. This *Regular Uninterrupted Succession* of Persons qualified and regularly ordained, is a *matter* impossible to be proved. Nay, the *contrary* is more than probable, upon all *Historical Evidence*: Which we receive in other Cases. Therefore, your Interest in the favour of *God* can have nothing to do with it. As sure as *God* is just, He would have laid this *Matter* open and plain to the Capacities of those, whose Salvation was to depend upon



upon it. Now, He hath in fact been so far from making this plain, in his Providence; that He hath rather made the contrary plain. Therefore, *This* cannot be the *Point*, upon which your *Salvation* can at all depend.

Amongst our selves particularly, the *Case* will admit of another *Argument*, drawn from the peculiar Circumstances of our *Church*, and the inextricable Difficulties arising from them: which I would not so willingly speak of, were it not, that the *Church* of *Rome* is making continual use of this sort of *Argument*, in which some *Protestants* take so much delight. It is very well known that, ever since the *Reformation*, there hath been a Regular *Succession* of *Bishops* kept up, certainly in *Ireland*; and probably in *England* also; by the *Church* of *Rome*. At least we may have leave to suppose it; and that is the same thing, as to the present *Argument*. It is as well known that Several of the first *Protestant Bishops*, were named by the *Lay-Power*, as *Successors* to *Bishops*, who were deprived solely by that *Lay-Power*. Nor can there be any *Regular Succession* in the *Protestant Church*, whether of *Nonjurors*, or *Others*, but what must come down from those *Bishops*: whom yet our *Adversaries* must deny to have been *Bishops*, upon the Account of those *Lay-Deprivations*.

Ask our *Adversaries* therefore, first, What should we have done, upon their Principles, for any degree of *Reformation*? Not only, for our *Church* of *England*, but even for *their own*? To wait for it, in a *Regular* way, from the *Hands* of the *Papish Bishops*, and *Clergy* themselves, in whose *Eyes* it was worse than *Death*, had been to give Consent to all Superstition, and Wickedness, in expectation of what would never have come to pass. And to have it from any *Hands* but theirs, will, I fear, upon *their* Principles, give a *Nullity* to the *whole*: As this cannot be done, without setting up *Altar* against *Altar*; and one *Succession* of *Bishops* against *Another*.

But, as we have received from our Fore-fathers a *Reformation*; and have a *Church*, which these *Gentlemen* think so well of, that they will allow no Share of it to *Any* but *Themselves*; talking much of the *Succession* of their *Bishops*, and the like: Ask them, how we shall decide the matter, (not between *Our selves*, and *Them*, but) between their much Dearer Friends, the *Roman-Catholicks*, and *Them*: Whom they have never yet declared to be *Excommunicated*, or out of *Christ's Church*; or without *Christ's Ordinances*. Where there is *Bishop* against *Bishop*; and *Altar* against *Altar*; the *one* side, or the *other*, they tell you, must be (not only *mistaken*, but) void of all pretenses to the *Privileges* of the *Church* of *Christ*; or even to the



*Name of Church.* Now, the *Papists* have one *Regular Appointment, or Uninterrupted Succession* of *Bishops*, undefiled with the *Touch of Lay-Hands*: And *They*, according to *Themselves*, have another. By virtue of the *former* alone, the *Popish Laity* receive the *Authoritative Blessing*; and the *Authoritative Absolution*: And by virtue of the *latter*, the *People*, in *Communion* with the *Nonjurors*, receive the same good things from their *Priests*. But I have never heard yet, that this *present Popish Church*, in *England*, or *Ireland*, hath been condemn'd by our *Adversaries*, as *No Church*; and all its *Ordinances* declared *Null*: and its *Succession*, *Irregular*, or *Insignificant*. And yet, upon *their Principles*, if the *Appointment of Romish Bishops* here be *Regular*; there cannot be *Another*, in opposition to it, *Regular* likewise. If the *Popish Church* here, be a *Church*; then, these new *Protestant Churches*, cannot be truly so. If the *Ordinances* in *that* be valid and good; the *Ordinances* in *their Own* must be *Null* and *Void*: Because it is set up, *Altar* against *Altar*, and *Church* against *Church*, and *One Succession* of *Bishops*, against *Another*.

The *Advocates* of the *Church of Rome*, therefore, are so wise, as to turn these *Principles* of some *profess'd Protestants* to their own *Account*; and delude many weak *Minds*, of such as have been first deluded by our *Nonjurors*, by speaking to them, in this manner. "Your own *Guides* and *Doctors*, put your Title "to God's Favour upon your adhering to a *Regular Succession* "of *Bishops* and *Clergy*; and upon the *Nullity* of God's *Ordinances* to You, in any other Way, set up in *Opposition* to this. "They go so far, as to nullify the *Qualifications* of such as "have succeeded *Bishops*, deprived by the *Lay-Power* only; "and of such as set up *Altar* against *Altar*, and *Succession* against *Succession*, where there is a *Church* before. Now, "their own *Succession* of *Bishops* is set up, in *Opposition* to "Ours; which is as *regular* and *uninterrupted* as that was before the *Reformation*, from which alone they are willing to "derive the *Validity* of their own *Ordinations*. Their *Altars* "are set up against *Ours*; their *Churches* against *Ours*: which "They have never yet declared to be *No Churches*. We have "the most *regular Succession*, from which *Theirs* is a *Deviation*. Therefore, upon *Their own Principles*, *Ours* is the "True Way to God's Favour. At least, they must acknowledge, "in their Way of Arguing, that, if you cannot *Communicate* "with Us, you ought to live without the Appearance of the "Ordinances of God; rather than *Communicate* with *Them*, "who are *Schismatical*, upon their own Principles, and Ex-communicated



"communicated by Us. Besides, some of the *Bishops*, in their own *Line of Succession*, all the World knows, at the beginning, succeeded Those of *Ours*, who were deprived by the *Civil Power* only: and therefore, by *Themselves*, must be acknowledged as *Schismatical*, and not to be followed, without the Forfeiture of *God's Favour*."

When a *Popish Priest* attacks one of the *Followers* of our *Nonjurors* with this *Argument*; I profess, I see not how He can possibly answer it, without forsaking Their *Principles*. It is not enough for *Him* to be taught to say that the *Bishop* of *Rome* never had any *Rightful Authority* here in this *Island*, to make, or unmake, *Bishops*. For if *that* were sufficient to annul the *Validity* of the *Popish Succession* of *Bishops*, it will as much follow that there was no *Episcopacy*, no *Church*, here, before the *Reformation*, as since: Which these Persons will not, for the World, agree to, because it will render *invalid* their whole *Sett*, and *Succession* of *Clergy*; whose Powers to serve *God* in *his Church*, they are not content to derive from *God's Will*, any otherwise than by a *regular Succession* of *Bishops* and *Clergy*. Besides, if their *Principles* would let them go so far, this would not at all heal, or make up, that *Chasm*, or *Gap*, which is in their *Succession*, by the *Lay-Deprivations*, almost at the beginning of the *Reformation*.

Nor is it enough to affirm, (as *Dr Hickes*, *Coll. of Papers*, p. 163.) that the *Popish Bishops* are the *Anti-Bishops*, to the *Reformed Bishops*, and particularly in *Ireland*, where, (saith he,) if dangerous and corrupting *Doctrines*, and corrupt *Worship*, condemned by the *Protestants*, do not justify the setting up and continuing of other *Bishops*, in every *Diocese* of the *Church*, from the beginning of the *Reformation*, then the *Protestant Bishops* there have been all along *Anti-Bishops*, and by Consequence the *Irish Church* (or, the *Church* of *England*, which is all one to the *Argument*) is, and hath been, *Schismatical*, &c. or, what He saith, *Page* 167, speaking of *Anti-Bishops* by *Intrusion* and *False Doctrine*; viz. such were the *Popish Bishops* in *Queen Mary's Reign*, who were put into the *Sees* of the displaced *Protestant Bishops*, as He thinks, some of them were. These things come not up to the *Point*: nor will they answer our *Difficulties*. For the *Questions* here, are these.

Is the *Popish Church* in *Ireland*, a *Church*, or not? Doth Their being *Anti-Bishops*, or, their corrupt *Doctrines*, and *Worship*, render *invalid* all their *Administrations* to their own *People*? If it doth not; then, in some Cases, there may be *Anti-Bishops* without that sad Effect on either side; and *Polluted Worship*,



*Worship*, without the dreadful Consequences, which are sometimes set forth. And if the *Romish Pollutions* have not this Effect, even under *Anti-Bishops*; it is to be hoped *Others* may come in, for a *Share* of this Favour. Again,

Are these Cases to be judged of, from *Importance*, and particular *Circumstances*? Then, there is an End of the *Absolute Necessity* of one particular Regularity, in order to God's Favour; and the Dispute must come to *Arguments* of another nature.

Again, Who is to *judge* of *corrupt Doctrines*, and *polluted Worship*? *They*, who approve of them, and require others to join in them? or, *They*, who are required to approve them, and to join in them? If the *former*; then, there never was, and never can be, any such thing as *Corrupt Doctrines*, and *Corrupt Worship*, even to justify *Any Protestants* from setting up at first, or continuing afterwards, *Protestant Bishops* in opposition to *Popish*. If the *Latter*; then, whatever Body of Christians thinks the *Doctrines* and *Worship* of the *Nonjurors* to be *Corrupted* and *Polluted*, is justified, in setting up and continuing *Bishops* and *Clergy*, against *Their* Bishops and Clergy. Farther,

What is it that *justified* the *Protestants*, as He acknowledges, in setting up their own *Bishops*? Was it, that the *Popish Doctrines* and *Worship* were actually *corrupt*; or that the *Protestants* were *persuaded* in their own Consciences that *They* were so? The *latter*, without doubt: as appears from this *Demonstration*. Take away from *Them* this *Persuasion*; *They* are so far from being *justified*, that *They* are *condemn'd* for their Departure. Give *Them* this *Persuasion* again; *They* are *condemn'd*, if *They* do not separate. Or, in another manner, Suppose a *Papist*, not *persuaded* of that *Corruption*, to *separate*; He is, for the want of that *Persuasion* alone, *condemn'd*: Suppose a *Protestant*, or one thoroughly *persuaded* of that *Corruption*, to *separate*; and He is *justified* in so doing; or, not to *separate*, and He is *condemn'd*. If this were duly and impartially consider'd, it would be impossible for Men, to *unchristian*, *unchurch*, or, declare out of God's Favour, any of their *Fellow Creatures*, upon any lesser, or indeed any other, *Consideration*, than that of a wicked Dishonesty and Insincerity; of which, in these Cases, God alone is Judge.

But here, the *Nonjurors* will tell *Us*, (as Dissenters from *Them*, who have set up *Churches* against *Their Churches*) that We are *condemn'd*, unless We can prove their *Doctrine*, and *Worship* to be *corrupt* and *polluted*; or that any thing sinful is required



required in their *Communion*. But, *To Whom* must We prove this? or, *To whose Satisfaction?* *To their* Satisfaction, who are confident of the *contrary*; and maintain it to be the most undefiled? or, *To our own*, whom they expect to conform to it? This will presently be determined by putting the following Case. The *Nonjurors* separate from the *Popish Bishops*, because of *corrupt Doctrines*, and *polluted Worship*. The *Popish Bishops* tell them, If indeed, any thing *sinful* can be proved to be required of *You*, in our *Communion*, We acknowledge, You are *justified* in your *Separation*: and This, on the other hand, The *Nonjurors* acknowledge to be the only Point that can justify them. And therefore, They readily answer, that They can prove this evidently, to the Degree of *Demonstration*. The *Popish Bishops* answer Them, Your *Arguments* are far from proving it to *Us*; and reply to Them, with equal Assurance, and Confidence of being in the Right. The *Nonjurors*, I am persuaded, will then answer thus. We are not obliged to wait till *You your selves* are convinced. Our Business is to satisfy *our Selves*, and not *You*, of the *Unlawfulness* of *Communicating* with *You*. We have proved it to *our own* entire Satisfaction. And therefore, *We* are obliged in Conscience to *separate* from *You*; even tho' We can't convince *You your selves* that our Arguments have any Weight in them.

Let this be applied to all *like Cases*: and it will be a certain Rule to go by, that, as the *Nonjurors* themselves allow the *corrupt Doctrines*, and *polluted Worship*, of the *Popish Bishops*, to be the true Ground of their own *Separation*, and setting up *Churches* against *their Churches*; and that They are obliged to prove *this*, to *Themselves* only, and not to the Conviction of those *Popish Bishops*; before they set up *Bishops* against Them: So, the *Separation* of *Others* from the *Nonjuring Bishops*, is as perfectly *justified*, by the *Honest Perswasion* of *Those* who *separate* from Them; whether those *Nonjurors* themselves think their *Reasons* good, or not. Otherwise indeed, *All Parties* are the *sole Judges* in in their own Case: and the *Popish Party* alone must, in the End, be in the *Right*, because *They* were in Possession when the first *Separation* of *Protestants* was made: which therefore, can never be justified, if the *Romish Governing Church*, (in the New Phrase,) were the *sole Judge*, whether *Their own Communion* were *sinful*, or not. There are Two good Reasons for making this *Controversy* the *Occasion* of speaking these Things: that our own Church, and every *Protestant Church* in the World, may not be absolutely condemn'd; and that the *Equitable Law* may appear evident beyond all Exception,



ception, of Not Judging *Any Others* by a *Rule*, by which *We* always refuse to be judged, *Our selves*.

All this may, methinks, serve to allarm Our *Adversaries* themselves, upon *their own Principles*, about the Danger, *Their Own Church of England* is in, by their way of *Proceeding*. And Perhaps, *They*, who seem to have but a very faint *Notion* of the Honour of *God*, and the *Design* of the *Gospel*, any farther than They suppose Them to go hand in hand, with *their own Particular Sect*, and *Church*, may receive the first Impression and Suspicion of their being mistaken, from this manifest *Tendency* of their *own Principles*, to *Unchurch* Themselves; and to reflect back upon their own *People* and *Clergy*, that *Excommunication*, and *Damnation*, which They are so freely dispensing abroad, all around them.

But if Any of the *Popish Advocates* should offer such *Arguments* to You, as I mentioned just now; there is the same easy Way of answering *Them*, which there is, of replying to our *Protestant Adversaries*. You can tell them, that You have not such *Notions* of *God*, as to think it consistent with his Nature, to wrap up the most Important of All Points in Clouds of *Obscurity*, and *Uncertainty*; that, in Fact, there must have been frequent *Interruptions* in the *Succession* of the *Christian Clergy*; that the *Gospel* layeth no stress upon *this* Matter, but a great deal of Weight upon things of quite another Nature; that You imitate our *First Reformers*, who scorn'd to take their *Claim* to the *Purity* of the *Gospel*, from such *Topicks*; that You do not put the Cause of the *Reformation*, and of the *Church of England*, upon such *Trifles*; but upon Your own being sincerely persuaded of the *Necessity* of departing from *Those*, who had departed from *God*, and destroyed the whole *Design* of his *Gospel*; that *God* and *Christ* could not but approve of this, and therefore, could not but approve of *Those* of the *Clergy*, who did at first, and have since, joined in it; that You cannot put either *Their*, or *Your own*, *Eternal Salvation*, upon their *Regular Ordination*, and *Unbroken Succession* from the *Apostles*, because this would be to put it upon the *Invention* of Men, and not the *Declaration* of *Christ*; and indeed, upon what You may be very well assured, never was; that, tho' you have all Respect for what is *Fitting*, *Orderly*, and *Decent*, yet, you cannot in Conscience absolutely depend upon any *Sett* of Men for the *Terms* of *Salvation*, whilst the *Gospel* it self lies open, without renouncing *Christianity*: nor expect *God's Graces*, *Benedictions*, or *Absolutions*, from any Hands, but *his own*; without affronting Him: nor put the *Eternal Happiness* of *Man-kind*,



kind, absolutely, upon their agreeing in *One External Communion*, with any *One particular* Sett of Clergymen, without the absurd Supposition that God prefers an *Impossibility* before the *Truest Sincerity* of Heart.

And here, I cannot forbear to mention an *Argument*, which I think amounts to a *Demonstration*, in the strictest sense of the Word, for the *Truth* of what I have now said: And which I would apply now particularly to our *Adversaries* themselves; that they may the better *feel* the force of it, in their own Case. You say, that *God's favour* is not Dispensed, but in the strict Communion of your particular, little, *Body*, or *Church*. I am not now going to accuse you of a *Heresy* against *Charity*, as You do the *Donatists*, who had only just the same Uncharitableness, of Adhering to the Consequences of their own Principles: But of a *Heresy* against the very *Possibility*, and *Nature* of things; or of holding that, which throws Men out of the favour of God, which way soever They act. You know, there was a *Schism* amongst Your selves, upon this Account. Mr. *Nelson*, for instance, thinks Himself obliged in Conscience to Communicate with some of our Church. Upon this, You declare, He hath no Title to God's Mercy. And You and all the World allow that if He communicates with You, whilst His *Conscience* tells Him, it is a *Sin*, He is *Self-condemn'd*, and out of God's favour. He is therefore, entitled to God's Wrath, both, if He *doth* Communicate with You; and if He *doth not*. That *Notion* therefore, which implies in it, this Great, Invincible Absurdity, cannot be true. And I heartily wish that *All Parties* of *Christians*, even supposing their own way to be *certainly*, or *infallibly*, the *Right way*, would consider this.

But again, Every one may find it, in his own Conduct, to be true, that his Title to God's favour cannot depend upon his actual being, or continuing, in any particular Method; but upon his *Real sincerity* in the conduct of his Conscience, and of His own Actions, under it. You adhere, for instance, to the *Communion* of the *Nonjurors*. Why? Plainly, *not* because it is the *True, Christian, Communion*; (for *that* it may be, in it self, without your adhering to it;) but because, *You judge*, and *esteem* it so to be, upon your most serious Consideration; and conduct your self Sincerely by this dictate of your Conscience. Your *Title* to God's favour therefore, cannot depend Simply upon your adhering to this Communion; because the very adhering to this *Communion*, if it were against your Conscience, would entitle you to His Anger: But must depend upon it, consider'd as a Conduct honestly enter'd into, by the Dictate of your Conscience



ence. The Favour of God, therefore, follows *Sincerity*, consider'd as such. And consequently, equally follows every *Equal Degree of Sincerity*. If any Persons, rather than agree to be happy, in the company of others, chuse to hazard *their own Salvation*, upon their own *Infallible Certainty*; or the *Salvation of others* upon the Indispensable Obligation of All Men to *See what They see*: I do not *envy* them a *Pleasure*, which hath nothing but *Imagination*, and *Absurdity*, to support it. To return,

*Authoritative Benediction* is *Another* of the *Terms of Art*, much used by our *Protestant Adversaries*, and *Others* who follow them too closely: in which, They claim a *Right* to the *Clergy*, in one certain *Regular Succession*, of *Blessing* the *People*. If they mean no more by *this*, than that, being appointed, in an orderly manner, to officiate in the *Church*, it is Part of their *Office*, to declare, out of *God's Word*, upon what *Terms*, He will give his *Blessing* to *Christians*; or to express their own hearty *Wishes* and *Prayers* for the *People's* obtaining that *Blessing*; this might be understood. But to claim a *Right* to stand in *God's Stead*, in such Sense, that *They*, with all their *Infirmities*, and *Prejudices*, and *Mistakes*, about Them, can absolutely and certainly, *Bless* some, or with-hold a *Blessing* from *Others*; and that *God Almighty* hath obliged *Himself* to *Bless*, or *not to Bless*, with their *Voice* alone: this is the *Highest Absurdity*, as it puts a *Power*, which nothing but *Infallibility* can support, into the *Hands of Men*, remaining *Weak*, and *Fallible*; and, as I think, the *Highest Blasphemy*, as it supposeth *Almighty God*, to place a *Sett* of *Men*, above *Himself*; and to put out of his own *Hands*, the *Disposal* of his own *Blessings* and *Curses*. And here again, the *Papists* find a vast *Advantage* against their *Protestant Fellow-Labourers*. For if it be true that such a *Power* is dislodged from *Heaven*, and lodged in the *Hands of the Church*; it is a strong *Argument* that *Infallibility* is *first* lodged *there*: because *that alone* is sufficient for so great and so important a *Trust*.

The same You will find a sufficient Reply to their *presumptuous Claim*, to an *Authoritative Absolution*. An *infallible Absolution* cannot belong to *Fallible Men*. But, No *Absolution* can be *Authoritative*, which is not *certainly* to be depended upon; nor *certainly* to be depended upon, which is not *Infallible*. Therefore, No *Authoritative Absolution*, properly so called, can belong to any *Men* living. God himself hath declared, in His *Gospel*, the *Conditions*, upon which alone, He will pardon and accept Those, who have been *Sinners*: *i. e. absolve* Them. All *Absolution*, therefore, must depend upon *Sinners* coming



up to Those *Conditions*. They are pardon'd, if *They* come up to them : and they are not pardon'd, if they do not. To represent these *Conditions* to the World ; and to declare that *All Sinners*, coming up to these *Conditions*, are absolved : This is one part of the *Office* of *Ministers* ; which They may apply to the *Case* of any particular *Penitent*, conditionally. But to assume to *Themselves* the Power of *absolving* particular Persons, so that Those particular Persons may depend upon that *Absolution* certainly, is to assume to *Themselves*, either a *Right* to dispense with Those *Conditions* which God himself hath fixed, and to put their *Authoritative Absolution* in the Stead of them ; or else, a *Power* of knowing the Hearts and Sincerity of Men, which God alone knows. To assume *this*, without first assuming *Infallibility*, is *Nonsense* : And to assume *Infallibility*, is *Blasphemy*. All *Humane Absolutions* must be *Uncertain* : As *Uncertain* as those *Conditions* in the Person to be *absolved*, upon which it must depend. And therefore cannot be *Authoritative* : because *that Word* is of no *Importance* here, unless it signify something to be depended upon, as *Certain*.

If they amuse You with that *Power* which our *Saviour* lodged with His *Apostles* ; *Whosoever Sins ye remit, they are remitted to Them ; and whosoever Sins Ye retain, they are retained ;* or the like : You may answer securely, that it is impossible for *You* to depend upon this *Right*, in *Them*, as any thing *Certain*, till They prove to You that Every thing spoken to the *Apostles*, belongs to *Ministers* in all Ages of the *Church*. This it is impossible for *Them* to prove. And therefore, it is impossible to draw a certain Conclusion from it. As for the Nature of the thing ; It is much more probable that these Words referr'd to something *Extraordinary* and *Supernatural* in the *Apostles*, for the Propagation of the *Gospel*, at first, than to any thing, in the ordinary settled Condition of the *Church*. And tho' it be supposed that We cannot fix the true plain Meaning of this *Text* ; yet, (which is the next best thing, and of equal Importance, with respect to the present *Controversy*,) We can certainly fix, what is *not* the Meaning of it. For, Whatsoever contradicts the Natural Notions of God, and the Design and Tenour of the *Gospel*, cannot be the *True Meaning* of any *Passage* in that *Gospel*. But, to make the *Absolutions* of Weak, Fallible Men, so necessary, or, so valid, that God will not pardon any *without* them, and that *All* are pardon'd, who have them pronounced over them ; is to contradict those *Notions*, as well as the plain *Tenour* of the *Gospel* : which expressly declareth Men to be in God's Favour upon their forsaking their Sins, and as expressly continues to *Almighty God* the *Disposal* of His



*Own Favours*, upon his own *Terms*, which was always *His Privilege*. Therefore, It cannot be the True Intent of this *Passage* now before Us, to give any such *Power* to *Men*.

If we look back upon our *Saviour Himself*, we shall find that, when He declares in the *Gospel* that the *Son of Man hath Power upon Earth to forgive Sins*, even *He himself* either meant by it, the Power of a miraculous Releasing the Man from his *Affliction*, (which was look'd upon as the *Punishment of Sin*;) or, if it related to another more Spiritual Sense of the Words, the Power of declaring only that the Man's Sins were forgiven by God. By his *supernatural Knowledge*, (not by that which belong'd to Him, as a *mere Man*;) He knew that *God* was going to shew Mercy to the Man. But his way of Expression was, *Thy Sins are forgiven Thee*. This was plainly to acknowledge, and keep up, that true Notion, that *God alone forgiveth Sins*. And our *Saviour*, knowing the Case of the *Man* there spoken to, assured Him of God's Forgiveness. *His Sins were forgiven by God*. And the *Son of Man's Power to forgive Sins upon Earth*, was plainly to *declare* this to Him, of whom He certainly and infallibly knew it to be true. And so, to any *Others*. This arose, you see, wholly from his *infallible Knowledge* of the Will of God, with respect to that particular Person; and could have had no Place in our *Lord* himself, had He been a *meer Man*, without any *infallible Knowledge in Himself*, or *Communication of Knowledge* from God, concerning His Will, and Favour to *this Man*, or to other Men.

Thus, the *Apostles*, likewise, might possibly understand the *Power of remitting and retaining Sins*, to be the same with that *Power of laying their Hands upon the Sick*, to which a miraculous *Recovery* was particularly promised by *Christ*. Or, supposing that they applied it to the *certain Absolution* of particular Persons (of which we read nothing as I know of;) it is plain, They could do it upon no other bottom but this, that God's Will, and Good Pleasure, about such particular Persons, was *infallibly* communicated to Them; and that They declared This Will about Those particular Persons. Not that They themselves *absolved* any Men; or hinder'd them from being absolved by *God*; Not that *God* was obliged to tie, and untie; to bind and to loose, the Guilt of Men, according to *their Declarations*, consider'd as Their own Decisions, and their own Determinations: But that, upon any such Occasion, They declared a *Matter of Fact*, infallibly made known to them by *God*; either that He was ready to bestow his Mercy upon such and such particular Persons, or that He was angry with Them. This can be the only *Meaning* of that



that Passage, supposing it to relate to *Absolution*. - It must arise from extraordinary Communications of Knowledge from God; and consequently, cannot relate, in the same sense, to any *Sett* of Men, in the ordinary state of the *Church*, void of such Communications of *Infallible Knowledge*, as could be, even in the *Apostles*, the only foundation of any supposed *Authoritative Absolution*.

But *All* that it can possibly convey to Any, who succeed the *Apostles* in their *Spiritual Office*, supposing it to relate to this subject, is a *Right* to do their *Duty*; to declare Persons *Absolved* from their *Sins* by God, so far, and no farther than, as They come up to *Those Conditions*, upon which our Lord hath himself fixed their *Acquittance*, or *Justification*. This is *All* that a *Fallible Man*, in the highest Office in this World, is capable of: And ought to be more to his Satisfaction, than to have in his Power, the *Authoritative Disposal* of the *Salvation* or *Damnation*, of his *Fellow Creatures*. But *They*, who are first *Infallible*, may certainly claim the Power of what is here called *Authoritative Absolution*. And therefore, it is very Consistent in the *Church* of *Rome*, if They are resolved to have the *latter*, to suppose and claim the *former*: Which may undoubtedly be claimed, where-ever the *other* is allowed to be.

The *Result* of the Whole, is this. God is true, and Just, and Good. The *Gospel* is a plain Declaration of his Will. He cannot put the Eternal Salvation of his Creatures upon any thing, but what He puts in their Power to do, and to be satisfied about. He cannot put into the Hands of weak fallible Men, *Privileges* and *Powers*, which can not be exercised as they ought to be, without *Infallibility*. He reserves to Himself the *Authoritative Dispensation* of his *Favour*, and of his *Anger*, to his *Creatures*, whose Hearts no one knows but Himself, upon his *own Terms*: for which He hath appointed a Day, in which He himself will judge the World. From all which it follows, that the Benefits of his *Ordinances*, his *Benediction*, his *Absolution*, are in his own Hands; come from himself; and cannot depend upon *Regularities*, and *Niceties*, impossible, or improbable; but are dispensed by *Him*, according to the inward Dispositions, and *Qualifications* of *Them*, who wait for them: that this is so far from leaving *You*, of the *Christian Laity*, to any *undue Freedom* and *Latitude*, (as it is sometimes objected,) that it layeth the highest Obligation upon You to use all your Sincerity, to know God's Will, and your utmost Endeavours to perform it; that it puts your *Happiness* upon *this*, because nothing else is certain, and because consequently nothing else can give you Support, or Comfort; that this will be so far from



from leading *You* to disregard the *Peace*, and *Unity* of *Christians*, that it will make *You* conscientiously solicitous about it, and resolved to prefer nothing before it, except *Purity* and *Conscience*: but, when you are secure of Your *Integrity*, before *God*, and of your sincere *Disposition* to search after His Will, and to receive the Truth, in the love of Truth, whensoever, and from whomsoever it is offer'd; this will, I confess, lead *You*, (as it ought, all of *Us*,) not to be afraid of the *Terrors* of Men, or the *vain Words* of, *Regular* and *Uninterrupted Successions*; *Authoritative Benedictions*, *Excommunications*, or *Absolutions*; *Nullity*, or *Validity*, of *God's Ordinances* to the *People*, upon account of *Niceties* and *Trifles*; or any other the like *Dreams* of Those who have *separated Themselves*, or of *Those* who follow Them in these *Doctrines*; or indeed, any thing but what *He*, who is Your *Lord*, and *Master*, and *Judge*, hath Himself declared that Your *Salvation* shall depend upon. And as I am sure, that it is *Upright* and *Honest*, to speak thus plainly; and to inculcate this upon *You*: So I am as sure, it is the only certain Method of preventing, or expelling the Poison of *Those* who *are gone out from Us*, *because they were not of Us*; and will, in the End, prove the only *Effectual Method*, of preserving this *Protestant Christian Church*, (which it self directs it's Members to the *Holy Scriptures* as their sole *Infallible*, or *Authoritative Guide*,) and of making it a *Praise* in the whole *Earth*.

To conclude, As this *Controversy* respects our present *Civil Constitution*; as well as Our *Church*, and that *Gospel* upon which it hath expressly founded All it's own *Pretensions*, and all the *Religion* of it's Members; nothing is wanting towards your right judging, in every Part of it, but a serious Application of your Minds, to some few *Common Uncontested Principles* of *Civil Government*; and to the plain and express Declarations of the *Gospel* it self. The *One* will teach *You* the *Extent* of *Civil Government* to every thing necessary for it's Preservation; and the *Evident Right* of our *Illustrious Royal Family* to the *Throne* of these *Kingdoms*; which will add *Zeal* to your *Submission*: and the *Other* will teach *You* the *Extent* of the *Office* of the *Christian Clergy*, as well as *Your own Duty*; and above all, Your *Right* to *God's Graces*, *Absolution*, and *Benediction*, upon the *Conditions* of *Him*, who offers Them to *You*, without any regard to the *Outcries* of *Humane Terror*, or the *Solemn Denunciations* of any Men upon *Earth*.

It is both your *Duty* and your *Interest* to study these *first Principles* of all Truth; and *Christianity* in it's first *Simplicity*. The most *Important Points* are so plain, that they will cost you



no more *Time*, than what is necessary to *One* serious Consideration of them. *All*, that mean truly, and honestly, the Happiness of the Nation; or the Benefit of *Christ's Church* and *People*; will both encourage and applaud Your *Enquiry*. I have endeavoured, for my part, to go before You; and to point out the *Way* to the *Main Parts* of it. And when You are once *Masters* of *Them*, They are full of such *Consequences*, as will be of vast *Advantage* to You at all *times*; but, particularly, at *this* time, will make you able not only to oppose, but to overthrow, all, even the most *Learned Artifices* made use of by our *Adversaries*, for the Support and Propagation, of their Cause.

In all your *Civil Concerns*, the *Publick Good*; the *Peace*, the *Happiness*, of that *Society* to which You belong, will easily, and safely conduct You, both to know, and to do, the Will of God. In all Your *Religious Concerns*, that affects Your Eternal Salvation, and Your *Title* to God's *Favour*, Your *Rule* is plain, and evident. *Christ* is your sole Law-giver, and Your sole Judge, as to those Points. The *Papists* may *Excommunicate* the *Protestant Nonjurors*. The *Nonjurors* may *Excommunicate* the *High-Church-Men*, as well as All other *British Protestants*, who Pray for King *GEORGE*. These again may *Excommunicate*, *Un-church*, *Unchristian*, Those, whose *Church Government*, or *Worship*, differ from their own. And *These* again, may exercise the same *Spiritual Discipline*, where-ever their *Terrors* can extend themselves. They may thus scatter *Damnation* about; playing, one would think, as the *Man* in the *Proverbs*, with *Fire-brands*, and *Death*, and saying, *Are we not in Sport?* And they may every one, flatter *Themselves* that this *Power of the Keys* shuts out from the *Catholick Church* here, and from the *Kingdom of Heaven* hereafter. But it is in truth, only from *Themselves*, that They can *Excommunicate*: And this is very often their own *Crime*, and their own *Loss*. But *Christ* himself, and his *Apostles*, have plainly told you, *what* it is, and *what* alone, that shall cut You off from *Him*; and declared a *Curse* upon *All* who *Preach any other Gospel*: and consequently, who add any thing, as absolutely necessary to His *Favour*, which *He* hath not made so.

It is therefore, Your *Duty*, Your *Privilege*, and Your *Interest*, to observe *Those Passages* in the *New Testament*, in which the *Genius*, and *Great Design*, of the *Gospel*, is *purposely* express'd; and *Those*, in which it is *purposely* and expressly declared, upon what sort of things, *Christ* will acquit, or condemn You, at the last Day. They were written for You, and they need no *Interpreter*. Remember always that, *These* being plain, there can be *nothing* intended in any obscurer Passage of *Scripture*,



ture, inconsistent, or disagreeable to *These*: much less, that *Any* of the *Pretenses*, or consequential Arguings of *Men*; or any *Precedents* and *Examples* of *Men* after the *Apostles*, tho' never so *Pious*, or *Great*; can have any *Weight* against, or equal to, *Them*. *These* will be your safe, and unmoveable *Retreat*. And whilst you adhere to *Them*, you will ever be sure that not the least Tittle of Your *Salvation*, or *Damnation*, depends upon the *Will* of *Weak Men*; but *All* upon *God* and *Your Selves*: that *Humane Benedictions*; *Humane Absolutions*; *Humane Denunciations*; *Humane Excommunications*, have nothing to do with the *Favour* or *Anger* of *God*; and that *Every one* of *Us*, (which is the *Unspeakable* and indeed the only *Comfort* of *All Sincere* and *Upright Minds*;) is to give an *Account* of *Self*, (after *All* these *Humane Engines* have work'd as long as Providence permits them,) to *God*, our *Father*, who knows the *Thoughts* of *Men*; and *Jesus Christ*, his *Beloved Son*, to whom it is peculiarly reserv'd, to bring to light the *hidden things* of *Darkness*, and to make manifest the *Counsels* of the *Heart*.

As for *Your selves*, therefore, *Stand fast in that Liberty*, with which *God*, and *Christ*, have made *You* free.

And as for our *Adversaries*, If all that can be said, tho' from the most evident *Principles*, cannot convince their *Consciences*, or alter their *Conduct*, nothing remains, I think, but to assure *Them* that We have an *Illustrious Royal Family*, who both *Understand* and *Value* their *Right* to the *British Crown*: Whom neither the *Flattery* of *False Friends*, nor the *Terror* of *Real Enemies*, can move, either from a *Sacred Regard* to their *People's Legal Rights* and *Liberties*; or from a *stedfast Asserting* and *Maintaining* their own *Legal Powers* and *Prerogatives*.

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Against the  
N O N F U R O R S.

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THE HISTORY OF THE  
ROYAL SOCIETY

OF THE

ROYAL SOCIETY OF LONDON

AND THE

ROYAL SOCIETY OF EDINBURGH

BY JOHN WALLIS

OF THE

ROYAL SOCIETY OF LONDON

1705

1706

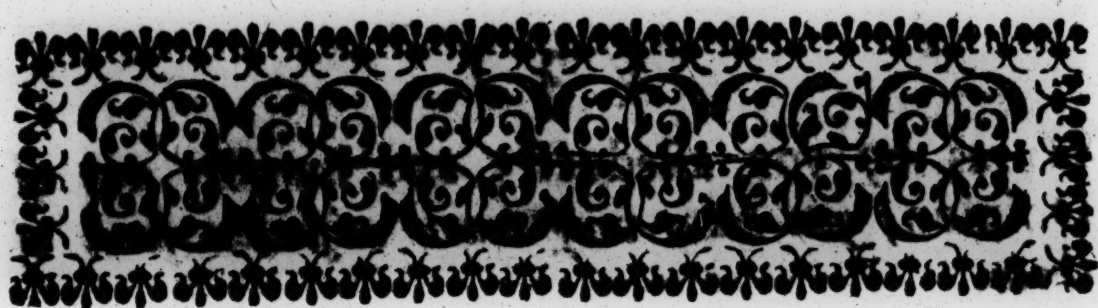
1707

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A Modest  
**ENQUIRY**  
Into the  
BISHOP of *Bangor's*  
**PRESERVATIVE**  
Against the  
**NONJURORS, &c.**

My LORD,



OUR condescending Appeal to  
the Consciences and common  
Sense of the Christian Laity, and  
referring us to the Scriptures  
for the Truth of what you as-  
sert, give me Boldness to assure  
your Lordship, that according to the best of  
my mean Capacity, I have considered the Scri-  
B ptures



ptures by you alledged ; and humbly am of Opinion, *you have very much mistaken some of them.*

I had it under Consideration, whether I should not write to your Lordship in private about this ; but then the little Probability of your reading any thing from an unknown Hand, as also your not seeming to expect such sort of Trouble, made me conclude upon this publick Manner, and humbly hope I shall in some measure gratify your Lordship hereby.

The Particulars I shall confine myself to, are those that depend purely upon the Holy Scripture ; the Knowledge of which is every Christian Man's Business and Happiness, and less liable to be mistaken than any other sort of Learning used in your Book.

Among these, I shall confine myself to *two*, which a small Attention to the Bible will enable *any one* to make a perfect Determination about, as not requiring any Knowledge in the Laws or Constitution of this or any other Nation ; or whether the Good of Christian People is inseparably interwoven with the Welfare of that Secular State, of which they are Members ; and whether all the Doctrines of the Gospel are to be understood consistent with such Welfare of the Secular State : And then conclude with a short Reflexion or two upon some other Principles by your Lordship advanced,



advanced, which seem destructive of all Revealed Religion. The Particulars I shall enquire about, are these :

*1st, The Instance of Christ's forgiving Sin.*

*2dly, That of deposing Abiathar by Solomon.*  
Both as cited by you in your Preservative against Nonjurors.

In both of these your Lordship, in my humble Opinion, has not thought fit to give your Judges a true and perfect State of the Facts; and therefore I humbly beg Leave to set you and them right therein.

## S E C T. I.

**A**S to the first of these, that of our blessed Lord's forgiving Sin, the Passage stands thus :

*Matt. ix. 2, &c. — They brought unto him a Man sick of the Palsy, lying on a Bed : And Jesus seeing their Faith, said unto the Sick of the Palsy, Son, be of good Cheer, thy Sins are forgiven thee. And behold, certain of the Scribes said within themselves, this Man blasphemeth. And Jesus knowing their Thoughts, said, Wherefore think ye Evil in your Hearts ? for whether is it easier to say, Thy Sins be forgiven thee, or to say, Arise and walk ? But that ye may know the Son of Man hath Power on Earth to forgive Sin, ἵνα δεῖτε. — So again S. Luke v. 24.*



In this Passage, the Reason of our Lord's forgiving the Sins of the sick Man, is evidently to manifest his own Power to forgive Sin. It is true, this Power (for ought here appears) may be either original or derived; but then the whole Tenor of Scripture declares it to be originally in Christ; both as it is founded upon *the Purchase He made of us by His Blood*; and also as *He is self-existent, and so absolutely supreme.*

That Christ is self-existent, and therefore absolutely supreme; that he has made a proper Satisfaction for our Sins, and so purchased us with his own Blood, in a proper and literal Sense, is most evidently affirmed in the Articles which your Lordship has over and over assented to in the most solemn Manner; by which Assent, as a *Causa sine qua non*, you hold all your Spiritual Preferments. I cannot therefore think myself altogether bound to prove to your Lordship what you so solemnly have declared yourself convinced of the Truth of.

But perhaps you have put these Passages in this erroneous Manner, to try whether any of the Lay-men to whom you appeal, have Attention enough to observe, without Partiality, what you write, and Courage enough to lay their Observations before you: And therefore I shall take Leave to say a Word or two to prove this Doctrine, in a manner as little tedious as I can; for which Cause I will  
use



use such Texts only, as I have not observ'd to be used in this Matter.

I have asserted the Supremacy of Christ over us, to be set forth in Scripture as absolute, upon two Accounts.

1. As he has purchased us with his Blood, or as he is Son of Man.
2. As he is Self-existent.

1. The Foundation of this Supremacy of Christ over us, as he has purchased us with his Blood, is set forth in the CX. Psal. *The Lord said unto my Lord, sit thou at my right Hand:—The Lord hath sworn, and will not repent, thou art a Priest for ever, after the Order of Melchizedec.* The Lord who swears, is in the Hebrew *Jehovah, the Being*; that first Cause and Self-existent Being, who is the Author and Preserver of all Being: That one living and true God, who is the Maker and Preserver of all Things; in Unity of which God-head, there be three Persons, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost. The Jews, tho' not Friends in Publick to the Orthodox, yet unanimously confess the Council of God is made up of three Persons; and if they had not, your Lordship will find it in the Scripture. *Psal. lxxxii. 1.* Shows us there is a Council of the Almighty, and that the Son of God is one Person therein, *אלהים נצב בעדך*—the God (of Israel, the Word, or Son of God) stands in the Council of God Almighty: He is styl'd by the Prophet,



phet, the Counsellor, (*Isa. ix. 6.*) And the Person of the Holy Ghost is another Person therein; for he is always with the God of *Israel*, (*Psal. cxxxix. 6. Prov. viii. 22.*) and is one Person in that one Almighty Being, which created the Heavens alone; (*Isa. xlv. 24.*) which says of himself in another Place, *I am God, and there is none else.*

And yet, both the Word of the Lord (*Ps. xxxiii. 6.*) and the Spirit of the Lord made the Heavens, (*Job. xxvi. 13.*) and therefore both these are Persons in that one Being, who created the Heavens alone; who is that only God in whose Council those two Persons stand with the Father. This Council sware concerning one Person therein, *thou art a Priest for ever, after the Order of Melchizedec.* And that Person by Christ himself is asserted to be Christ himself, *Matt. xxii.*

This will be clear, if it be observ'd, that the Scripture gives two Characters to this Person, whose Name is *Wonderful*, (*Isa. ix. 6.*) In one Character he is a Member of the Council, the Counsellor; (*Isa. ix. 6.*) In the other Character, he is the Messenger of the great Council, (as the Seventy render that Place) the Messenger of the Covenant, (*Mal. iii. 1.*) the Mediator of the Covenant between God and Man made in that Council, by which it was stipulated that his Oblation of himself for us should be accepted, and his Blood become the Price of our Redemption.

It was foreseen, that *Adam* and Mankind would abuse their Freedom, and therefore *Caution*  
(Ευλα-



(*Εὐχαρεία*, Heb. v. 7.) was taken to deliver us from the Penalty of Sin, by the Satisfaction of Christ who offer'd himself to suffer that Penalty for us, (*Heb. ix. 14.*) Now, as we by that Penalty are bound over to Death Eternal, his Satisfying for us, redeems us, and makes us *his own*; hereby he became *our Lord that bought us*, (*2 Pet. ii. 1.*) and we are the Church which he hath purchased with his own Blood, (*Acts. xx. 28.*) and so he hath an absolute Supremacy over us, and can forgive us when he himself shall think fit.

It was indeed in his Self-existent Nature, that he offer'd himself for us; but then that which was to be the Offering, must be the Nature that was condemned; (*Rom. viii. 3. ὁμοίωμα σαρκὸς ἁμαρτίας*) Not Sacrifices, but a Body, (*Heb. x. iv.*) and therefore since, as Son of Man, he made the Offering which paid the Price of our Redemption; as such, he is Supreme over us, and has Power on Earth to forgive Sin.

2. But then this depends upon his being Self-existent; had he not been Self-existent, he would have had nothing of his own. All derived Beings owe themselves to the Author of their Being; no Man may deliver his Brother, or make Agreement unto God for him, (*Psal. xlix. 7.*) Your Lordship knows the Original is more express; A Brother redeeming, cannot redeem any one; he cannot pay the Price of his Redemption to God; the Redemption of their Souls is dear, and terminates in the Eternal. So also, if he is not the only God, he cannot be one of that Council



cil of God, which tho' of three Persons, is but one Almighty God. He cannot be the Counsellor, for who hath known the Mind of the Lord, or been his Counsellor?

Add, If he is not the Self-existent Substance, he would not be *Jehovah our Righteousness*, Jer. xxiii. And *Immanuel, God with us*, Matt. i. For there is but one *Jehovah*, (Deut. vi. 4.) and but one (*El.*) God, Isa. xliii. 10.

Now, being Self-existent, he is therefore absolutely Supreme and Independent, and has Power to forgive Sin, as he is the Counsellor; and being, as he is the Mediator of the Covenant, he redeemed us with his own Blood, the Oblation of the Nature of sinful Flesh in our stead, he has Power also thereby to forgive Sin upon Earth, as he is the Son of Man.

This, my Lord, may set my Lay-Brethren right, as to the Fact, that they may the better judge your Lordship's Conclusions founded upon this Particular.

SECT,



## S E C T. II.

I AM now to set down what the Scripture says of *Abiathar's* being deposed by *Solomon*, which will clearly appear in this Order :

- I. Of his being High-Priest.
- II. Of his being deposed by *Solomon*.
- III. Of the Ecclesiastical Supremacy of the Kings of *Judah*.

I. Whether *Abiathar* was High-Priest, will appear from these Particulars of the Constitution of the *Levitical* Priesthood.

1. The Priesthood was confined to *Aaron* and his Family, (*Numb. xvi.*) the High-Priesthood was settled upon *Aaron* and his Eldest Sons after him in a direct Line, *1 Chron. vi. 49.* And it was derived down accordingly to the Captivity. See *1 Chron. vi. 4, &c.* where the Succession stands recorded thus : *AARON, ELEAZAR, Phineas, Abishua, Bukki, Uzzi, Zerabiah, Meraioth, Amariah, Abitub, ZADOK, Ahimaaz, Azariah, Johanan, AZARIAH* the High-Priest in *Solomon's* Temple, &c.

2. When *Aaron* died, he left two surviving Sons, *ELEAZAR* and *ISHAMAR*; *Eleazar* being High-Priest, and *Ishamar* with



his Sons, and all the Sons of *Eleazar*, being Ministring Priests, subject to *Eleazar* the High-Priest, as they were before unto *Aaron* their Father, ( 1 Chron. xxiv. 13. )

3. Whether it was by reason of the great Age of *Phineas* the High-Priest, who liv'd all the Time the Judges rul'd, ( *Judg.* xx. 28. ) or that the same Regard was to be paid to *Aaron*, which had been paid to *Joseph*, whose two Sons were both made Heads of Tribes in the House of *Jacob* their Grandfather; certain it is, that (some time before the Days of *Samuel*) there was, concurrent with the Succession of the High-Priesthood in the Paternal Line of *Aaron*, and his first Son *Eleazar*, a secondary Respect paid to the Head of the second House, or Line of *Isbamar* the second Son of *Aaron*. The Eldest Person of that Line was accounted next to the High-Priest, which thus appears :

*Abiathar* is always put next to *Zadok*, ( see 2 Sam. xvii. 15. xix. 11. and xx. 25. and 1 Chron. xv. 11. ) Now *Abiathar* was the chief Man of the Line of *Isbamar*, for he was the Son of *Ahimelec*, ( 2 Sam. xxii. 20. ) And *Ahimelec* was Chief of the Line of *Isbamar*, and had the Course of Ministring Priests of that Line put under him by *David*, ( 1 Chron. xxii. 3. ) according to GOD's Appointment, subordinate to the High-Priest, ( *ibid.* v. 19. )

Add,



Add, That *Eli* the Priest in *Samuel's* Minority was Chief of that Line. He was the Father of *Phineas*, the Father of *Ahitub* and *Ichabod*, ( 1 Sam. xiv. 3. ) And this *Ahitub* was the Father of *Abimelec*, the Father of *Abiathar*, ( 1 Sam. xxii. 20. ) which *Abimelec* is declared Chief of that Line in that Place before-mention'd, ( 1 Chron. xxii. 3. ) Now to this *Eli* GOD had said ---- *Thine House shall walk before me for ever*, ( 1 Sam. ii. 30. ) Thus as *Ephraim* and *Manasseh*, the two Sons of *Joseph*, were accounted Founders of Tribes in *Israel*, so the two Sons of *Aaron*, *Eleazar* and *Ithamar*, were made Fathers of two Tribes of Priests; and consequently, the Heads of each had Precedency over all the Members of both; and thus *Abiathar*, who was as far distant from the High-Priesthood, as there were Males alive, or possible to be alive of the Line of *Eleazar*, was notwithstanding put next to *Zadok* the High-Priest, as being Head of the second Tribe of Ministering Priests. But he could not be High-Priest till all the Line of *Eleazar* should be totally extinct; and there were sixteen chief Men, or Heads of Families, of that Line in being at the Time of *Abimelec* his Father, ( 1 Chron. xxiv. 3. ) And the High-Priest had continued in that Line of *Eleazar* till the Captivity, ( 1 Chron. vi. 4. )

Thus, My Lord, it is evident, that *Abiathar* was not High-Priest, but his highest Prefer-



Preferment was, that he stood next to him, as being first of the second Tribe of Ministering Priests: And if he is any where called Chief Priest, it must be understood of this Dignity only.

II. I am now to shew, what I have observed of *the Deposing this Abiathar* from this his Dignity; and will begin at the Prophecy against *Eli*, which is alledged to be the *Warrant from GOD for this Deposing*; and hope to prove, that he *never was deposed at all by Solomon*.

I. The Version of our Bible reads thus: So Solomon thrust out Abiathar from being Priest unto the LORD, that he might fulfill the Word of the LORD which he spake concerning the House of Eli in Shiloh, (1 King. ii. 27.) This Word is set down, (1 Sam. ii. 31, &c.) That which concerns us, is this: *I will raise me up a faithful Priest, and every one that is left in thine House, shall come to him, and say, Put me, I pray thee, into one of the Priest's Offices, that I may eat a Piece of Bread.* The Courses of Priests of the Line of Ishamar in David's Time were eight, (1 Chron. xxiv. 3.) and all under the Direction of *Abimelec* the Heir of *Eli*, and Chief of that Tribe, and were by this Prophecy to be no longer directed by the first of their own Line, but were to be under the first of the Line of Eleazar, as the sixteen Courses of that Line were already, (1 Chron. xxiv. 3.) for otherwise the



the Remains of *Eli's* House would have been *Chief of their own Tribe*, and not have come to any one to be put into one of the *Priest's* Offices, as this Prophecy says they should.

2. Now it is evident, this Prophecy was *not* fulfilled in *Abiathar*; for as soon as *Solomon* had settled himself in the Kingdom, after the Business of *Adonijah*, and the supposed Deposing of *Abiathar*, we find him on the same Establishment as he was in *David's* Time. Read and compare *1 Kings*, iv. 1-4. and *2 Sam.* xx. 25. then when *Solomon* had built the Temple, he appointed the Courses of the Priests, according to the Order of *David* his Father, (*2 Chron.* viii. 14.) and according to that Order, *Abiathar* was over all the eight Courses, of the second Tribe or Line of Priests: And if *Abiathar* had been deposed by *Solomon*, to fulfill the Prophecy, *neither of these things could have been*. He could not have stood in the Establishment next to *Zadok*, nor could the Order of the Courses appointed by God, and set right by *David*, have been observed by *Solomon*.

3. Tho' your Lordship will undoubtedly be satisfy'd with this, yet your Laity to whom you appeal, may reply and say, I contradict the Scripture, which in express Terms says, *So Solomon thrust out Abiathar from being Priest unto the Lord*: To these then, let me return this for their Satisfaction, and appeal to your Lordship for the Truth of my Assertion.

1. The



1. The Original *Hebrew* is *וְיִחַץ*, which ought to be rendred thus, *and Solomon would have thrust out, &c.* It is a Verb of the Future Tense, in the Preter Signification, and is the only way that Language has to express the Potential Mood without Circumlocution. And tho' sometimes this Sort of Construction is used otherwise, yet the concurrent Circumstances in this Story of *Abiathar*, and even in this Text, do sufficiently evidence it must be thus understood here; for *Solomon* did not so thrust out *Abiathar*, as thereby to fulfill the Word of the Lord against *Eli*: That Word was not fulfilled at all in the Person of *Abiathar*. But indeed, *Solomon would have thrust him out*, and that is all that the Text can be forc'd to say consistent with itself.

2. But many of your Lordship's Readers, who may be willing to hear your condescending Appeal, may be unwilling to admit an Alteration in the received Version of the Bible, tho' apparently necessary, as in this Case. Such then may be reminded, that the Will and Intention is sometimes taken in Scripture for the Act. Thus *Araunah* is said to have given to King *David* that which he only would have given, but did not, for *David* paid for them, (2 Sam. xxiv. 23.)

And thus, when it is observ'd, that the Prophecy against the House of *Eli* was not fulfill'd in *Abiathar*, it must be allow'd that *Solomon* did not fulfill that Prophecy by any thing he did against *Abiathar*; and therefore that the Text  
can



can only declare the Intention of *Solomon*, as that other Text declares no more of *Araunah*, than his Intention, tho' equally expressive in the Version, and much more so in the *Hebrew Original*.

And therefore, upon the whole, I am fully persuaded, your Lordship will give me this Part of the Case, and admit the Fact as it appears in Scripture to be, *That Abiathar was not deposed by Solomon*.

III. Lest it should be said, *Abiathar* might be deposed by *Solomon*, by vertue of the Royal Prerogative and Supremacy of *Solomon*, in Causes Ecclesiastical, tho' not in Completion of that Prophecy : I must beg Leave to lay before your Lordship what I have observ'd from Scripture of the Supremacy of the Kings of *Judah*; for indeed, as to those of *Israel*, they had an absolute Supremacy, but it was founded upon this, that they made the Priesthood and Religion over which they were Supreme, so did not the Kings of *Judah*. They took the Religion as they found it, and had no Supremacy over the Priests on any such Account.

In *Israel*, before the Division of the Kingdom, the Government was a pure Theocracy, God himself was then King, ( 1 Sam. xii. 12. ) God was pleased to appear upon the Mercy-Seat to the High-Priest, ( Lev. xvi. 1, &c. ) which is enough to shew the High-Priest was Supreme. However, if this was not enough, we find the  
Secular



Secular Prince was to go out and come in at the Word of the Lord, by the High-Priest, (*Lev. xxvii. 21.*) and was to govern by a Law, of which the Priest had the Custody, (*Dent. xviii. 18.*) and of which he was the Interpreter; (*Mal. ii. 7.*) And therefore tho' *Samuel* wrote a Book of the Manner of the Kingdom, and laid it up before the Lord, (*1 Sam. x. 25.*) yet the being laid up there, shews it was in the Custody of the Priests; and it is evident, it gave no Supremacy to *Solomon* to depose *Abiathar*: If it had, the Text would have said *Solomon* did it by vertue of his Supremacy, given to him by the Word of the Lord to *Samuel*. And therefore since no such thing is alledg'd, but on the contrary an old Prophecy referr'd to, your Lordship is more accurate, than to conclude *Solomon* had any Supremacy by any thing without Book; and therefore I must conclude,

*Solomon* had no Supremacy at all over the High-Priest, or any of the inferiour Priests, to depose any of them, for any Cause whatever.

SECT.



## S E C T. III.

I Shall conclude, with a short State of both these Facts.

1. Our Lord forgives Sin, as he is Self-existent, and absolutely Supreme; and as he has bought us with his own Blood, and so is our Supreme Lord.

2. *Abiathar* was not High-Priest, but only first of the second Line of ministring and inferiour Priests: He had the Unhappiness to enrage King *Solomon* by taking another Interest, and was in Danger of being deposed by him, which *Solomon* had a Good-will to have done; but for want of Authority did not, as having no Supremacy over the Priesthood; but on the contrary, being Subordinate to the Law of God, kept and interpreted by the Priests.

These being the Facts, I humbly leave the Conclusions from them to your Lordship, and the Laity, to whom you appeal.

## S E C T. IV.

YOur Lordship has advanced something about *Abiathar* in your Book, which may be objected against what I have said of them. Since the Text 1. *Kings*, ii. 35. says, *And Zadok*  
D



*Zadok the Priest, did the King put in the Room of Abiathar. But this will not at all prejudice the true Interpretation of the former Text, by which this must be understood.*

1. *Zadok, as I have proved, was High-Priest before this happened, and Abiathar only first of the second Tribe or House of ministring Priests: The putting Zadok in the room of Abiathar, would have entirely set aside Abiathar from his directing the Courses of the House of Ithamar; and yet it is evident, Abiathar never was set aside from this his Office.*

2. *Solomon had no Supremacy over the Priests at all; and tho' there was a Prophecy that the House of Ithamar should one time or other lose their Pre eminence, yet Solomon could not fix the Person in whom, or the Time when, it should take Place.*

*Therefore this must stand also with the former Text, as a Declaration of what Solomon would have done, not what he actually did do.*

*Your Lordship sees, I use no Evasions in this Matter; I find Abiathar had a very high Station in the Aaronical Priesthood. He is next to the High-Priest in all Offices whatever; he is so, by the particular Appointment of God himself. His pretended Deprivation is also admitted as far as is consistent with Solomon's Prerogative, and Abiathar's History. Solomon did as certainly deprive him, as Araunah did give to David the King his Threshing-floor. This I admit.*

*Your*



Your Lordship says, *Solomon claims a Right over the Life of Abiathar*; but this also I take to be an Error in Fact founded upon a Neglect of the Scripture. All that Solomon says, is, that he is worthy to die, were it not for such and such Considerations, and he names some that are particular: And can it be supposed he had no Regard to those that are general? especially, since the particular ones are founded upon the Personal Behaviour of Abiathar to David, but the general ones upon the express Command of God Almighty. These held Solomon's Hand, and prevented him from following the Example of Doeg the Edomite, who slew the Lord's Priests, when all the Footmen of Saul had refused to obey such a horrible Command, (1 Sam. xxii. 17.) These must surmount the particular Considerations of Abiathar's former Behaviour, in the Judgment of a Prince less wise than Solomon, and less tender of his Duty to God Almighty; but to name these, would be a sort of Reflexion upon Solomon's Character, as if his Reputation for Piety was not sufficiently established.

Another Error in this Matter, I take to be, that your Lordship says, *what Revenue soever Abiathar had after this, was Matter of Favour and Mercy, not of Right, but only a Permission of Solomon*. Shall I refer your Lordship to the Scripture, for the Establishment of the Priest's Revenue among the Jews, which were all settled by immediate Appointment of God himself? I will not name the Places, being one may suppose these,



these, if any thing in the Old Testament, must be known : All I will say is, that *Solomon himself owns Abiathar had Revenues, of which nothing but Death could deprive him ;* and this in the same Declaration of his Anger, by which he would have deprived him.--These are the very Words, *1 Kings, ii. 26.*

*And unto Abiathar the Priest, said the King, get thee to Anathoth, to THINE OWN FIELDS THERE.--*

Anathoth was a City of the Priests, set aside for them at the Division of the Land, (*Josh. xxi 18.*) and the Property of the Priests thereto was not at all depending upon the Secular State, but was founded upon the Command, of God himself by the Hand of Moses ; (*Ibid i. 2.*) And can it be supposed, that Solomon would claim a Right which Ahab himself, in the Case of Naboth, had not Courage to pretend to ? and especially when the Case differs as far as Spiritual and Secular. Surely, your Lordship will not say Abiathar had any thing by Permission from Solomon, without giving us an express Declaration of Scripture for your Warrant ; and when that appears, I shall own myself in an Error.

Here then your Lordship sees yourself entirely mistaken, in the Scripture History of the Fact ; here is no Instance of a King, a Secular Prince, depriving, removing, thrusting out by his own Authority his Ecclesiastical Superior ; thrusting out by Force the Priest of the Lord, from being



*ing Priest of the Lord.* Your Lordship knows, he could not do this by Deprivation, for *Abiathar* was Priest by Birth, and so were all the Sons of *Aaron*; (*Exod. xxviii. 1.*) Nor indeed does the Text say, *he would have thrust him out from being Priest OF the Lord*, but *from being Priest UNTO the Lord*, from the Exercise of his Office which he had by Birth-right, and which he could not be deprived of but by Death, or such Incapacity as God had expressly declar'd; in which this Matter of *Adonijah* does not appear to be mentioned.

MUCH LESS is there any Proof, *that Solomon took away what he never gave*; but on the contrary, *Abiathar* stood still as before he had done in *David* the King's Time.

And tho' there is *no Censure upon Solomon for this Intention of his*, which evidently did exceed the Bounds of his Authority; yet since it is not commended in Holy Writ, since it is not made a President there, since the Authority of the Priesthood for ever after remains Sacred, and *Abiathar in statu quo*; it will be a bold Stroke, the putting this amongst the laudable Designs of *Solomon*, tho' he had his own Defence, and more than that, a Prophecy against the House of *Eli*, to justify what he did. And indeed it is evident, he would put it wholly upon the Prophecy; and he needed nothing more to convince him of his Error, than to shew him that God himself must again reveal his Will when the Prophecy should take Place,  
before



*before any thing was to be done in it. And what seems to have convinced Solomon, will, I humbly hope, have the same Effect upon your Lordship.*

## S E C T. V.

**I** AM now to lay before your Lordship those Principles which SEEM destructive of all revealed Religion, and yet are evidently advanced by your Lordship in your Book.

*First, Your Lordship says (p. 78. of the 3d Edition) God is just, and equal, and good, and as sure as he is so, he cannot put the Happiness of any Man upon what he himself hath put it out of the Power of any Man upon Earth to be ENTIRELY satisfied in.*

*Secondly, This general Rule your Lordship applies to the Case in hand: You say, (ibid.) The regular uninterrupted Succession of Persons qualified, and regularly ordain'd, is a Matter impossible to be proved, nay, the Contrary is more than probable, upon an Historical Evidence, which we receive in other Cases. Therefore our Interest in the Favour of God can have nothing to do with it.*

*1st, As to the first of these, the entire Satisfaction necessary (as your Lordship says) in every Particular upon which our Salvation depends, has (in my humble Opinion) a downright Tendency to Deism. I will own my Error in this, when*



when your Lordship tells me the Way by which the far greater Part of Mankind must receive this ENTIRE Satisfaction in another Particular, on which GOD has expressly declared the Salvation of Mankind to depend. Your Lordship agrees, our Redemption is by the Blood of Christ, and our Salvation by being rightly entitled to that Redemption. First, I will admit that notwithstanding all the Heterodox and monstrous Opinions about the former of these, every Man may be entirely satisfied that Jesus who redeemed us with his Blood, is the self-existent Being, and therefore had that Blood at his own Disposal, and could either redeem us with it or not, as he thought fit; and that the Goodness and Good-nature (so I would render ἡ χρηστότης καὶ ἡ φιλα-  
 ὀψία, Tit. iii. 4.) of this our God and Saviour put him upon doing this for us, that we might not perish for ever. This every Man that reads the Bible, may be entirely satisfied in.

And therefore let me take this Opportunity of laying before your Lordship the unaccountable Disingenuousness of some of our Church, who after having done all that can be done to convince Men of their entire Satisfaction herein, do now pretend to be dissatisfied; tho' they hold great Estates, and Cures of Multitudes of Souls by their once pretended Satisfaction. But perhaps they are not satisfied with those Estates and Cures, any more than with the Doctrines they have said they were satisfied with. But this by way of Digression only. To return.

2dly,



2dly, But though we are entirely satisfied about all that is done on God's part, how shall we be entirely satisfied that we have performed the Conditions on our own part? and yet without such Performance we cannot be saved. This your Lordship seems to suppose in pag. 92. of your Book. I confess these Conditions are all summed up in few Words. In *Acts xx.* Repentance towards God, and Faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ in ver. 21. is said to be the whole Counsel of God in ver. 27. But then your Lordship knows this Repentance is in the Original *μετανοια*, a Change of Mind, the same that is elsewhere styled the purging the Conscience from dead Works, to serve the living God, *Heb. ix. 14.* That which our Catechism calls, A Death unto Sin, and a new Birth unto Righteousness: And then, my Lord, what entire Satisfaction can any Man have that he is thus changed? He that is dead, acts not; and S. John says, If we say we have no Sin, we deceive ourselves; therefore as long as we have Sin, we live and we are not changed. So that your Lordship sees the Good and Good-natured God our Saviour has put our Salvation upon that, which tho' we cannot be entirely satisfied about, yet we must humbly hope for and depend upon.

But undoubtedly, the Denial of all Revealed Religion will afford every Man an entire Satisfaction, that he has performed the Conditions which God requires of him, to qualify him for eternal Life. For any Man may do  
all



all that is required by God, if, as Deists say, God requires nothing at all.

But how any Man can be entirely satisfied with denying all Revealed Religion, I confess I am not able to say; since the Prophecies in the Old Testament are so evidently accomplished in the New, and since the miraculous Facts in both are testified to us by significant Ceremonies performed by select Orders of Men, who have been continued in a regular Succession from that time to this.

Yet unless we deny *all Conditions of Salvation on our part*, it is evident there is no entire Satisfaction for any Man of his own Salvation; and we must affirm God himself has put our Salvation upon the Performance of some Conditions on our part, namely, *Change of Mind towards God, and Faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ*; of the former of which we cannot be *entirely satisfied in this Life*. And therefore I humbly submit it, whether this Rule of your Lordships be not liable to Exception, unless it send us to *the Denial of all Revealed Religion*.

2dly, Nor will your Lordship's Application of your Rule be less dangerous. For if we once come to deny all Possibility of a *regular uninterrupted Succession of Persons qualified and regularly Ordained in the Christian Church*, we lose the great Evidence of the Christian Religion. Those Evidences are, (1) miraculous  
E Facts



Facts done before competent Witnesses ; and (2) sufficient Testimony of those Facts. Miraculous Facts were indeed done, but how shall any one not present know this but by the Persons present, or sufficient Evidence otherwise ? Now your Lordship knows, the glorious Resurrection of Christ is one of those miraculous Facts upon which the Truth of the Gospel depends for its Testimony ; and the Sacraments of the Christian Church are perpetual Memorials, as of his Death, so also of his Resurrection. And consequently, if the Administration of these Sacraments should be discontinued, that Evidence of our Religion must be lost, and then we must either be Deists or Atheists, so far as the Want of this Evidence renders our Religion without Proof. And if we have no regular Succession of Persons in the Church, to perpetuate the Administration of the Sacraments ; we cannot be certain that they are Memorials of the Death and Resurrection of Christ. They may be Ceremonies invented by Men for other Purposes ; for if the Men who administered these Sacraments were set up by any Power but that of Christ, we have not any Certainty of the first Intention of the Sacraments by such Men administered. That Power that has Courage enough to set up an Order of Men, and to call these Men God's Priests and Ministers, will not make any Scruple of telling these Ministers what sort of Religion they shall exercise. This is evident in *Jereboam's* Case. He made a new Religion and a new



new Order of Priests for the Service of it ; and of his own heart, devised *Memorials of the coming of Israel from Egypt*, 1 Kings xii. 26, — 33. But what Evidence of the Fact was there in all this ? How could the Calves and Priests, set up by this prudential Statesman, be any Proof of a Fact done so many hundred Years before he was born ? On the other side, the Religion of the Temple at Jerusalem, and the regular Succession of the Sons of Aaron, was an undeniable Evidence that the miraculous Facts were certainly done, which some Ceremonies in that Religion did keep in perpetual Remembrance : So, my Lord, in the Christian Church, if the regular Succession of the Clergy is denied, the Evidence of the Sacraments for the Truth of the Religion, is also denied ; and then whether Deism has not an Advantage hereby, I submit to your Lordship's Judgment.

E 2

Digression



## Digression in Defence of the Protestants against the Papists.

**I** Cannot persuade myself to think your Lordship is in Earnest, when you deny our being able to prove a Regular Succession of Protestant Christian Bishops and Priests. Nothing in the World is more evident: Is there any Instance in all History, till Mr. Calvin's Time, of any Bishop or Priest that came into his Office without Regular Imposition of Hands?

It is no Interruption of this Succession, that which was done at the Reformation in King Henry VIII's Time, or since. All the World knows, the Popish Bishops, before the Reformation, had established the Nomination of Bishops in the King: And therefore, by their own Principle the King must fill up all Vacant Sees; and it is notorious, that all the Bishops deprived by any Act of Parliament then, or in the next Reign, or Queen Elizabeth's, were guilty of Heresy in the strictest Sense of the Word; and, as such, degraded *ipso facto*; and the Temporal Power declaring their Sees vacant, was all that was necessary in that Case.

The



The Church of *England* has always deny'd any Dependence upon the Church of *Rome*; even before the Reformation; and therefore, the Pope's Bishops in *England* must be guilty of the Schism of setting up Altar against Altar, if any be, since the Reformation.

Here again I humbly submit it to your Lordship, whether what was done at the Reformation was any *Interruption of the Regular Succession of Bishops in the Church of England*, or possible to give any Nullity to the Order of Bishops for want of such Succession. The Reformed Bishops, at the Coming in of Queen *Elizabeth*, were of Number sufficient to consecrate others in the most Regular Manner. Archbishop *Parker* was consecrated by three, whose Names are upon Record. And therefore, as the then Deprived Bishops were Hereticks, and their Heresy then notorious, tho' not before, the Bishops put into their Sees were Regular Successors, being regularly Ordain'd, and put into Sees truly Vacant.

Our Law-Books do sufficiently evince the Independency of the Church of *England* upon the See of *Rome* before the Reformation; and therefore, the Schisms lie upon those Bishops who usurp a Foreign Jurisdiction over Dioceses to which they have no Title. And they must be ignorant indeed, that can be caught with such foolish Arguments, as  
no



no doubt, but some of the *Ramish* Missionaries use, when they argue, as your Lordship tells us, against the Validity of the Succession of our Clergy.

What I have said to your Lordship will defend all Protestants against such Arguments in the Mouths of Papists.

When we are asked, *Whether the Popish Church in England or Ireland is a Church or not?* We can answer, *It is not a Regular or Sound Church, but is guilty of Usurpation in her Clergy, and of Heresies and false Opinions both in Clergy and People:* And therefore, we must not have any Communion with such a Church. A Church that has no Regular Succession among us in this Kingdom; and that has no Pretence of Title to any Jurisdiction here, and is guilty of Heretical Doctrines, we must not hold Communion with. And such a Church the Church of Rome is to all Intents.

Your Lordship sees, we need not give up the Regularity of the Succession of Bishops in the Church to defend ourselves against the Church of Rome. The Bishops of our Reformed Church in England and Ireland are Regular Successors of the Apostles; but the *Ramish* Bishops in England and Ireland are Irregular, Schismatical, and Heretical.

Neither



Neither will the usurped Authority of the Pope in this Nation before the Reformation make void the Ordination of Any by him nominated, consecrated, or instituted, tho' your Lordship should allow the Principles of the Non-jurors, unless it can be made appear those were thus nominated, &c. to Sees then duly possess'd by others. And even then this will be no Interruption of the Succession, but out of the Case, unless the Bishops, who ordain'd Archbishop *Parker*, derived their Succession from those Usurping Bishops; which I am perswaded none of our Adversaries will pretend to say.

But all this while, there is no need to declare either Papists or the Dissenting Brethren to be no Churches; for the xith Canon has declar'd every one liable to be excommunicated, that shall affirm any Congregations not allowed by the *Laws of the Land*, are True and Lawful Churches. And now to return to

3. Another of those Principles, that to me seem destructive of the Protestant Religion, and of all Revealed Religion, is this: Your Lordship says, *It is not consistent with the Nature of GOD to wrap up the most Important of all Points in Clouds of Obscurity and Uncertainty; that there must have been frequent Interruptions in the Succession of the Christian Clergy; that the Gospel layeth no Stress upon this Matter; that you imitate our first Reformers, who scorn'd*

to



*to take their Claim to the Purity of the Gospel from such Topicks; that you do not put the Cause of the Reformation and of the Church of England upon such Trifles, &c.*

I can't forbear humbly beseeching your Lordship to review this Passage, as it stands in the 3d Edition of your Book, (pag. 88.) Can any *Papist* desire more for their Cause than is here advanced! If our Reformers did not value the Regularity of the Ecclesiastick Orders, why may not the Story of the *Nagg's-Head* be true? Can any *Deist* expect more than this for him also, that the *Regular Succession of the Christian Priesthood is a Trifle*?

Surely this tends to destroy both the Protestant and all Revealed Religion. Your Lordship will consider how agreeable this Doctrine is to the xxiii and xxxvi Articles of the Church of England, which say, *It is not Lawful for any Man to take upon him the Office of Publick Preaching or Ministering the Sacraments in the Congregation, till he be Lawfully called — by Men who have Publick Authority, — according to the Acts of the Book of Consecration of Archbishops and Bishops, — set forth in the Time of Edward VI. and confirmed at the same time by Authority of Parliament: And to the viiith Canon, which says, Whoeber shall — affirm or teach, that the Form and Manner of Making and Consecrating Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, — is repugnant to the Word of God, or that they*  
who



who are made in that Form, are not Lawfully made, let him be excommunicated, ipso facto. So again in *Pag. 98.* Your Lordship calls these Things Niceties, Trifles, and Dreams.

Let me but add one Word; the xviii. Article of our Church runs thus: "*They are to be had accursed, that presume to say, that every Man shall be saved by the Law, or Sect which he professeth, so that he be diligent to frame his Life according to that Law, and the Light of Nature.*"

Now, your Lordship will please to consider, how far this Article agrees with the following Passage in your Book, (*Pag. 90.*)

"*Every one may find it in his own Conduct to be true, that his Title to God's Favour cannot depend upon his actual being or continuing in any particular Method, but upon his real Sincerity in the Conduct of his Conscience, and of his Actions under it.*"

Had but this Notion obtain'd sooner with you, it might certainly have saved your Lordship a great deal of Learned Pains in Defending the Church of *England*, since any other Method, according to this Notion, may secure the Favour of God, as well as being of her Communion: and some, undoubtedly, may much better secure a Secular Interest.



Your Lordship cannot be ignorant how far this Principle tends to lay open all Sorts of revealed Religion; how it encourages even *Judaism*, beyond Christianity itself; and the infamous Imposture of *Mahomet* more than either, and *Deism* above all. How few are they that will be at the Pains of *rightly informing* their Consciences about the distinguishing Doctrines of Christianity? How *difficultly* must it be to do this, when *your Lordship* takes away one of the great Evidences of our Religion! And who is there that is so much above the World, as not to put *Secular Considerations* into the Scale? Who, that has any Value for your Lordship, can forbear to put a due Price upon *Secular Advantages*, where so many Pages in your Book are employ'd in proving the Church must be Ruin'd when these are taken away: And then, if my Conscience tells me the being a *Jew*, a *Turk*, or *Deist*, are Methods that may as well entitle me to God's Favour, as being a Christian; and, if at the same time I can find my Secular Advantage more in one than another, why may not, nay, why must not that Particular determine my Conduct?

I am not willing to be farther troublesome to your Lordship; if I have in any Thing mistaken the Scripture, I will readily own my Error, and return Thanks to him that sets me Right. If I have mistaken  
your



your Lordship will do the same,  
and ask Pardon in publick Man-  
ner, having Neglected but the Ho-  
nour of God, and of all Man-  
kind. And am, with great Respect,

*Your Lordship's*

*most Obedient, and*

*most humble Servant.*





# POSTSCRIPT.

I Must not forget to beseech your Lordship, for the Sake of the Church of which you are an Overseer, to put Us of the Laity into some certain Method of Religion. You have given us the Liberty to choose for ourselves, and told us, *all Methods are alike*, Pag. 90. And that, if we do but take the *Scripture for our Rule*, and guide ourselves thereby, *explaining all obscure Passages therein, by such as need no Interpreter*; Humane Benedictions, Humane Denunciations, Humane Excommunications, have nothing to do with the Favour or Anger of God.--- Now, my Lord, if this be true, what *Doctrine or Discipline will remain among us*? Any *Deist* will give your Lordship all you can desire after this Concession.

## FINIS.

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### ERRATA.

From Pag. 9. to Pag. 12. passim, for Ishamar, read Ithamar. P. 9. L. 14. after Family, insert Exod. xxviii. 1. P. 10. L. 4. for 13. read 19. L. 26. for 2 Sam. read 1 Sam. L. 30. for xxii. read xxiv. P. 11. L. 8. for xxii. read xxiv. L. 29. for Priest had, read Priesthood. P. 15. L. 27. for then, read their. P. 16. L. 2. for Lev. read Num. L. 18. for without, read in that.



*Dispute Cleri*

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OR, THE  
Factions of the Church.

Being a Short V I E W

OF THE  
*Pernicious Consequences*

OF THE  
**C L E R G Y s**

---

Intermeddling with  
Affairs of S T A T E.

---

*In Nomine Domini incipit omne malum.*

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L O N D O N :

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## P O S C R I P T.

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*Miserere Cleri:*

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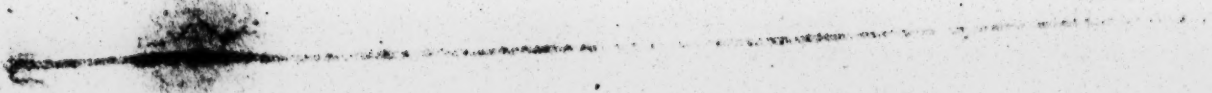
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Register of the



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## *Miserere Cleri, &c.*



Whoever looks Abroad into the World with an impartial Eye, may easily discern from what Spring the troubled Streams of Animofities and Popular Divifions firft arife : And as the Cause is not latent, fo the dreadful Effects and pernicious Confequences are too apparent.

In fuch a Cafe as this, there is no occafion of an exalted reach of Judgment, or Penetration beyond the ufual and ordinary Capacity of Mankind, either to difcover the Mifchief, or prefcribe a Cure.

Whilst the Clergy kept themfelves within their juft Bounds, and were not bloated with Ambition beyond their own Dimensions ; before Avarice had corrupted their Simplicity, and Priestcraft was put upon the Rack to maintain their Ufurpations ; 'till the preaching of the Gospel was fuperseded by Politicks, and the Cure of Souls was forc'd to give Place to Intrigues of State ; before the Mitre encroach'd



upon the Crown, and the Order of Things became inverted, we find few Instances of Dissention amongst the People, or those violent Commotions that have since hurried the Christian World into those unnatural Convulsions that shock the very Foundations of Government, and make the Basis thereof to tremble.

But no sooner did these Men, who profess to have their Conversation in Heaven, begin to mind Earthly Things; no sooner did these Men, who ought to be crucify'd unto the World, begin to mortify towards Heaven, and to have a Relish of, and court these transient and momentary, these vain and worthless Trifles (as they themselves preach,) no sooner were they enamour'd with those mortal Beauties, *the Lust of the Flesh, the Lust of the Eye, and the Pride of Life*, (which last is too much the *Enamourata* of the Tribe of *Levi*) but the Purity of the Gospel began to be corrupted, the Spirituality of Religion to vanish, and Hypocrisy, Sensuality, and Dissimulation began to act their Part in the World; so that at last Godliness was but an empty Name, Sincerity an utter Stranger, and Interest became the great *Diana*, to which all Men *ad instar Cleri* paid their Devotions.

Should we look into ancient Times, and ransack the musty Rowls of Antiquity, we might fill a Volume of the largest bulk. Neither the *Pagan* World, nor the *Jewish* Nation want Examples of the destructive Consequences this Practice has produc'd: Our own  
Histories



Histories abound with them; and later Years have given us convincing Evidences of this melancholy Truth. But what is most surprising, notwithstanding our Disease is known, no Remedy has been apply'd; the Infection is grown Epidemical, and 'till the Clergy's Mouths are stop'd as to this Particular, we cannot hope a Cure. It's like a Gangrene in the Body natural, not to be cur'd but by Amputation, and as the Poet says,

——— *immedicabile vulnus,*  
*Ense rescidendum est, ne pars sincera trahatur.*

Immemorial Custom in this, as in many other Cases, seems to plead Prescription, and nothing but the last Resort to Parliamentary Authority is sufficient to stop the Progress of this growing Evil, the Consequences of which every Day appear more fatal and innumerable: What Mischief has it not compass'd? To what Streights has it not reduc'd us? Or who can reckon up the pernicious Concomitants thereof? 'Tis to this, in a great measure, that we owe the Incroachments of some preceding Kings, and to this we are beholden for several bloody Insurrections; to this we are indebted for those Violences and Outrage wherewith we are inflam'd, and by which we are divided into Factions and Party. To this we must assign the Revival of past Miscarriages, and widening of our Breaches. 'Tis this that tears off the Plaister from our Wounds,



Wounds, and makes them bleed afresh. **Till** this Practice therefore, this Stone of Stumbling be remov'd out of the Way, little Hopes remain of cementing the People in Unity and Concord.

But as Generals look with an invidious Face, and Particulars carry the plainest Demonstration; that I may remove all Ground of Cavil, I shall, in the first Place enumerate some of the pernicious Consequences, and then proceed to lay down Reasons to restrain the Practice for the future, by a Penal Statute.

To begin therefore with the Consequences which inevitably attend the Practice of the Clergy's Intermeddling with Affairs of State: The first that I shall name is this;

*I. That by applying themselves to secular, especially State Affairs, the Clergy become grossly negligent of the Ministerial Function.*

Our Saviour tells us, *No Man can serve two Masters; for either he will hate the one, and love the other; or else he will hold to the one, and despise the other. Ye cannot serve God and Mammon.* Common Experience would prove this Truth past Contradiction, tho' the Scriptures had been altogether silent: The Things themselves are incompatible; and the Affairs of both too arduous to be managed by the same Persons: If the State be apply'd to with that Diligence that is requisite and absolutely necessary, where shall be Time found  
for



for due Application to the Ministerial Office? How many of them scarce ever enter into the Pulpit unless when their Sermons are a Summons to their Pay? Or if they preach and pray every Lord's-Day, is that sufficient? Is there nothing more to be done, or is there no more Care to be taken of the Flock? Lord! What an Account will these Men give of their Stewardship another Day? Can this be call'd a giving themselves wholly to Prayer and the Ministry of the Word? Or, how does this accord with the Apostle Paul's Charge to Timothy, *to be instant in Season and out of Season?* Can any Time be too much to be bestow'd, or any Pains too great to be laid out for the Good of Souls? Or did our Saviour thus remissly mind his Father's Business? Has God given them any Indulgence, or will he accept of an Equivalent? But here it is presently objected, Who will not make the best they can for themselves? And tho', thro' the multitude of Business, they cannot officiate, yet they provide others, and that's as well. I answer, 'Tis not. God has pronounc'd a Curse against those that do the Work of the Lord negligently. Certainly the Apostle had other Sentiments of the Matter, when he tells us, *Tho' I preach the Gospel, I have nothing to glory of; for Necessity is laid upon me; yea, woe unto me, if I preach not the Gospel.* Every one whom God has call'd to labour in his Vineyard, is to follow that Work which his Lord and Master hath in his Providence set him



him about, and not come in with an Equivalent, or provide another to do it for him. 'Tis plain Scripture, every Man is therein to abide with God, wherein he is called: And as the Clergy think it an Encroachment upon their Function, when Lay-men take upon them to be Teachers, so, *vice versa*, Lay-men may, by the same Rule, look upon it as an Intrenchment upon them, if the Clergy meddle with Affairs of State. And as for those Ministers, who thus perform their Work by Proxy, as they pray, preach, visit the Sick, and all by another, so 'tis to be fear'd, they will at last go to Heaven by Proxy too. Besides, if they put in a worse Man, or one less capable than themselves, the Blood of every Sinner, whose Soul is lost by this Default, is chargeable to their Account, as is plain from *Ezek. iii.* from 17 to 21 inclusive. But suppose the Person employ'd by these negligent Ministers be of equal, or perhaps superiour Qualities to themselves, what are they then but felonious Robbers of their Brethren?

Certainly these Men, who can thus neglect their Charge, and make so small Account of Souls, are little sensible what a Value Christ set upon them, when he laid down his Life for them, or of the Duty that is incumbent on them, or of that severe Account they must one Day give of those that are committed to their Charge, describ'd by the Prophet *Isaiah*; *His Watchmen are blind, they are all ignorant, they are all dumb Dogs, they cannot bark, sleeping, lying*



lying down, loving to slumber, yea, they are greedy Dogs, which can never have enough, and they are Shepherds that cannot understand: They all look to their own Way; every one to his gain from his Quarter. Come ye, say they, I will fetch Wine, and we will fill our selves with strong Drink, and to Morrow shall be as this Day, and much more abundant.

The Second Consequence is, this, *That Animosities and Divisions are hereby caus'd and fomented amongst the People.*

Let but one of these Sons of Levi put the Trumpet to his Mouth, and sound an Alarm of War, and presently the Audience is on a Flame. To what an Height of Malice will the enrag'd Vulgar rise, and Magistracy shall scarce be able to keep them within the Limits of Obedience? Shall we go far for an Instance, when we have one still before our Eyes? How has a certain Clergyman embroild this whole unhappy Nation and divided People even to Rage and Distraction. But I shall not proceed to many Instances, neither in this or the following Head, because I shall have Oecasion to instance in several Particulars, under the Arguments that I shall lay down in the following Pages, for a Bill to stop the further Progress of this Evil. Therefore in the next Place, I lay down this as another Consequence,

*That Kings have by this Means been sooth'd in their Usurpations and illegal Practices, till at last it hath been their Ruin.*



What an Encouragement must it be to an ambitious Prince, when he is told that he is accountable to none but God, that the Scripture gives him a Divine Right, and that according to the Law of God; he is not answerable to or bound by any Laws of Man. History affords us many Instances of the Truth of this Position, and the Dismal Fate of one of our Own Monarchs which stands upon Record against the Clergy in this Particular within our own Knowledge, makes it undeniable. I shall therefore proceed to another pernicious Consequence, viz.

*Hereby the Avarice and Ambition of the Clergy is encreas'd, and render'd more conspicuous and intolerable.*

'Tis certain the Clergy are Men, and frail Men too, subjected to Passions as well as others, as liable to Temptations, and as often fall by 'em. Grace is no more inherent to their Function than to another. The Ministry is enter'd on (the more's the Shame) as a Trade or Calling, and made use of as other Employments, for a Maintenance; and generally these Men having small, or perhaps no Fortunes, bred Gentlemen and unfit for Labour, if Grace be wanting, lay hold on every Opportunity to enrich and advance themselves; so that these two Vices seem to be their appropriated Sins, if not their inseparable Attributes.

Now, tho' other Consequences might be reckon'd up, and perhaps not less pernicious, yet because in the Reasons for passing a Bill to prevent



prevent this Practice, many Things of this Nature will be coincident, I shall neither enlarge on, nor mention them, but proceed to the Argumentative Part of this Treatise: And here I shall range what I shall offer under these two General Heads:

*First, That it is inconsistent with the Nature of their Office.*

*Secondly, It is neither convenient nor profitable, but often pernicious and hurtful to the State.*

To begin therefore with those Reasons and Arguments which are drawn from the Nature of their Office. The First that I shall lay down is this,

*1. That Intermeddling with Affairs of State, is no Part of their Commission given them by Christ.*

The Commission given by Christ to his Twelve Disciples, when he sent them forth, is largely described by the Evangelist *Matthew*, wherein he gives 'em full Instructions, what they were to do, and how to behave themselves in the Execution of their Ministerial Function: The Substance of which is this, they were to preach, saying, *The Kingdom of Heaven is at hand*; and as they were endow'd with the Gifts of Healing and working Miracles,



cles, which are long since ceas'd in the Church, they were to *heal the Sick, cleanse the Lepers, raise the Dead, cast out Devils*; and to prevent any Calumny that might be thrown on them as avaricious Persons, he enjoins 'em not to take any thing more than bare *Necessaries* from those whom they thus advantag'd, *Freely ye have receiv'd, freely give*: And upon Contempt and Rejection by any, they were not to return Evil for Evil, but only to *shake off the Dust of their Feet as a Witness against 'em*, referring their Cause to God's supreme Judgment at the Last Day.

Agreeable to this Commission is that given to the 70 Disciples in the Tenth Chapter of the Evangelist *Luke*; so that it is apparent, there is nothing of this included in Christ's general Commission to the Preachers of the Gospel.

But now having look'd into this, let us examine into such Orders or Instructions as he gave to particular Persons, and see if we can find any Thing in these that can warrant such a Practice. And First, for that which was given to *Peter*, in the last Chapter of the Evangelist *John*, which is three times repeated in as many Verses, and amounts to no more than the former, *Feed my Lambs, feed my Sheep*.

The Second is that given to the Apostle *Paul* by *Ananias*, sent from Christ, *Acts* iv. 15. *To bear Christ's Name before the Gentiles, and Kings, and the Children of Israel*. And now upon



upon summing up the Whole, the Account stands clear, That meddling with Affairs of State is no where contain'd or included in Christ's Commission; and as the Commission given by Christ extended no farther than to preach the Gospel, so we cannot find that those issued by the Apostles, to those Ministers Ordain'd by them, were any larger, but were confin'd to Matters purely referring to the Spiritual Good of the Church, and the Members of it. How far then have the Clergy of this Age deviated from their Commission! many of whose Sermons contain more Politicks than Gospel, and seem calculated rather to furnish out a Statesman, than instruct the Audience in the Way to Heaven. I shall shut up this Argument with this one Remark, That their Method and Way of Living, and Acting, is the Reverse of that contain'd in Christ's Commission, and is as much alienated from his Institution, as the Matter of their Preaching is foreign to the Original Intent thereof.

The Second Argument I shall produce is, That it is altogether disagreeable to Christ's Doctrine, *My Kingdom is not of this World.*

We can't find one Discourse throughout the New Testament, wherein Christ did not preach up a Self-denying Doctrine; nor did he put his Followers upon seeking great Things for themselves; but on the contrary, when, upon a Notion the Jews had falsely imbib'd, which the Disciples themselves could never be convinc'd to be an Error, 'till after Christ's Resurrection,



Resurrection, That the Messiah should THEN be a mighty Monarch upon Earth; James and John the Sons of Zebedee put in to be prime Ministers of State under his Administration; we find what cold Entertainment their Lord and Master gives 'em; They are put in mind of a suffering, but not a reigning State; and to humble their Pride, together with that of the other Ten Disciples, Christ sets this up for a standing Law, that it should not be with them as among the Heathen; but he that would be great among them was to be their Minister, in plain English, a Servant, and not an idle one neither; the word in the Original denoting the greatest Diligence, and he that would be Chief, was, as we translate it, to be their Servant, but more properly their Slave. So far was Christ's Doctrine from giving Encouragement to a Practice of this Nature.

3. This is not only disagreeable to his Doctrine, but unsuitable to his Practice. Thro' the whole of Sacred Writ we find not any Instance of his assuming Regal Dignity, or that he ever intermeddled with the Administration of Publick Affairs; nay so far opposite to such a Practice was the Practice and Example of our Blessed Saviour, that he carefully avoided every Opportunity that did present it self; for no sooner could the Jews make him a Tender of their Allegiance, as a Temporal Monarch, but he declines the Throne, withdraws himself and his Disciples, and will hear no more about it. But what may seem most strange, he



he who thought no Pains too great, no Labour too much, no Fatigue too heavy to promote the Good of Souls or heal diseased Bodies, yet when accosted with a Question relating to the State, to which his Wisdom could have given a Solution, with the same Ease, as his Omniscience did penetrate thro' their captious and malignant Purpose, he returns an Answer that left 'em as he found 'em, *Render to Cesar the Things that are Cesar's, and to God the Things that are God's.* As tho' he had said, I will have nothing to do with these Matters; and when another desires him but to speak to his Brother to divide the Inheritance with him, he takes him up very short, *Man, who made me a Judge, or a Divider over you?* Luke 12. and 14.

4. This Practice runs counter to several of Christ's Injunctions, and the Character of his Disciples. He tells us, they are not of this World, and therefore the World hates 'em, *Joh. 15. 19.* so *Chapter 17. and 15.* And certainly, Men that are not of the World, should have as little to do with it as possibly they can: And in *Luke 9. 59, and 60.* one of his Disciples makes his Request, when commanded by Christ to follow him, *Lord, suffer me to go and bury my Father.* One would have thought this, if any Thing, might have been granted; an Action that seems to carry in it Piety and filial Duty. But what says Christ? *Let the dead bury their dead, but go thou and preach the Kingdom of God.* And to another, at the same



same time, he gives a severe Reprimand, who desir'd leave to take his last Farewel of those that were at home at his House; *No man having put his Hand to the Plough and looking back, is fit for the Kingdom of God.* v. 61 and 62. If these Things, which with us would be thought Commendable and Vertuous, are so severely reprehended in those who were Preachers of the Gospel, and by taking upon them that Employment had shook Hands with the World, we may well conclude, either in Practice or Preaching, to intermeddle with Affairs of State, must needs be more opposed to his Mind and Will; for our Saviour seems to intimate in this last Example, as if those, who thus concerned themselves about worldly Affairs, after their taking upon 'em the Ministerial Function, did, in effect, renounce their Office, and were no longer fit to be employ'd in the preaching of the Gospel.

5 Intermeddling with Affairs of State, is not agreeable to the Practice of the primitive and purer Times of the Gospel.

When our Saviour was ascended into Heaven, and the preaching of the Gospel was committed to the Apostles Care, an Occasion presented itself in the very Infancy of the Church, to set forth their own Practice and the Duty of all succeeding Ministers, in respect to secular Affairs: The Case is plain, some Jarrings and Divisions arose about the Distribution of their Alms, the one Party accusing the other for not taking due Care of their Widows; upon this



this the Church is called together, and the Twelve Apostles unanimously declare, it was not fit that they should neglect the preaching of the Gospel, to mind lesser Concerns, tho' it was an Act of Charity, and that within the Limits of the Church; and having desir'd the Congregation to chuse proper Persons for this Office, they profess, that for their own Parts, they would give themselves continually to Prayer and the Ministry of the Word, *Acts 6.* To the same Purpose, *Paul's Advice to Timothy, I charge thee before God, and our Lord Jesus Christ, preach the Word, be instant in Season and out of Season, reprove, rebuke with all long-suffering and Doctrine.* But this Doctrine will not go down in our Days, and he that preaches once a Week thinks God and Man indebted to him for his indefatigable Pains. How contrary is this to the Practice of the Apostles, whose Conversation was in Heaven? But that of our Modern Clergy is on Earth, nay, at Court, in Coffee-houses, at Taverns, in Clubs, at all Elections, at the Parliament-house Doors, in Court of Requests, soliciting, prompting, provoking, making Parties, &c. In a Word, they mind earthly things: The first Ministers were employ'd in Praying and the Ministry of the Word, but these in settling the State, or what is worse, in setting their Neighbours together by the Ears. But to return from this Digression, as it was not the Practice of the Apostles, so neither of the Primitive Preachers of the Gospel for several Ages; this being

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so



so evident from History, I shall refer such as desire to be more fully satisfied thereto, and proceed to another Reason, viz.

6. The Pastoral Charge is too weighty to admit any other Business to interfere therewith. Paul says, 2 Cor. 2.6. *Who is sufficient for these Things?* If any Man were now to hold out a good Benefice and ask that Question *another way*, (viz.) *Who is sufficient?* The Clergy will crowd about and thrust one another by, and cry, *I am sufficient*, and *I am sufficient*; the reason or meaning is, *I am sufficient* not to do the Work, for that is not the Question, but to receive the Money, which is the main End of the Gown in these Days. St. Paul was of another Principle, that is plain; and yet I hope he was as well qualified as any now are, and as well able to go thro' the Ministerial Duty. I think none will scruple to acknowledge he was a Man of great Learning; Festus the Roman Governour thought he had too much, and tells him, it had made him mad. Acts 26. 24. and that Paul had the Spirit of God is indisputable, and spoke with Tongues more than the rest of the Apostles. Now, if Paul thus qualify'd, *who came not short of the very chief of the Apostles*, complains of his Insufficiency for so great a Task, certainly those who want his extraordinary Endowments, I mean his Supernatural Gifts and Graces, or if they have some of his Gifts in kind, and his Graces in reality, yet fall vastly short in their Degree; I say, certainly these Persons need not the Incombrance of  
other



other Affairs, but rather should apply their All to the Ministerial Office. I come now to the other general Head, and thence shall deduce such Arguments as are taken from the State: The Thesis I shall lay down is this,

*That the Practice of the Clergy's Intermeddling with Affairs of State, is neither convenient nor profitable, but often pernicious and hurtful thereto.*

That it is not convenient, will readily appear from the foregoing Arguments; for either they must neglect their Pastoral Duty, or remissly manage the Affairs of State. Now let me enquire here, to what Purpose should our Sermons be stuf't with Law instead of Gospel, or why should the Government be Catechis'd and call'd to Account by these Gown-Politicians? Is this either for the Advantage of the Government or People, who being well instructed in their Duty towards God, would stand in no need of Information from them, of what Dimensions their Obedience to their Sovereign ought to be? Nor can any great Profit accrue by these Men to the Government; their Pulpit Discourses can produce none; and for their Assistance out of it, the Publick stands in as little need of it. There are not wanting in any part of Great-Britain Men no ways inferior to the Tribe of Levi, in natural or acquir'd Abilities, whose Conversation and Education among Men inur'd to Publick Management, must give them the ascendant over others;



thers; and as they have Estates to secure to themselves and Posterity, are more likely to be faithful to their Trust. Upon the whole, the Clergy are not more capable of doing Good to the Publick than others, and it would be well if their Talent did not lie another way; and yet, which is worse, as they cannot do more Good, yet they are capable of doing more Mischief than the Laity: That we may therefore search this Matter to the bottom, I shall under this General Head lay down the following Observations.

1. The Clergy, if Disaffected to the Government, have greater Opportunities, and can more easily insinuate their Notions into the Minds of the People than others have, or can do. No Doors are shut upon these Men, under pretence of their Pastoral Care; they peep into our very Closets; our Conversation is narrowly inspected; and our natural Temper, or present Inclination once discover'd, the remaining part becomes easie. Nor is this only an Advantage in their private Capacity, but it extends itself much farther, and the Pulpit itself has the Advantage over us: Hence a sly Serpentine Insinuation most readily and unobserv'd, mix'd with Religious Matter, surprizes the Minds of People at unawares, and is greedily drank in by them. For whilst others can only perswade with Labour and Difficulty, these Men carry an Authority over their Hearers, whereby their Conquest is better secur'd, and becomes more facile; which



which leads me to a Second Reason why this Practice is not convenient, *viz.*

2. That the Insinuations of the Clergy are more prevalent than those of others. This is visible to every observing Eye ; for, has the People conceiv'd an ill Opinion of their Prince, are they but in the least disgusted, 'tis but for one of these Church Fire-brands, these Gown-Incendiaries, to drop a single Word, especially from the Pulpit, and 'tis enough to blow this Spark of Contention into the Malevolent Flame of open exclaiming against their Rulers, if not into Rupture and Rebellion. Or, is the Prince of an aspiring and ambitious Mind, 'tis but some condescending Favour to the Gown or Cloak, and the obliged Party will quickly bring over their unthinking Followers to a superstitious Adoration of him, so that they will be ready to lay down their Necks at the Foot of the insulting Tyrant, and offer their servile Backs to any Load he shall impose upon them. Sufficient Proof we had of both these in the Reign of the late King *James*, and some long before : Upon his Accession to the Throne, having bestow'd Favours on the Gown, and us'd those Artifices, which with many prov'd too violent and pleasing a Temptation to resist ; how did the Pulpits lavish out their Encomiums on the King ? How were his Virtues, how few or small soever, multiply'd and magnify'd to the People, and his *Gracious Promises*, tho' if perform'd, no more than the Subjects due, and



and what he was oblig'd by his Coronation Oath to perform, represented as the most unparalleled Condescensions? His illegal Practices were palliated, and his despotick and arbitrary Encroachments upon the People's Rights and Liberties justify'd: Regulating Corporations, and subverting the original Constitutions of the Government, were not only excused, but avowed from the Pulpit to be the King's Prerogative. Dispensing with the Laws, was not only by the Judges, that were pick'd on purpose to serve the Humour of the King, allow'd to be Lawful, but the Clergy came in for their Share, and assert it for his undoubted Right; tho' by such a dispensing Power, there was nothing left to the Subject that they could call their own: Liberty and Property, which our Glorious Ancestors handed down to us at the Expence of their own Lives, were then given up by these supple and fawning Parasites, as a Trifle scarce worth their Tender, or the King's Acceptance. The People were told from the Pulpit, by these Quacks in Divinity as well as Politicks, That Obedience to the Will of the Prince, and that without the least Reserve, was their indispensable Duty; and if in Conscience they could not comply with his Commands, as being contrary to the Law of God, yet they must not resist his Pleasure, but yield a Passive, where they could not exert an Active Obedience to their Sovereign: Some soar'd yet higher, and had the Impudence to tell their Hearers, the King's Command was sufficient



sufficient to warrant their Obedience, tho' the Thing enjoy'd was absolutely forbidden by the Law of God; that the King could do no Wrong, and was accountable to none but the King of Heaven. Nor was there an End put to this Heterodox Doctrine, till the Kingdom was at last brought to the brink of Ruin.

Now let us leave the Gown a little, and see if the Cloak cannot dissemble and prevaricate as well as fother: For *Priests of all Religions are the same*. No sooner was King James settled on the Throne, but under a Pretence of Christian Charity, and a Tenderness for all his Subjects, tho' in reality to oblige the *Papists*, and introduce the *Romish* Religion by the Shortest Method, he sets forth by virtue of his dispensing Power, which he had illegally assum'd, a Proclamation for *Liberty of Conscience* to all Perswasions whatsoever. This Court-Artifice takes to Admiration; and tho' the Dissenting Clergy plainly saw the Fox's Tail in all this pretended Favour, yet not to be behind-hand with the King in Gratitude any more than Cunning, being glad at any Rate to get rid of their former Persecutors, they put the Trumpet to their Mouths, and proclaim, *Ore pleno*, his Majesty's unexampled Favours.

Addresses stuf't with the most fulsome Compliments, from both Parties, crowded the Court from every Corner of the Kingdom, and all this continued till such time as the  
King



King put forth his Hand to vex certain of the Church of *England*; upon which they change their Notes, the Nation is alarm'd with the Church's Danger; *Passive Obedience* and *Non-Resistance* appear in the Field compleatly arm'd with Sword and Musket ready for the Battle; and their *Dissenting Brethren*, scarce ever called so before or since, are invited into the Camp, who as readily comply, and the Consequence of it proves a Revolution.

3. Their Education gives them greater Abilities to deceive. It can't be deny'd but among the Laity, as is before hinted, there are many, tho' but few, compar'd with the generality, not inferior to the Clergy for Learning or Abilities; but the Clergy have all of them, even the meanest, a great Advantage over the most part of the Populace upon these Accounts; and being instructed in Sophistry in the Schools, they seldom fail to put it in constant Practice: And this may be observ'd, the most ignorant among the Laity are by far the most in Number, and as they are most easily impos'd on, so they are most violent in pursuing their Designs; for tho' Zeal without Knowledge is not good, yet it is most frequent, and hardest to be restrain'd, for it breaks forth like Wild-fire, when kindled by the smallest Spark, and sets all Things round about it in a Conflagration.

4. These Men have not only greater Abilities to deceive, or influence the People; but 'tis too apparent by long Experience, that they use



use much baser Means to attain their Purpose, by wresting Scripture to make it agreeable to their Mind. To instance in a few, How miserably has the 13th of the *Romans* been rack'd, and turn'd to make it speak the Language of our *Passive Obedience* Champions? and that 1 *Pet.* 2. 13, and 14. not only for the same Purpose, but to prove Conformity to the Establish'd Church, and the Ceremonies thereof, to be an indispensable Duty? *Submit your selves to every Ordinance of Man for the Lord's sake: whether it be to the King as supreme; or unto Governors, as unto them that are sent by him for the Punishment of evil-doers, and for the Praise of them that do well.* And when this Text fails to convert the Shismatics, and to bring them into the Bosom of the Church, then *Luke* 14. v. 23. *Compel them to come in,* must warrant, nay, enjoyn a Persecution, and arm the Magistrate's Hand against them. Now these Four preceding Arguments become the more prevalent from the next Reason I shall produce, *viz.*

5. The Vulgar entertain a Superstitious Reverence and Esteem for the Clergy, and account all for the Oracles of God, that drop from their Mouths, especially in the Pulpit.

Their strenuous Contentions about Matters they understand nothing of, is Proof sufficient in this Case; some conform to the Church establish'd, because good Men, the Pastors, were it not Orthodox, would never do it; surely they are wiser than we; What were they



bred at the University for? &c. Such Arguments these Disputants bring for their own Practice, whilst another Party dissent upon as good Grounds as these conform, and produce as weighty Arguments: But not to spend longer Time upon a Thing self-evident, I shall proceed to a Sixth, viz.

The Clergy abound with indigent Persons, of restless and uneasy Minds, who are more violently set to compass their Designs than the Laity are. The first Part of this Reason is too palpable and self-evident, and the more is the pity it should be so. Indigence and Want are always the Parent of Uneasiness and Disquietude; 'tis natural to Persons under strait and difficult Circumstances to be of restless and projecting Minds, still casting about in their Thoughts how to extricate themselves from such Misfortunes. Wants and Necessities are cogent and unanswerable Arguments; nor can all the Rhetorick that the World is Master of stop the Mouth, or silence the Clamours of an empty Stomach: And these unhappy Men having their Hands tied from Labour, or if at liberty, yet never having been inur'd thereto, it is too irksom for them, and unskilful Hands perform it with the greater Difficulty: Thus, having no other way left to help themselves, no wonder if they are hurry'd on with impetuosity to an Accomplishment of whatever they Design. Want leading the way before them, and Fear, Avarice and Ambition following close behind, pushing forward with the



the greatest Violence. But not to weary out the Reader upon this Head, I shall proceed to give my last Reason, why it is dangerous to the State, to permit the Clergy to intermeddle with Affairs of State : Namely,

7. That the Clergy are frequently the Cause of Animosities and Divisions amongst the People : Tho' this was laid down as a Consequence, I shall here add it as a cogent Argument, wherein the State is principally concern'd. It is true, this cannot but be an ungrateful Theme, it affords indeed a large Field to expatiate in ; the Clergy have given us too many Occasions to fix this part of the Charge upon them ; History is full of the Fires they have kindled, the Blood they have caus'd to be spilt, the Wars they have fomented, and the Mischiefs they have involv'd the World in by their Intrigues and Contentions : And not to look back too far into Antiquity, who was it, if not the Clergy, who introducing the *Spanish Inquisition* into the *Low-Countries*, so exasperated the People, that it occasioned a War of Two and forty Years, the Lives of a Million of Men, and the Expence even to the King of *Spain* only of 386 Millions of Money, and at last the *United Provinces* were lost to and rent from the *Spanish* Monarchy : And that wise State ever since, being taught by woful Experience, how dangerous 'tis for the Clergy but to whisper any thing of State-Affairs among the People, upon such a Fault, present such Clergymen with a Pair of Shoes and a Staff,



and send them for ever packing from their Territories. But to come Home: What was it bred the Discord betwixt King *Charles I.* and his Parliament and People, but *Laud, Manwaring*, and some other High-flown Clergymen of that Age, who hurried him on in illegal Practices on the one hand, and the Clergy of the other Party hurried the People on to Violence and Rebellion on the other hand, which together ended in the Ruin of the State, and brought that unhappy Prince to the Scaffold?

Who but the Clergy were the Advisers and Promoters of those illegal and pernicious High-Commission and Star-Chamber Courts? Who but the Clergy were the Authors of the *Lambeth* Canons, wherein they took upon them to exercise not only Spiritual but Temporal Jurisdiction, intermeddling with Men's Estates, and raising Money without Consent of Parliament? Who but these advised that fatal Imposition of Ship-Money, which at last ended in the Confusions of War, and the the Ruin of the Royal Family? Who but the Clergy made the King deaf to all Reason, 'till at last no Reason would be heard by his Victorious Enemies? By whose Advice but the Clergy's were Episcopacy and a Liturgy impos'd on *Scotland*, once and again, 'till at last there was no Remedy; but that Warlike People, jealous of their Kirk, were imbitter'd and arm'd against him?

And as it was thus in the Reign of King *Charles I.* so in his Son's Days; and upon the same



same Occasions was that Nation, by the intermeddling of the Clergy, involv'd in Blood and Ruin.

Episcopacy was again obtruded on that Nation, and *Uniformity* and *Conformity* with Rigor exacted from them; the *French Maxim* of Dragooning was put in practice to make Profelytes to the Church of *England*; tho' that Kingdom being altogether at that Time independent of *England*, might by the same Rule have impos'd *Presbytery* on us. 'Tis true, both Nations were under one Monarch; but 'tis as true, they were two distinct People, and each govern'd by Laws of their own; and the King as much oblig'd to maintain *Presbytery* in *Scotland*, by the Oath he had there taken, at his Coronation, as he was bound by the like Oath in *England* to support Episcopacy. These booted Apostles were the Men, who, by *Episcopal Blows and Knocks*, were to inform their Disciples at the Expence of their Brains, and prov'd their Mission to be Canonical, by plundering those who would not conform, and living upon the oppress'd Inhabitants at Discretion, seldom leaving them 'till they had nothing left. 'Twas then a *deadly Sin* in *Scotland* to worship God out of the prescribed Form; and those who were found in this *Rebellious Practice*, if they could not preserve themselves by Force or Flight, were either sacrific'd upon the Spot, or preserv'd for severer Punishments; and all this to satisfy the Bigottry of a Prince, who was led by



by the pernicious Counsel and Directions of an intolerable and ambitious Clergy.

But whilst Things were thus carried in Scotland, let us see how much better it was here in England. The Dissenters met with little kinder Treatment, and *Compel them to come in*, was put in Execution with a Vengeance. Fines and Imprisonment were the demonstrative Arguments of the contrary Faction; every Pulpit was a *Drum Ecclesiastic*; or if any were fill'd by Persons of better Principles, they were sure to share in the Cup of Affliction with their Dissenting Brethren. Almost every Parish Priest was an Informer, the Spiritual Courts were over-burden'd with Business, and the Secular Magistrates call'd in to their Assistance. Then it was that a glorious Harvest or Profit was gathered by the Priests, while the Goals were crowded with innocent Persons, and their Goods and Houses became a Spoil to the Oppressor: Many were forc'd to seek for Refuge in Foreign Parts, and others expir'd at Home by Want and Hardships in stinking and noisome Prisons. Then it was that Plots were laid to cut off the very Flower of our Nobility, and the choicest Gentry of the Kingdom were made Victims; and to this Day we deplore the Loss and Murder of *Russel, Essex, Armstrong, Cornish, Godfrey*, and many others, who were made Sacrifices to the Rage of the Clergy, and were butcher'd, some by Form of Law, which is the blackest Villany; others by Assassination; God knows whose



whose Hands were imbrued in their innocent Blood: This is certain, the Clergy justify'd the Proceedings; and if they did not Advise, yet they concur'd with the Measures that were taken, and spoke whatever was agreeable and pleasing to a prevailing Party. Nothing was then to be heard but absolute Submission to the Will of the Prince; and Anathema's thunder'd out from the prostituted Pulpit, against all who would not concur both in Religion and Politics with the Spiritual Fury of the Clergy.

Then it was, the serious Preachers of the Gospel, even of the Church of *England* as well as of the Dissenters, who could not give in with these Measures, were not only Brow-beaten, but harra's'd with Citations and vexatious Prosecutions in the Ecclesiastical Courts, often to the undoing of their Families; and they themselves oblig'd sometimes publicly in their Sermons to recant, what they had before preach'd, tho' never so true, to prevent Starving and further Trouble, it being then frequent for such as refus'd a Recantation, to be suspended not only from their Office, but from the Benefits of their Places; so that they were brought to this wretched Dilemma, either to see their Families perish for want of Bread, or prevaricate with God and Man, by Lying openly against their own Consciences. This Double-dealing and Fluctuating of the Clergy, was no small Scandal to the Laity, and brought them into the lowest Contempt with their Auditories, driving



(C. 12.)  
driving such as had more Judgment and Con-  
science from the Establish'd Church, to seek  
for Teachers who were more stedfast in their  
Opinions: And as by these Methods many  
Members were lost to the Church, so more  
Hearts were lost unto the King; for not only  
those who went off from the Establish'd  
Church, grew cool in their Affections to their  
Prince; but many who still continued in the  
Church, knowing such Violences were un-  
scriptural and irreligious, and pitying the  
Weakness of those Clergy-Men who thus pre-  
varicated, and became a Stumbling-block to all  
good Men; and at the same time being justly  
incensed at the Insolence and Violence of the  
High-flown Clergy, began to entertain jealous  
Thoughts of their Sovereign, who every Day  
sunk lower in their Esteem and Affections.  
And had there not been Ground to expect  
worse, if that could well be, without an Inunda-  
tion of Popery, because the Heir Apparent of the  
Crown was a profess'd Roman Catholick, he had  
sunk lower still. And as this drove many from  
the Establish'd Church, so it led many others  
into practical Atheism, or into Popery; be-  
lieving all Religion to be a Political Sham, to  
awe the World into Obedience; or that, if  
Salvation was to be found in any Perswasion,  
it could not be in that, whose Professors were  
so inconsistent with themselves; these were  
the Glorious Fruits of Political Divinity in  
that Prince's Reign, whereby God was dis-  
honour'd,



honour'd, Religion oppress'd, and the Subjects alienated in their Loyalty to their Sovereign.

But to come yet nearer to our Times, as is before prov'd in the 2d Argument, how the Clergy acted in relation to that deluded Prince King James II. So now let us see how they behav'd themselves towards their New Sovereign, after a Revolution, and what the Effects of their Behaviour were. Here we shall find them still the same; and tho' they often change their Tales, they are no Changelings in their Manners. No sooner was their Allegiance requir'd to a New Sovereign, but some of them finding their Hopes defeated, as *Jereboam* and the Ten Tribes, tho' not upon so good and justifiable Grounds, found a Retreat; *What Portion have we in David, or what Inheritance in the Son of Jesse? Every Man to his Tents, O Israel!* What have we to do with a Revolution, or the Prince of Orange, so long as our old Master is alive? This was the Language of those Gentlemen; and it is easy to prove that this Language first began among the Clergy; and what a Division did it make amongst the People? What Troubles and Disappointments did it procure to our Glorious Deliverer King *William*? How many Plots and Contrivances were laid against his Life and Government? In all which some of the Clergy were always

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heard



heard of : But amongst the rest of those Diabolical Attempts that were made against his Person, that base and barbarous Assassination Plot shall be a standing Blot and Badge of Infamy on that daring and profligate Party, who being encourag'd by the Clergy of that Faction, stuck at nothing to accomplish their Designs.

To Conclude, What but the Clergy set this Nation on a Flame in the last Reign, and bid fair for giving a Blow to the Protestant Succession? How was the first Flame issued from the Pulpit by that Trumpet of Jacobite Sedition, a most contemptible Tool even in the Opinion of the Party themselves, I mean the for ever infamous *Sacheverel*, when for his unparallel'd Impudence he was impeach'd by the *House of Commons*, and condemn'd by the *House of Lords*? Of which the Consequences are too many, and too recent to need a Recapitulation; the Effects thereof are still increasing, and after all the scandalous Speeches against his present Majesty, whilst Elector, tho' declar'd Heir Apparent by the Legislative Power of the Nation more than once; the late *Riot and Murder at Bristol*, and the Tumults and Rebellion since that, are fresh Indications of the pernicious Consequences of such kind of Preaching : But hoping the Venom of this Contagion may have well nigh, if not altogether, spent  
it



it self in these late Tumults, and that the like Practice of the Clergy may be for the future restrain'd, I shall add no more, but leave it to every Rational Man's Consideration, how necessary it is upon all these Accounts to pass an Act to incapacitate the Clergy, of what Denomination soever, *From Intermeddling with Affairs of State.*

**F I N I S**





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